MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN HISTORY

Lois M. McClellan
1923

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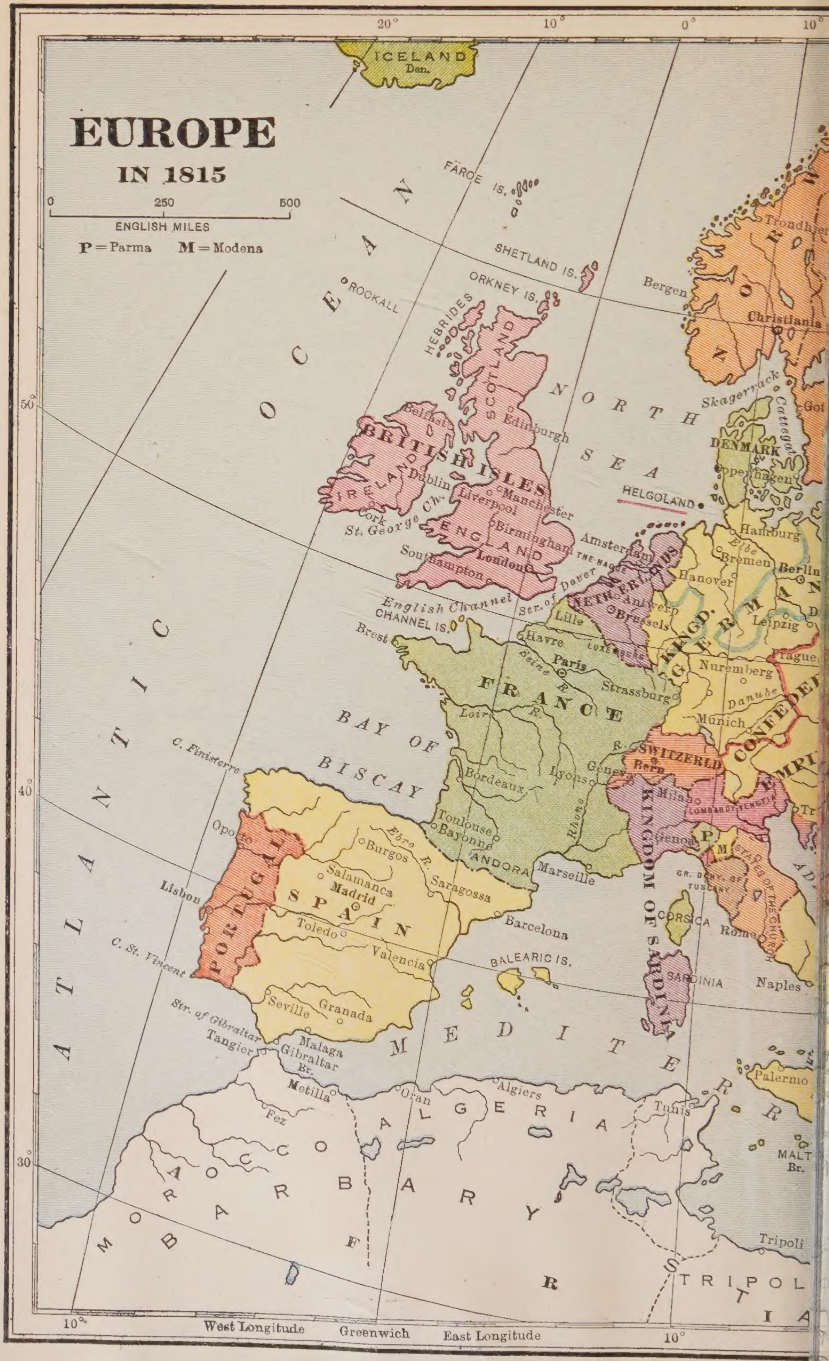
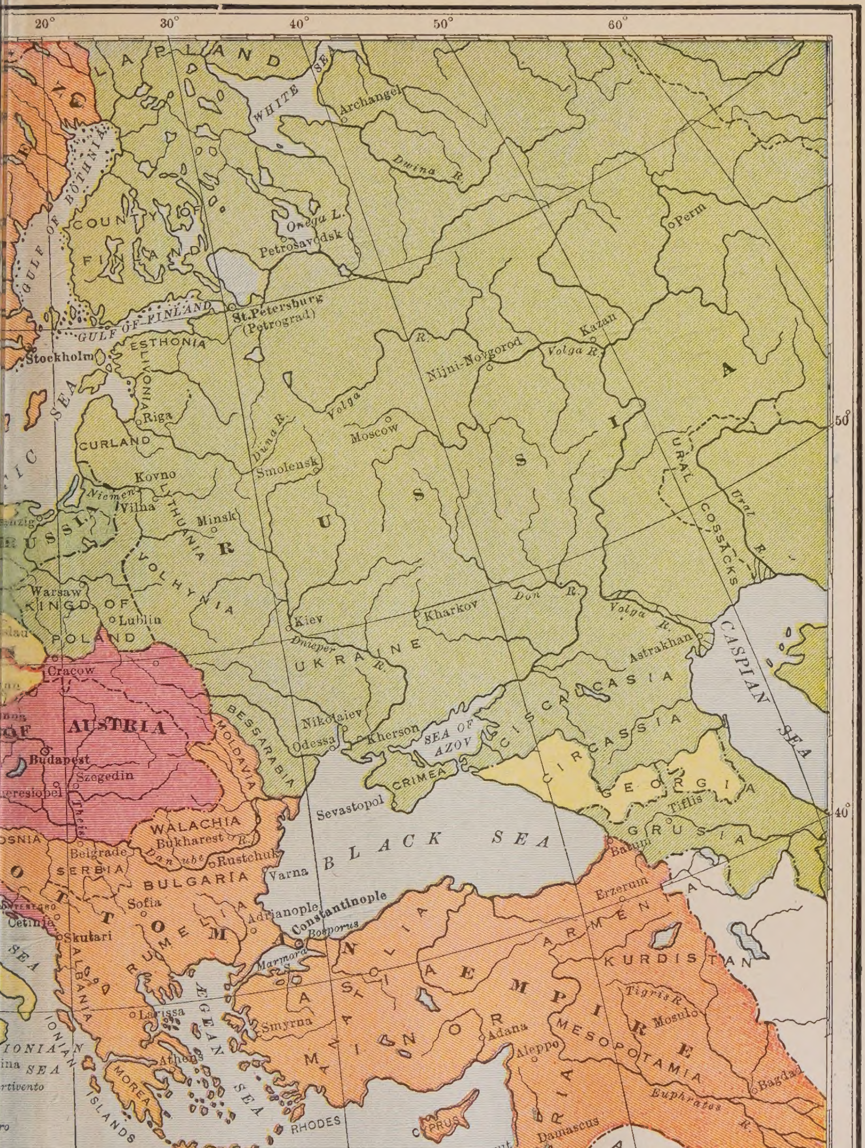


EUROPE

IN 1815



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St. Petersburg (Petrograd)
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LIVONIA
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Kharkov
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Budapest
Szegedin
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Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Marmora
Cetinje
Skutari
ALBANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Tigris R.
Mosul
Larissa
Smyrna
Adana
Aleppo
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Athens
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MODERN
AND CONTEMPORARY
EUROPEAN HISTORY
(1815–1922)

BY

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UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF
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NINTH IMPRESSION

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TO

PROFESSOR WILLIAM G. McGUCKIN

INSPIRING TEACHER AND DEAR FRIEND WHO
AWAKENED IN ME THE LOVE FOR THE
STUDY OF HISTORY

PREFACE

The present volume is an attempt to describe in brief compass the evolution of European civilization during the nineteenth century. This period, which historically began with Waterloo and ended at Liège, is truly modern history, for the problems that it solved and the problems that it left unsolved are those that vitally concern the present generation.

Believing that the main function of history is to explain the present, I planned in writing this book to devote increasingly more attention to the periods as they approached our own time. The epoch since 1870, therefore, occupies more than half of the volume, for I have felt that it was of paramount importance in a history of modern and contemporary Europe to describe the various problems that confronted the European nations at the beginning of the twentieth century. The introductory chapter is a résumé of the *ancien régime*, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Empire; and it was written for the purpose of reviewing the antecedents of the nineteenth century, that the reader might not plunge into this period without preparation.

At one time the problem of how to write history was comparatively simple. It was solved in advance for the prospective historian: all that he had to do was to write a chronological narrative of political and military events. Once that was accomplished his task was done. But that method of writing history is no longer considered adequate. The chronological narrative in its very simplicity is confusing. It simplifies too much by chronicling in succession various subjects which, though closely related, cannot be clearly understood unless they are disentangled and treated topically. The purely political history was based on the theory that man is essentially a "political animal"; hence, the State was not merely an institution created by him, but the sum total of all his ambitions, ideals, and accomplishments. History, then, was "past politics." But this interpretation erred in being one-sided. If man is a "political animal," he is also a social and economic animal, a thinking animal, a religious animal, even a writing animal. In this volume I have endeavored to solve two problems: (1) a modification of the chronological order in such a way as to permit, in the most important matters at least, topical treatment, and (2) the inclusion of social, economic, and cultural matters with the military and political.

"It is the unhappy usage of our schools and universities," writes H. G. Wells, "to study the history of mankind only during periods of mechanical unprogressiveness. The historical ideas of Europe range between the time when the Greeks were going about the world on foot or horseback or in galleys or sailing ships to the days when Napoleon, Wellington, and Nelson were going about at very much the same pace in much the same vehicles and vessels. At the advent of steam and electricity the Muse of History holds her nose and shuts her eyes. Science will study and get the better of a modern disease, as, for example, sleeping sickness, in spite of the fact that it has no classical standing, but our history schools would be shocked at the bare idea of studying the effect of modern means of communication upon administrative areas, large or small." This reproach can no longer be cast at our newer textbooks in European history. In the present volume I have given generous space to the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions and to their manifold effects upon modern life.

Furthermore, I have ventured to include sections on literature, a feature entirely neglected in nearly all our general histories of Europe. Why third-rate politicians like Lord Liverpool and Ollivier should find place in history, and literary men of the first order like Thackeray and Hugo should be left out, has always appeared to me an anomaly. Literature has never been so removed from the life of the times that the historian can afford to neglect it.

A history of nineteenth-century Europe would be incomplete without an explanation of significant social movements such as socialism, syndicalism, and feminism, that have profoundly influenced the ideals and lives of millions in every country. Therefore I have devoted considerable space to explain these movements.

Obviously the history of the World War cannot be written now. In my chapter on the War, I have merely described in brief general outline important campaigns without giving statistical details.

This book is based in part on original sources, but mainly on a wide and careful reading of many excellent books in the field, both general and special, and on a fair degree of familiarity gained from an affectionate study of the literature and art of modern and contemporary Europe.

J. Salwyn Schapiro

The College of the City of New York
June, 1918

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE teachers of history in America owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia University, chief protagonist and brilliant interpreter of the New History. In his *History of Western Europe*, Professor Robinson produced a history textbook that is at the same time a work of original scholarship. This volume was the first of its kind to give coherence and viewpoint to complex historical material and to emphasize social and cultural elements. After Professor Robinson, no one may now write an old-style textbook, a compendium of dry facts, mainly political and military, hastily put together by hack writer or tired historian. The author of this book is proud and glad to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Robinson, under whose suggestive guidance he began his graduate studies in history.

The author also gratefully acknowledges his debt to Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, his former teacher and the editor of this volume, whose wide range of scholarship has been at his ready disposal and whose fertile suggestions have greatly assisted him in preparing the book. Several specialists have rendered signal service in reading chapters that fall within their fields. The author, therefore, desires to express gratitude to Mr. George Louis Beer, who read the chapters on the British Empire and the Expansion of Europe; to his colleagues, Professor Stephen P. Duggan, who read the chapter on the Near Eastern Question; Mr. Alfonso Arbib-Costa, who read the chapters on Italy; Professor Joseph Vincent Crowne, who read the chapter on Ireland; and Professor Felix Grendon, who read the sections on English literature; to Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, who read the chapter on the World War; and to Mr. William English Walling, who read the chapters on Russia.

The author is deeply grateful to his colleague, Dr. Austin Baxter Keep, whose sense for the right word and correct expression has been manifest in his painstaking reading of page proofs. Above all, he wishes to acknowledge his debt to his dear friend, Mr. Jacob J. Shufro, who spent many weary hours revising the manuscript and reading the galley proofs. Whatever value the book may possess in clarity of expression is in no small degree due to the help of Mr. Shufro.

Nor can the author conclude without a word of tribute to the high scholarship and character of his valued teacher, Henry Phelps Johnston, now Emeritus Professor of History in The College of the City of New York, who graciously welcomed him as his colleague.

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MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Contrasts in eighteenth-century life

MODERN history is of comparatively recent origin. The present system of society, with its industrial organization, democratic government, and scientific outlook, is a product of conditions that came into existence hardly a century ago; for in spite of Columbus, Luther, Copernicus, and Newton, the life and thought of the average person in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century were not very much different from that of his ancestors in the later Middle Ages. It is true that the medieval system had received mighty blows at the hands of the Humanists of the Renaissance and of the Protestants of the Reformation; that the classics had received full recognition in the universities; that a system of national churches had displaced the international Catholic Church; that feudal aristocracy had given way to absolute monarchy; and that discoveries had expanded the known world. It is also true that the pioneers of science had begun to make those discoveries in physics and astronomy which were destined to reconstruct the whole intellectual horizon of Europe. But the great mass of people remained untouched by these changes; they continued to plow their fields in the same old way, to make things by hand, and to quarrel bitterly about religion. Many doubtless still believed the earth to be flat in spite of the Greeks, Columbus, and Magellan. In fact the religious wars and persecutions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries showed medievalism at its worst, for not only were heretics persecuted as of yore, but the Christian nations crusaded against one another, Protestants and Catholics alike, while millions of human beings were slaughtered for the "greater glory of God" and for the special benefit of church or king.

The three revolutions

At the end of the eighteenth century there took place three great revolutions, which transformed every aspect of European society and created the world in which we now live. These movements were the Intellectual Revolution, which gave birth to new points of view in philosophy, literature, and science; the French Revolution, which proclaimed democratic principles of government; and the Industrial Revolution, which inaugurated our present economic life. We shall now take a brief survey of conditions in Europe during the *ancien régime*, which is a general term used to describe the system of society and government before these changes took place.

GOVERNMENT

Absolute monarchy the rule

The government of nearly every European country at the end of the eighteenth century was monarchical, and everywhere the monarch was absolute, except in England, which had established a parliamentary system. Feudalism on its political side had disappeared, and the once haughty noble was transformed into the fawning courtier. Only in Germany did political feudalism still maintain itself; there, the lord continued to govern and to judge as he had done in medieval times. The explanation given for absolute monarchy was known as "divine right," which asserted that the king's right to govern came from God, to whom alone he was responsible for his acts. Was a king good, just, and wise? Then the people were fortunate. Was he wicked, cruel, and stupid? Then they were unfortunate. In no case were they to revolt, for disobedience was not only a crime to be punished on earth, but likewise a sin to be punished in the hereafter. In case a bad king reigned, the people were to bear his rule patiently and meekly, and to pray to God to soften his heart. This doctrine of "divine right" was insistently preached by the loyal followers of the monarch. Lutheran Prussia subscribed to it as heartily as Catholic France.

Privileges of the nobles

In medieval times, the largest part of the taxes came from land. But the commercial expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries increased the scope of government, and taxes had to be increased correspondingly in order to pay the expenses of a rapidly developing bureaucracy. While the kings of the *ancien régime* still gathered around them the territorial lords who, in former days, had been their bitter opponents, they now looked more and more to the middle classes for the maintenance of the State. But their traditions and sympathies, however, remained with the landed aristocracy; and the latter were consequently exempt in large measure from the ever increasing burden of taxation, as is revealed by the legislation of the eighteenth century.

Religion and Education

The system of national churches

The Protestant Revolution had broken up the religious monopoly of the Catholic Church, but it had by no means established religious equality, or even toleration. Indeed, Protestant theologians like Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Cranmer were as insistent on conformity to the established religion as their Catholic opponents. The fundamental principle of the Protestant Revolution was religious independence rather than religious freedom, the idea that every nation had the right to establish its own type of Christianity. "One World, one Faith," had been the demand of the Catholic. In the warfare of creeds in the seventeenth century, the futility of this ideal became apparent, and a new principle, "one Nation, one Faith," took its place. But as the nation had not yet attained any adequate means of self-expression, the monarch and the governing class were generally able to force upon it their own form of religion. Hence it came about that the religion of the king became by law the religion of the people, and official churches were organized to preach it. This is how we get the system of established churches.

Toleration was the one thing that both Catholics and Protestants rejected. Conformity to the national religion was the law everywhere; hence nonconformists and freethinkers found themselves persons without a country. The degree of intolerance varied with the strength of the established Church. In Spain, where Catholic hegemony was unchallenged, heretics were still burned at the stake. In England, where the established Anglican Church had many opponents, both Catholic and Protestant, nonconformists were merely fined and imprisoned. The Church, particularly in Catholic countries, was very wealthy, as it owned vast tracts of land which yielded enormous revenues. In addition, a special tax, called the tithe, was levied on the people, irrespective of their religious beliefs, for the benefit of the official religion.

Ecclesiastical control of education

Education was almost exclusively in the hands of the clergy, and theology was still the intellectual staple. During the Middle Ages, the clergy was the one intellectual class and theology the most important subject of study. The Renaissance broke up the educational monopoly of the Church by spreading the ideal of education for the laity, and by giving the classics a prominent place in the curriculum. Children of the wealthy classes now received instruction mainly through private schools or private teachers. But ecclesiastical influence still predominated, for the reason that the teachers were mostly clergymen, and the schools under church control. Freedom of thought was everywhere limited, and books had to run a double gantlet, the censorship of the Church and that of the State. It became almost impossible to print legally a book criticizing the conduct of affairs, and clever subterfuges were resorted to in order to bring a publication before the reading public. The great majority of people could neither read nor write, and therefore remained oblivious to the few currents of thought that were permitted to flow.

The Economic System

The manor

The methods of industrial production up to the end of the eighteenth century were largely what they had been from the earliest days of civilization. Hammurabi, Pericles, Julius Cæsar, or Charlemagne would have been quite at home in the social and economic Europe of Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, and George III. People lived mainly from the land, which was possessed by a few wealthy nobles and cultivated by many poor peasants. The estate of a noble was subdivided into small farms, which were worked by generation after generation of wretched farmers who were generally serfs, bound to the soil and forming, like the land itself, a part of the lord's property. If, as in France, the lord of the manor could not freely fine, imprison, or flog the peasant or hold him as chattel upon his estate, as he could in most of Germany, he yet exacted onerous dues and services from his tenants for the privilege of allowing them to gain a wretched livelihood from the soil. A part of what they produced, from eggs to bushels of wheat, had to be given to the lord. They might also have to work for him from one to three days a week without pay, to attend on him during the hunting season, and to wait on his guests when a festival was given at the castle. Special monopolies generally existed on the estates; and the peasant had to grind his wheat at the lord's mill, to bake his bread in the lord's oven, and to press his grapes at the lord's winepress, all at a price fixed by his master. He likewise had to pay tolls for passing a bridge, for crossing a stream, or for driving on the highway.[1] To sum up, the feudal social system, so far as it affected the mass of common people, was still a living fact in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.

The craftsmen and merchants in the towns continued to be organized according to the medieval guild system. Each

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[1] In England this system had long before broken down. Serfdom had entirely disappeared, and the farmers had become tenants who paid a fixed sum to the lord as rent for their farms.

The guilds

trade had its own organization, or guild, which regulated the quantity and quality of the article produced, the conditions of labor, and the number of workmen to be employed. To learn a trade, a boy was apprenticed for a number of years, often as many as seven, to a master workman at whose house he lived and at whose shop he worked; later he became a "journeyman," or independent workman, and sometimes, though rarely, a master or member of the guild, which entitled him to open a shop of his own. The guilds were industrial monopolies chartered by the government, which undertook to give legal sanction to their rules.

The merchants

Commerce had made enormous strides as a result of the discoveries by the bold navigators of the sixteenth century. Trade was no longer merely intertown, as in the Middle Ages, but had become international. London, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Lisbon were great ports; their docks were crowded with shipping from America, Africa, and Asia. But compared with modern commerce, the volume of trade at the end of the eighteenth century was not very large. It was chiefly in the raw products of the new countries or in the luxuries of the East. The merchants of the towns, like the craftsmen, were organized into associations, but they allowed far more initiative than the craft guilds and, partly for that reason, greater prosperity attended them. Large commercial companies were sometimes given the exclusive privilege by the government to trade with a specified country; for example, the English East India Company had a monopoly of the English trade with India. During the eighteenth century a wealthy and influential class of merchants had developed in the towns, the middle class of England, the *Bürger* of Germany, and the *bourgeoisie* of France. As long as the masses were scattered in hamlets, they were incapable of organization. As long as they were ignorant, they were silent. What then had the organized powers, the monarchy, the nobility, and the Church, to fear?

The Intellectual Revolution

Voltaire

If conditions and ideals at the end of the eighteenth century were still largely medieval, the advanced thought of the day was distinctly modern, not only in tendency, but even in substance. It has seldom happened that great thinkers were so completely out of joint with their time as was the case with the eighteenth-century philosophers and scientists; and they began an attack on the old system which was unparalleled for audacity, virulence, and uncompromising radicalism. The leading spirit in the war against the *ancien régime* was Voltaire, the famous French philosopher, poet, and historian. His main idea was that progress and enlightenment could come only when man exercised his reason untrammeled, and allowed his mind full play on all problems of life. Voltaire singled out the Church as the special object of his attack because she, more than any other institution, was the special conserver of tradition. Never had the Church encountered so bitter an enemy, who mocked irreverently at her most sacred mysteries, who questioned her every right and privilege, and who would be satisfied with nothing less than her complete destruction. Few men have done more to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church than Voltaire, whose weapon was a biting satire expressed with marvelous literary art.

The attack on the State

The attack on the State was led by Montesquieu and Rousseau. The former was quite moderate in his criticism of monarchy; he wished merely to see established in France the constitutional system of England, which he greatly admired. It was Rousseau who proclaimed ideas that threatened to undermine the very foundations of the old political system by questioning every reason for its existence. His famous treatise, *The Social Contract*, substituted the doctrine of popular sovereignty for that of divine right, and laid the theoretical basis of modern democracy. The new science of Political Economy was founded by Quesnay and Turgot in France and by Adam

Smith in England. People now began to think of their environment from the economic point of view, and to identify progress with material well-being; hitherto, progress had meant only religious, moral, and intellectual enlightenment. The economists bitterly attacked the iniquitous system of taxation then in vogue and the medieval regulation of commerce and industry which hindered improved production. The ideas of the philosophers and of the economists were widely spread by Diderot in his famous encyclopedia, which became the arsenal of knowledge from which were drawn the weapons to attack the old system.

Advance of science and philosophy

The period was prolific in other new sciences. Lavoisier laid the basis of modern chemistry by his successful experiments in decomposing air and water and by his analysis of combustion. Lamarck's theory as to the evolution of bodily organs made him one of the founders of modern biology. Kant's philosophy enthroned moral law as the supreme governor of the universe and substituted an ethical for a religious view of the world. Lessing and Goethe completely rejected medievalism, which then so largely dominated German ideals, and replaced it by a modern outlook upon life.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Importance of the French Revolution

The French Revolution was more than a single movement in the history of France or of Europe. It was not merely a political reconstruction in which despotisms were overthrown and nations liberated; it was as well a social, economic, and moral epoch, which formulated the principles and, together with the Intellectual and Industrial Revolutions, prepared the conditions of modern society. It may, therefore, be truly said that the Modern Age begins with this great upheaval which spread from France to all the countries of Western Europe. Revolutions had happened before in history. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1689 in England resulted in the establishment of parliamentary government. This was an important change, but the benefits derived from it by the mass of

English people at the time were very slight; one dynasty displaced another, but the same class, the landed aristocracy, continued to control the government of England in its own interest. The English Revolution was, therefore, purely a political one, the good results of which did not mature till the end of the nineteenth century, when universal suffrage was established. The American Revolution of 1776 was also mainly political. It merely shifted supreme allegiance from the British Crown to the Constitution of the United States; everything else, property, law, religion, education, remained as before. Quite different, however, from both the English and the American was the French Revolution. That momentous event changed the fortunes of almost every institution in the land; for profound and lasting organic changes were effected, fully or partially, in almost every department of human life, social, economic, political, religious, legal, educational, and geographical.

The calling of the Estates-General

The immediate cause of the French Revolution was the financial difficulties of the Government. In order to raise more money, the King summoned the Estates-General, which met on May 5, 1789. Under the leadership of the famous statesman and orator, Mirabeau, it transformed itself into the National Assembly, a one-chamber parliament with almost absolute legislative and constitutional powers.

Abolition of feudalism

The National Assembly then set to work regenerating France by abolishing the abuses and privileges of the *ancien régime.* Paris and the other cities of France were organized as self-governing municipalities. On the famous night of August 4–5, 1789, the National Assembly completely abolished economic feudalism with its onerous dues and services. It also decreed that "taxes shall be collected from all citizens and from all property." France was then unified by the abolition of the old provinces, with their special privileges, customs, and laws; and the country was redivided into new political units called *départements.*

A notable document was then issued known as the

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

"Declaration of the Rights of Man," which is to the French what the Magna Charta is to the English and what the Declaration of Independence is to Americans. It boldly proclaimed the doctrines that all men are born and remain equal in rights, that law is the expression of the popular will, and that the people instead of the king are sovereign. It also declared for freedom of speech and of religion, and prohibited imprisonment without trial.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

On November 2, 1789, the National Assembly confiscated the enormous estates belonging to the Catholic Church. It then passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, according to which Catholicism was established as the national religion, and the priests were paid salaries from the public treasury. This law aroused the bitter opposition of all loyal Catholics, who regarded it as an attack on their faith, because it required that the priests should be elected by all citizens irrespective of their religion.

The constitution of 1791

Finally, in 1791, the National Assembly adopted a constitution which provided for a Legislative Assembly, a parliament of one house to be elected indirectly by those citizens who had sufficient property to pay a tax equal to three days' labor. To the King was given full executive power.

The *émigrés*

These great and, on the whole, beneficent changes were accomplished with comparative quietness within the short space of two years. But they aroused the powerful opposition of the King, nobles, and clergy, who had been deprived of their privileges. Unfortunately, King Louis XVI threw in his lot with the unpopular privileged classes, and appealed to the monarchs of other countries to restore the *ancien régime*. This gave birth to a republican sentiment which was fanned into flame by the extreme revolutionists. The nobility, especially, aroused the most violent hatred among the people, because they emigrated from France and sought to organize armies against their own country. A law was passed which confiscated the property of all *émigrés* who failed to return by a certain date. These lands, together with the confiscated church property, were sold to peasants and middle-class people, who thus acquired a property interest in the Revolution.

A republic proclaimed

The King of Prussia was the first to champion the cause of Louis XVI, and a Prussian army was sent to invade France, which aroused among the French people the greatest enthusiasm for the cause of liberty and the most bitter hatred of monarchy in all forms and in all places. On September 21, 1792, Louis XVI was dethroned and a republic was proclaimed. War was then declared against the enemies of the Republic, the royalists within and the despots without. Violent attacks were made by the Paris mob on the royalists, which culminated in the September Massacre, in which about three thousand persons were brutally murdered.

War of France with Europe

When the National Assembly was transforming France into a modern nation, it did not occur to people at the time that the innovations of those momentous years would spread beyond the borders of the land which made them. But Europe was uneasy, and with good reason. It was feared that the example set by the French people would be followed by the oppressed of other lands. Hence the wars, inaugurated by the despots to restore Louis XVI to his former power, were really struggles between two hostile social systems which could not exist side by side: that of France was modern, that of the rest of Europe, medieval. And such a war knows no truce. France soon realized that, in order to preserve the fruits of her Revolution, she would have to modernize the rest of Europe; and so began the Republican Propaganda, or the invasion of monarchical countries by republican armies. The French Revolution had, of necessity and of logic, become international.

The Convention

The armies of Prussia and Austria were defeated and driven back by the revolutionary soldiers of the Republic, who showed the most extraordinary energy and enthusiasm for the cause of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Foreign monarchs were now frightened at what seemed to them the outburst of universal anarchy. A grand alliance of nearly every nation of Europe was formed with the object of suppressing the Republic. In France the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, and a new body, the Convention, was called to frame a new constitution. But the safety of the country being the most pressing question, a Committee of Public Safety of twelve members was appointed in April, 1793, with full dictatorial power. It was controlled by the Jacobins, the most radical and daring of the revolutionaries, led by Danton, Robespierre, and Saint-Just.

The Reign of Terror

The Committee, backed by the Paris mob, instituted the Reign of Terror. Their main object was to unify France against the allied despots by terrorizing all those who opposed their plans. Any one suspected of ever so slight a hostility to the Revolution was immediately brought before a court called the Revolutionary Tribunal, where he was speedily condemned and executed by the guillotine. King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette were accused of conspiring with the foreign despots and executed for treason. The Girondins, a moderate republican party, who were opposed to the domination of France by Paris, were driven out of the Convention. Revolts by the royalist peasants of La Vendée and by the citizens of Lyons were mercilessly crushed. Having unified France through terror, the Jacobins turned on the Allied armies and won several decisive victories. The Terror had succeeded in saving France from invasion, but was itself overthrown in 1794; the Convention reasserted itself and set to work to frame a constitution for the Republic.

The Directory

The new constitution provided for a Directory of five men to be chosen by a parliament composed of two houses, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Elders. The Directory, as the new Government was called, continued the Republican Propaganda by despatching armies to war against the monarchies of Europe. General Napoleon Bonaparte, in command of the army to invade Italy, won a series of notable victories which made him exceedingly popular. Unfortunately for the Directory, the other French armies were beaten, and the Government lost favor with the people. Fear of invasion by the Allies turned popular sentiment toward General Bonaparte as the only man able to defend France successfully. The latter, already ambitious to become Emperor, seized the moment to oust the Directory from power by the *coup d'état* of the Eighteenth Brumaire (November 9, 1799). Bonaparte then became First Consul with almost dictatorial power, and continued the war against the Allies, upon whom he inflicted severe defeats. A general peace followed in 1801, in which the boundaries of France were extended to the Rhine.

The Consulate

The internal reforms of the First Consul were among his more enduring contributions. He put the sadly disorganized finances on a sound basis and vigorously enforced the law in the collection of taxes. In 1801 he issued the famous Concordat, or treaty of France with the Pope, which reëstablished Catholicism as the national religion, but under the control of the State, which shared with the Pope in the power to appoint bishops. Bonaparte's greatest achievement was the enlightened Napoleonic Code of laws based upon the principles of the French Revolution. This he issued during his consulate. He also reorganized the administrative and educational systems of France, greatly centralizing them.

Napoleon becomes Emperor

The First Consul was monarch in all but name, and it was therefore only a short step for the Senate to establish a monarchy, which it did, in 1804, by conferring upon him the title of Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. In this way the Republic came to an end, but the great reforms accomplished by the French Revolution were not set at naught; on the contrary, Napoleon did all he could to strengthen and to spread many of them.

THE FIRST EMPIRE

Conquest of Western Europe

The Napoleonic régime was a despotism of the most arbitrary kind; but it was enlightened and progressive, and therefore received the enthusiastic support of the French people. Unfortunately for the peace of the world, Napoleon dreamed of consolidating Western Europe into one political organization with himself as master. The various nations, frightened at the prospect of becoming mere provinces, were at first too crushed by defeats to think of vigorous opposition to his designs. England alone was able and willing to engage the Emperor in mortal combat. She defeated the French at sea and therefore did not fear for her colonial empire; but she was apprehensive of losing her great trade through the imposition of hostile tariffs on English goods by the French. To her aid came Russia and Austria. In the most brilliant victory of his career, that of Austerlitz in 1805, Napoleon practically destroyed the combined Austrian and Russian forces. This victory was followed by a reorganization of Germany: the Holy Roman Empire was abolished and Western Germany consolidated into the Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of France. In 1806 Prussia was forced into a war by Napoleon and was terribly beaten at the battle of Jena, which resulted in her being almost entirely dismembered. Against England the only weapon he could employ was economic. By the Berlin and Milan decrees, Napoleon declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, and forbade the nations on the Continent to trade with the English. Napoleon's "Continental System," as it was called, failed utterly, because he had no fleet with which to enforce it. Hence the only hope of Europe's deliverance from the Napoleonic despotism lay in England's control of the seas.

Napoleon master of Continental Europe

A glance at the map of Europe in 1810 reveals the startling fact that there were then only three really independent nations, France, England, and Russia. The French Empire extended from the

Baltic sea to the Bay of Naples; Spain was conquered and ruled by Napoleon's brother, Joseph; Southern Italy was governed by his marshal and brother-in-law, Murat, as King of Naples; Western Germany was, as we have seen, a French protectorate; Austria and Prussia, beaten and almost annihilated, were subject to Napoleon's dictation.

Uprising against Napoleon

Yet this wonderful empire was built on unstable foundations. It had been put together in a short time by the genius of one man, and therefore depended too much upon him alone for its existence. In spite of the fact that Napoleon brought to the conquered peoples the blessings of enlightened and efficient government, nevertheless, a spirit of nationalism, the desire of each people to live its own life in its own way, was rapidly growing and was bound to be his undoing. In Spain a popular uprising took place, and his armies were driven out of the country. Prussia's great national awakening brought about the regeneration of her political and economic systems. The disastrous Russian campaign in 1812 was a signal for the uprising of the peoples in the Empire, and Napoleon was badly beaten at the Battle of Leipzig, in 1813. He was deposed and banished to the island of Elba; he escaped, and again made war on the Allies. Again he was defeated, this time at Waterloo, in 1815. The great conqueror surrendered and was banished to the island of St. Helena, where he died on May 5, 1821.

The Heritage of the French Revolution

The heritage that the French Revolution gave to the world was of incalculable importance for the progress of mankind. It introduced a dynamic element into society by showing that it was possible to accelerate the rate of progress and, by so doing, to hasten the ripening of history. Unfortunately, much of the good accomplished was marred by violence and bloodshed, so that the word "revolution" has acquired a sinister meaning. Now that universal suffrage is established, peaceful revolutions, by way of elections, take place periodically in almost every country.

Violent methods are, therefore, discountenanced by all people who desire to see progress made in an orderly manner; for only by peaceful means are necessary changes made permanent in democratic communities. Political democracy, in royal or republican form, was another contribution of the French Revolution. The absolute monarch became the "chief executive" of the State, and the doctrine of divine right was repudiated both in theory and in practice. Along with democracy came a new conception of nationality, namely, the "people-nation." Hitherto, the king and the State had been identical; now, another sovereign, the people, was enthroned; and for that reason a new *national* flag was adopted. The destruction of economic feudalism raised the status of the peasantry and elevated the middle classes to power. From one point of view, the French Revolution may be regarded as a struggle for the control of the Government between the nobility and clergy on the one side and the middle classes and peasants on the other. Progress, political, social, and intellectual, became the battle-cry of the partisans of the Revolution everywhere in Europe, and the revolutionary spirit found expression in a new literature of protest. Hugo and Lamartine in France, Byron and Shelley in England, and Heine in Germany, voiced the discontent of the millions who longed to make the world a better place in which to live. Literature had become touched with politics and economics. The revolutionary doctrine that France gave to the world was to bear fruit in the uprisings of 1830 and 1848, which resulted in the establishment of democratic government in nearly every country of Europe.

CHAPTER II

RESTORATION AND REACTION

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

THE great European empire established by the military and diplomatic genius of Napoleon collapsed the moment his strong arm was no longer there to maintain it. After the Emperor's downfall, a great international convention was called at Vienna to settle the conflicting claims of dynasties and nations to the parts of the Napoleonic structure. This Congress of Vienna, as it was called, sat from September 14, 1814, to June 15, 1815, and contained representatives from every nation in Europe except Turkey. It counted among its delegates many of the distinguished monarchs and statesmen of the day, including the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia and Bavaria, Stein, Hardenberg, Von Humboldt, the Duke of Wellington, Metternich, and Talleyrand. The Congress was not a deliberative body with power to issue decrees and resolutions binding upon the nations; it was, rather, a convenient meeting-place for the princes and statesmen of Europe where they were able to make treaties with one another and to agree about general policies. Even before the Congress had met, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had come to an agreement as to the line of policy they were to pursue.

Organization of the Congress

The Congress, in partitioning the Napoleonic empire, paid more regard to dynastic than to national claims. It refused to recognize the principle of nationalism. Instead, it asserted the doctrine of "legitimacy," or the prior right of the old dynasties to govern their former subjects, irrespective of the wishes of the latter or of the claims of the monarchs set up by Napoleon.

Disregard of nationalism

Holland was restored to the House of Orange, and to it was added the Austrian Netherlands, now known as

Belgium, the majority of whose inhabitants differed in blood, speech, religion, and traditions from the Dutch. Norway, contrary to her desires, was taken away from Denmark and given to Sweden, although the Napoleonic king, Bernadotte, was retained as King of Sweden because of his faithfulness to the cause of the Allies. Russia was allowed to retain Finland and Bessarabia, and received, in addition, the largest part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, formerly part of the now extinct Kingdom of Poland. Switzerland was permitted to continue as a federal republic, and was "neutralized"; i.e., the Great Powers guaranteed her neutrality by promising never to declare war against her or to send troops across her borders. England, not desiring any territory on the continent of Europe, received as her recompense Helgoland, Malta, Trinidad, Ceylon, and Cape Colony. To Spain was restored merely her former dynasty. Austria, on the contrary, made great gains in territory. To her were restored her Polish provinces, and she was given the Illyrian lands along the Adriatic coast; Lombardy-Venetia, the two richest provinces in Italy, were added as a compensation for her loss of the Austrian Netherlands. Austria's population was now enlarged by about five millions, but it had become more heterogeneous than ever, for there were now several millions of dissatisfied, rebellious Italians among the many races in her dominions.

Restoration of lands to former rulers

Two "geographic expressions," Germany and Italy, issued from the Congress. A crowd of exiled German princelings came to Vienna demanding to be restored on the ground of "legitimacy." But the influence of the larger states like Prussia, Bavaria, and Württemberg, which had profited by the suppression of their small neighbors, was too powerful for them; and for that reason the great consolidation effected in Germany by Napoleon was allowed to remain virtually undisturbed. Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, with its hundreds of tiny states, there was now organized the German Confederation consisting of only thirty-eight states. This union

Germany

did not create a United Germany at all, as the bond between the members was very loose. Each state possessed almost complete sovereignty, with its own tariff, its own system of coinage, its own army, with power to make war and alliances with whomsoever it pleased, and in general to conduct itself like an independent nation. The only bond of union was the Diet at Frankfort, representing all the states in the Confederation, which met to decide only on general policies. Loose as it was, the Confederation was, nevertheless, an important step in the history of German unity. Prussia, which had all but disappeared from the map of Europe as a result of her defeat by Napoleon, was now considerably strengthened. She recovered her former territory, and in addition received two fifths of Saxony as well as lands along the Rhine. The inclusion of Prussia and Austria in the Confederation accentuated the rivalry between them for the leadership of the German people, which was to have important consequences later.

Italy

That other "geographical expression," Italy, fared badly at the hands of the Congress. The country was once more broken up into petty states, and the exiled rulers were restored to their thrones. In the South was erected the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which included the island of Sicily and the mainland called Naples; the States of the Church were once more put under the rule of the Pope; the Duchies of Parma and Modena and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany were reëstablished. In the North, the Kingdom of Sardinia, consisting of the island of Sardinia and the mainland, called Piedmont, was restored and enlarged by the addition of the former Republic of Genoa. As we have just seen, Lombardy-Venetia were annexed to Austria.[1] This introduction of a foreign element into Italian affairs was still further to complicate the problem of unifying the country.

France escaped with her national life at the cost of her empire. She shrank to her former size, the vast territory conquered by Napoleon being shorn away from her by the Congress without the least compunction. She was, moreover, forced to pay a heavy indemnity, and her territory was occupied for three years by an army of the Allies. There persisted a haunting fear in Europe that the Napoleonic exploits might some day be repeated, and for this reason France's neighbors, Holland, Prussia, and Austria, were strengthened that they might act as a bulwark against future aggression. What remained to France of the First Empire was a glorious memory of military victories unmatched in the history of former times.

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[1] Altogether there were ten Italian states, the seven mentioned above and three tiny ones, Lucca, San Marino, and Monaco.

France

SUPPRESSION OF LIBERALISM

The restoration of the exiled monarchs to the thrones of their ancestors was at the same time a restoration of the ideals of government for which they stood. Absolute monarchy based upon "divine right" was reëstablished; and union between throne and altar was the constant care of those who desired a state of things in which democracy should play no part. The great problem that confronted the statesmen of the Restoration was how to prevent the order established by the Congress of Vienna from being destroyed by revolutionary outbreaks. France, especially, as the home of revolution, needed careful watching. A coalition of great Powers, known as the Quadruple Alliance, composed of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England,[1] was organized, in 1815, for the purpose of preserving the "tranquillity of Europe." It was to meet every year to hold a sort of political inquest on the state of Europe, to suppress rebellions, and to advise on the best means of preventing the spread of democratic ideas. The moving spirit of this league to enforce autocracy was the Austrian, Prince Metternich, who was firmly convinced that the only way to fight revolutionary movements which, owing to the French Revolution, had become international, was by a compact of the despots pledged to sup-

Restoration of absolutism

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[1] England later withdrew from the Alliance because her policies in this and other matters diverged from those of her allies.

port one another in case of an uprising. If revolution was to be international, so would be repression. Because of this, Metternich developed his theory of "intervention": namely, that Europe was a social and political unit with a uniform system of government and society; hence an attack on any part of it would be fatal to the whole unless defended by the whole. International congresses were held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822, where the principle of "intervention" was adopted by the powers. The Congress of Laibach was directly instrumental in restoring the tyrannical King Ferdinand of Naples.[1] Because of its activity in suppressing revolutions, the Quadruple Alliance, or, as it was generally called, the Holy Alliance, earned the bitter hatred of the European liberals.

Intellectual repression

To physical force, which is never of itself sufficient to stamp out ideas, was added intellectual repression. A well-organized system of espionage and censorship was established in every country, especially in Germany and in Italy, where despotism had never been seriously challenged. Public meetings were forbidden, the right of association and freedom of speech strictly limited, and the press vigorously censored. The democratic movement was, as a consequence, driven underground; secret societies were formed, like the *Burschenschaften* in Germany and the Carbonari in Italy, to combat by agitation, and even by force, the repressive Governments of the time.

Metternich

The political spokesman of the new generation was Clement, Prince of Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen, the famous Austrian statesman, commonly known as Prince Metternich, who was the leading figure of the Congress of Vienna, and who became the master spirit of the Restoration period. As a diplomat, he dictated international policies for a generation; as a statesman, his advice was eagerly sought by the restored princes to whom he became a guide, philosopher, and friend. Metternich was the consistent foe of democracy in every form whatsoever; and the system established by the Congress of Vienna was to him almost the last word in political wisdom. He set his face like flint against suggestions of change of any sort. Reformers should be reduced to silence, as "concession will not satisfy but only embolden them in their pretensions to power," he declared. The sum of all evil is revolution, "a hydra with open jaws to swallow the social order." Liberty was a malady of which the people must be cured if social health was to continue. Parliamentary government was a "perpetual somersault," which led to a lack of responsibility in both rulers and ruled. Metternich was quite sincerely convinced that an orderly civilization could not exist without a system of absolute monarchy dominated by religious motives. He advised the princes to "maintain religious principles in all their purity, and not to allow the faith to be attacked and morality to be interpreted according to the social contract or according to the visions of foolish sectarians." Like many others of his day, he had been frightened by the violence of the Reign of Terror, and so had confused democracy with terrorism, and even with anarchy. He did not and could not see the great good which the French Revolution had accomplished, for the reason that he was, above all, a statesman of the *status quo*, or things as they are. So conscious was Metternich of his own importance that he believed himself chosen of God to guide the destinies of Europe. He became the mirror of diplomacy of the reactionary period which followed the downfall of Napoleon, a devoted servant of the despots, a master of subtle and secret intrigue, and an adroit manipulator of the State in the interest of the aristocratic class to which he belonged.

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[1] See p. 200.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE

Religious revival

A spirit of religious conservatism characterized the Restoration period. The rationalistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, with its disbelief in revealed religion, was now relegated to the background by a revival of religious enthusiasm which found expression both in literature and in politics. Chateaubriand's great work, *The Genius of Christianity*, is a most eloquent tribute, by a distinguished French writer, to the ideals of the Christian faith and to its influence on character and civilization. In Joseph de Maistre's book, *The Pope*, the medieval ideal of the supremacy of the Church in all matters, temporal as well as spiritual, is advocated with great ability and learning.

The Holy Alliance

But the most remarkable expression of the religious revival was the formation, on September 26, 1815, of the Holy Alliance, composed of the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. These princes issued a manifesto to an astonished world, in which they declared their belief in the "solemn Truths taught by the religion of God, our Saviour," and pledged themselves "to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity, and Peace," which, they asserted, could remedy all human imperfections. It was their intention, they solemnly averred, to be fathers to their subjects, who were urged "to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour taught to Mankind." They also pledged themselves to assist one another in maintaining the ideas contained in the manifesto. This document was inspired by Tsar Alexander I of Russia, who was greatly influenced by a religious mystic named Madame de Krüdener. A chorus of criticism and ridicule greeted its publication. It was variously described as "a sonorous nothing" and as a "sublime piece of mysticism and nonsense." To many liberals, the Holy Alliance came to signify a combination of despots who were plotting to suppress democratic movements under cover of religion. As the leading members of the Holy Alliance were the same as those of the Quadruple Alliance, the latter has often been confused with the former. The Holy Alliance may be regarded not as a treaty between the Great Powers, but rather as an expression of the state of mind of the rulers of Europe regarding the great problems raised by the French Revolution. Once more benevolent despotism prepared to make democracy undesirable by making it needless.

Failure of the Restoration

At best, the Europe of the Restoration was but a phantom of its former self. Many of the changes inaugurated by the French Revolution and by Napoleon could not be abolished without a violent wrench of the entire social system, and so were allowed to remain. The Holy Roman Empire was gone, feudalism was gone, and gone was the old authority of the Church. If absolute monarchy did return, it did so without popular endorsement, for the doctrine of "divine right" was now being preached to unwilling ears. The generation that had seen so many kings hurled from their thrones during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods found it difficult to believe in a divine sanction of governments that could be so easily overturned. Absolute monarchy, feared for ages as all-powerful, had but to show its weakness to become ridiculous. Although Napoleon had preached "divine right," he did more to discredit the doctrine than even the French Revolution. For the first time, mankind saw in the bright light of the nineteenth century how kings were made and unmade by force of arms. And now that its moral authority was gone, absolutism could maintain itself only by resorting to brute force. Sullen obedience had succeeded loyal devotion among the masses of Europe.

CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

It requires a great deal of effort to imagine our present world, with its factories, railroads, steamboats, telegraphs, and telephones, as having been at any time different from what it is to-day. Yet all these wonderful things are but a century old, and the product of that great change in human affairs known as the "Industrial Revolution."

Importance of the Industrial Revolution

The term "revolution" is generally applied to a popular uprising that is characterized by violence of speech and action, and which aims to bring about changes beneficial to mankind. During the Industrial Revolution no speeches were made, no conventions were held, no battles were fought! Nevertheless, this silent revolution, by altering radically the conditions of life for millions of human beings, may be truly regarded as the greatest of all revolutions in history, and as marking the end of the civilization of the past and the beginning of the civilization of the present and of the future. "It was a revolution," says a recent writer, "which has completely changed the face of modern Europe and of the new world, for it introduced a new race of men — the men who work with machinery instead of with their hands, who cluster together in cities instead of spreading over the land in villages and hamlets; the men who trade with those of other nations as readily as with those of their own town; the men whose workshops are moved by the great forces of nature instead of the human hand, and whose market is no longer the city or the country, but the world itself."[1]

It was in England at the close of the eighteenth century that this most wonderful of all changes originated. That is why it is essential that we confine ourselves mainly to England in studying the Industrial Revolution, just as it is necessary to study Germany in relation to the Protestant Revolution, and France in relation to the French Revolution. The presence of great deposits of coal and iron, the accumulation of capital seeking investment, the existence of a fine merchant marine ready to transport great quantities of goods, the sudden increase in the supply of labor due to the Agricultural Revolution,[1] — all these combined to stimulate the practical character of English genius, and the result was the astonishing series of inventions by Englishmen which ushered in the Industrial Revolution.

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[1] H. deB. Gibbins, *Economic and Industrial Progress*, p. 3.

Reasons for its origin in England

The Domestic System

Next to food, the production of cloth is the most important factor in human existence. Before the advent of machinery, the process of converting the raw materials, wool, cotton, or flax, into cloth was quite simple. In the first place, the raw material was cleansed and "carded" or combed, in order to convert the knotted mass into straightened fibers for easy manipulation. The fibers were then fastened to a stick which was attached to a simple machine called a spinning-wheel, which consisted of a wheel and spindle worked by a treadle. As the wheel revolved, it drew out of the mass attached to the distaff a fine, strong thread. A still more primitive method of obtaining thread was by the use of a hand "spindle," or stick, with a hook at one end with which the thread was drawn out from the mass of raw material on a distaff.

How thread was formerly made

The weaving of thread into cloth was done by means of another simple contrivance, the hand-loom, which consisted of a frame made of wooden rollers. Horizontal threads, called the "warp," were attached to the frame, and vertical threads, called the "woof," were then inserted by means of the "shuttle" or notched stick. The interlacing of the warp and the woof resulted in cloth, closely or loosely woven as one desired, ready to be made into garments by the tailor's art.

Hand-loom weaving

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[1] See p. 55.

The domestic system

The system of production, known as the "domestic" or "cottage system" because the work was done mainly at home, was as simple as the machinery itself. Under the guild system prevalent in the Middle Ages, the master craftsman had bought the raw material, worked it up into the finished product in his shop with the aid of assistants, and sold it directly to his neighbors or at the fairs. Under the domestic system which came into existence in England as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, there appeared a middleman, the *entrepreneur*, who distributed raw material to the artisans to be manufactured on the basis of "piece-work," so much wages for so much work. Sometimes the *entrepreneur* even rented the tools to the artisan. But the work was performed by the latter at his home, which was generally in the country or in the city suburbs, under conditions determined by him. All the members of the household were employed, young children no less than the wife and domestics. The women did the spinning. So universal was the domestic system and so closely were the women associated with spinning, that a woman at the spinning-wheel became the symbol of home life.[1]

Conditions under the "domestic system"

Conditions under this system were simple in comparison with those in our modern industrial life. There was no overproduction, no great fluctuation of price, no panics, and no great unemployment, because the goods made were staple articles for a limited and definitely known market. Such luxuries as were in demand were importations from the East for the use of the wealthy few. What was manufactured was produced neither at random nor for speculation but to supply the needs of the locality, and consequently trade was fairly regular. Furthermore, the artisan did not depend solely on his trade for a living; he supplemented it by farming on a small scale. He generally owned a plot of ground, a half dozen acres at most, to which he and his staff turned in seasons of diminished demand. If the "domestic system" rarely made for wealth, it as rarely brought utter destitution. Conditions of life for the laborers, although not at all like the happy state often pictured by old-fashioned admirers of the domestic system, were yet in some respects far better than those under our present factory system.

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[1] The term "spinster," applied to an unmarried woman, originated in the fact that, having no children to take care of, she spun all her life.

Capitalism and the domestic system

Capital under the domestic system was yet too closely intertwined with labor to play the peculiar rôle that it does to-day. There were no large factories operated by corporations who owned the machinery, who employed many laborers on a daily or weekly wage, and who disposed of the output. It was in commerce only, particularly in the chartered companies, that capitalists exerted a directing influence. In the production of cotton cloth a middleman had appeared, as raw cotton, unlike wool or linen, had to be imported. The importer was generally a town capitalist from whom the artisans obtained their supply of cotton and sometimes even their tools. Here was an approach to the present system of the separation of capital and labor. The domestic system imposed fewer restrictions on the freedom of enterprise than did the guild system, which it had displaced in England; and in this freedom the capitalistic middleman found his opportunity. It may, therefore, be said that in the domestic system lay the germ of modern capitalism.

MECHANICAL INVENTIONS

True nature of the machine

In England toward the close of the eighteenth century that series of mechanical inventions began to appear which completely revolutionized the process of manufacture. To understand the true nature and function of a machine, we must remember that it is not merely a more dexterous *tool* to aid man in the production of goods; it is, more accurately speaking, a kind of non-human slave, tireless and nerveless, that is itself a producer. Man's part is perfunctory: to pull a lever, to push a button, or to turn a crank; the more automatic the machine becomes, the less is there need of man's assistance.

The machine, be its motive power wind, tide, waterfall, steam, or electricity, represents man's success in harnessing nature to the service of humanity. Space and time are annihilated by the locomotive, the steamship, the telegraph, and the aeroplane; and the goods man uses for clothing and in the industries are multiplied by nimble fingers of steel with unbelievable speed. The inventors were generally skilled artisans or scientific experimenters whose work was in no sense entirely new. The heroic theory of invention, namely, that a new idea springs fully developed from the brain of one man, is, like all other heroic theories, a myth. The inventor is always a man who has *perfected* a process which others, as well as himself, have been experimenting with, studying, and investigating.

Uses of machinery

The first of the inventions was Kay's "flying shuttle" (1733), which enabled a weaver to jerk the shuttle back and forth by means of a handle, thus increasing the speed of operation. This, by making possible more rapid weaving, stimulated a demand for more thread, and led to the invention (1765), by a clever weaver named James Hargreaves, of a spinning-machine known as the "spinning-jenny." It consisted of a simple wooden frame on which eight spindles revolved by the turning of a wheel, and which produced eight threads at one time. The "spinning-jenny" was soon improved so that a child turning the wheel did the work of twenty spinners.[1] One invention stimulated another, and before long (1769) Richard Arkwright gave to the world his famous "water-frame," a series of revolving rollers, rotating at varying speeds, which spun cotton thread so firmly that an all-cotton cloth could now be made. Arkwright's device possessed another advantage: it was run by water-power instead of by hand or foot. In 1779 a new invention, known as Crompton's "mule," made its appearance. It combined the advantages of the

Spinning- and weaving-machines

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[1] At present a spinning-machine runs as many as one thousand spindles, each turning at the rate of ten thousand revolutions a minute; and it needs only one man and two boys to tend two thousand spindles.

"spinning-jenny" with that of the "water-frame" so that thread could now be spun with greater rapidity. The increased production of thread called for more rapid methods of weaving. This demand was met by Cartwright's "power-loom" (1785), by which the weaving process was conducted with great rapidity in a factory operated by water-power. The hand-loom of the "domestic system" was now doomed; a complete revolution had been effected in the ancient art of the weaver.

The cotton-gin

The present wide use of cotton cloth in the manufacture of clothing is of comparatively recent date. Prior to the eighteenth century, wool and linen, particularly the former, were the materials generally used for this purpose. The invention of the cotton-gin, in 1793, by the American, Eli Whitney, marks a revolution in the history of clothes. It made possible the rapid removal of seeds from the cotton fibers by a mechanical device instead of by slow human fingers. The cotton-gin stimulated enormously the production of cotton, and it was now used for making cheap clothing. Laws were at first passed in England forbidding the use of cotton clothes because it was feared that the woolen industry, England's leading industry, would be ruined. But the great market for cotton clothing in India and the knowledge that the cold climate of England would always insure a demand for woolen garments overcame the opposition; the manufacture of cotton became the greatest factor in England's industrial development and the main source of her prosperity. In 1785 cylinder printing was invented, whereby a roller, with a design engraved upon it, was run over the cloth. Previously patterns had been cut on wooden blocks and then stamped on the cloth. Finally, in 1800, a quick method of bleaching by the use of chemicals was discovered, and thereafter it was no longer necessary to expose cloth to the sun for weeks in order to accomplish this result.

The use of water-power led to the building of factories called "mills" near streams, like those which ground wheat into flour. But the disadvantage of a "mill" was that

The steam-engine

its location was determined by geographic conditions: it must perforce be placed near a rapid stream or waterfall, irrespective of the distance from the source of the raw material or of centers of distribution. This limitation was a serious drawback to a full and free development of the usefulness of machinery, a limitation imposed by nature itself. The problem of making the factory completely independent of nature was solved by the invention of the steam-engine. That cold has the power to contract and heat to expand substances had been known for a long time; but the application of this principle to practical life is of recent date. In 1705 Newcomen invented a simple engine in which a piston was pushed up and down by alternately filling a cylinder with steam and then condensing it. The piston was connected with a rod, and the rod in turn with a pump, and the result was a steam pump. It was James Watt, however, who became the father of the modern steam-engine, the giant that operates machinery in factories, propels ships across the seas, and draws trains across continents. Watt's improvement of Newcomen's contrivance in 1769 was so great that it amounted almost to a new invention. By introducing a system of valves, the working of the steam-engine became regular and automatic; by attaching a wheel and connecting it by means of a belt with a spinning- or weaving-machine, the latter could be driven by steam-power. Factories, having thus been made independent of stream and fall, were henceforth established near their source of power, the coal and iron regions.

Steel

The demand for machinery in turn created a demand for a hard and durable metal from which to construct it. For centuries the smelting of iron had been done by means of a charcoal furnace with the aid of hand-bellows; and a large quantity of wood was required to smelt a small quantity of iron. In 1760 a blast furnace was invented in which coal was substituted for wood, and the smelting process was greatly accelerated; in 1790 steam-power was applied to the blast. The greatest advance in the method of producing steel, however, came with the Bessemer process (1856) which ushered in the Age of Steel. Raw iron, called "pig iron," is brittle because it contains impurities; when these are removed, the metal becomes the tougher product known as "steel." By the Bessemer process the impurities are first oxidized and then removed by forcing currents of air through the iron. A further improvement was made in 1864 by the Siemens-Martin, or "open-hearth," method, by which the impurities were burned out and other iron burned in. So various and manifold are the uses of steel that it is hard to imagine how our present industrial system could go on long without it. Machinery, tools and cutlery, rails, bridges, locomotives and cars, ships and armor, innumerable and indispensable articles to be seen on every side in factory, office, and home, from immense building girders to fine watch springs, are made from steel. As coal was the food, and iron the bone and sinew, of the new slave, the machine, an enormous stimulus was given to the production of these two elements which have become the mainstay of modern industry.

Revolution in Transportation

The steamboat

The ever increasing quantity of goods produced by the new machinery soon went far beyond the requirements of the locality, and even of the nation, and the problem of transporting the surplus, cheaply and quickly, to distant places engaged men's attention. The conveyances of those days, the wagon and the sailboat, were too small and too slow to solve the problem. Necessity again proved the mother of invention. It was an American, Robert Fulton, who, in 1807, solved the problem of steam navigation by the launching of the first steamboat, the Clermont, on the Hudson River. In 1819 the American steamer Savannah crossed the Atlantic in twenty-nine days, but she had to use sail for part of the voyage. The first ship to cross the Atlantic using steam for the entire trip was the Great Western, a boat of 1378 tons and 212 feet in length. She made the trip in 1838 and it took her fifteen days. At first steamships were built of wood, but it was found that iron ships were actually more buoyant than wooden ones and, moreover, they were stronger and more rigid. By the middle of the nineteenth century the building of iron ships became general.

The locomotive

What Fulton did for the steamship George Stephenson did for the locomotive. Several attempts had been made to solve the problem of steam locomotion on land, but Stephenson was the first to succeed. His locomotive, the Puffing Billy, built in 1814, broke down; but the next one, the famous Rocket, built in 1830, won a prize and was used on the first railway in England. Compared with a modern locomotive it was almost a toy, for its weight was only seven tons and its average speed but thirteen miles an hour.

Revolution in Communication

In the past, communication was almost entirely a part of transportation. If one wished to send a message to a distant place, almost the only means were by wagon, post-rider, or boat. Perhaps the most marvelous of all inventions have been in methods of communication. In the middle of the nineteenth century the electric telegraph was produced, perfected after many experiments by an Englishman, Charles Wheatstone, and by two Americans, Samuel F. B. Morse and Alfred Vail. The principle of telegraphy is based on a code of signals which are sent from one end of a wire and are reproduced at the other end by the action of an electro-magnet. Cyrus W. Field and an Englishman, Sir Charles Bright, first established telegraphic communication across water in 1866 by the laying of the Atlantic cable. To-day, cables and the telegraph enable people to know almost instantly what is happening in the remotest parts of the world. The principle of the telephone was first discovered in 1860 by a German, Philip Reis, but the practical application of the idea was made by an American, Alexander Graham Bell. It is now quite an easy matter for two persons, separated by hundreds of miles, to hold a conver-

The telegraph and telephone

sation, which is made possible by a system of sound vibrations sent along a wire.

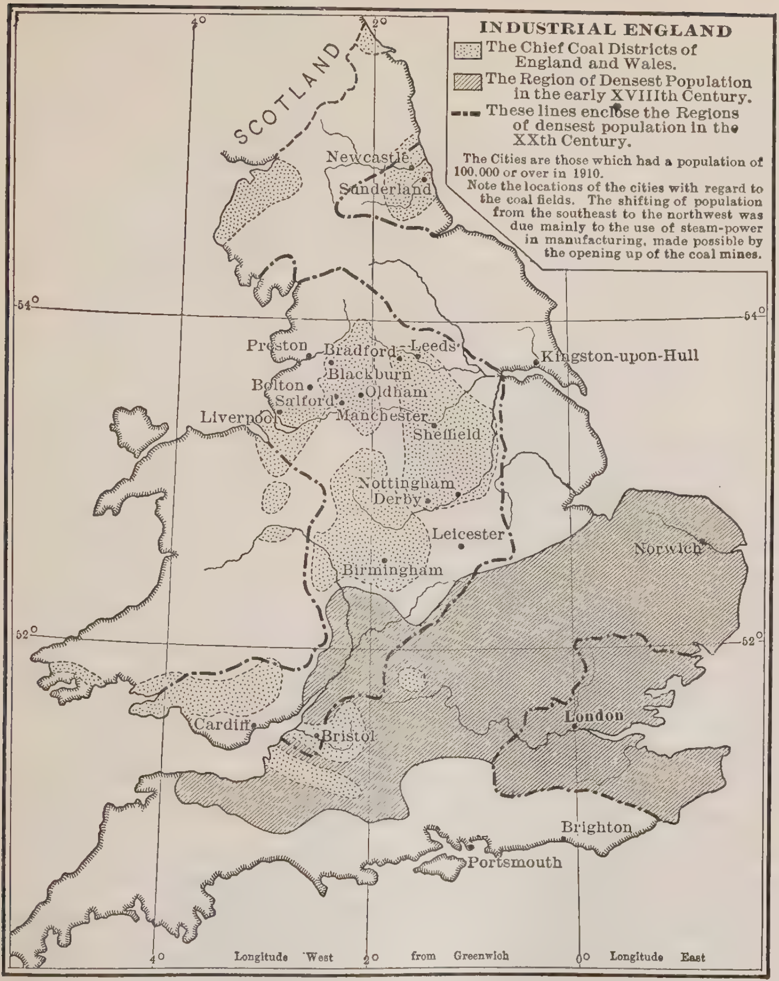
Machinery and modern life

Ever since the Industrial Revolution began, the conscious application of science to practical ends has continued with increasing zeal. Nothing now seems impossible to man's ingenuity. The human voice is reproduced by the phonograph; masterpieces of music are played by an automatic piano, the pianola; movement is faithfully reproduced by the cinematograph or "moving picture." Most remarkable of all is the success recently attained in aerial flight by means of the heavier-than-air machine, the aeroplane. Electricity is rapidly superseding steam as the chief motive power; trains are moved, factories are run, houses are heated and lighted, and food is cooked by electricity. The Industrial Revolution, having transformed Europe and America, is now invading the ancient civilizations of the East, Japan, India, and China, where it is rapidly effecting changes in the lives of the inhabitants as no other influence has done in centuries.

RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The results of the Industrial Revolution soon became evident. In scarcely a half-century, the face of England changed startlingly. Instead of farms, hamlets, and an occasional town, there appeared immense cities, with teeming populations huddled around gigantic factories. Lancashire and the West Riding, the great cotton manufacturing centers, seemed like a forest of factories, with their thousands of tall chimneys belching out clouds of smoke and their "hundreds of windows blazing forth a lurid light in the darkness and rattling with the whir and din of ceaseless machinery by day and night." England had become the "workshop of the world."

A profound effect was produced upon the distribution, the character, and the increase of the population. The effect upon the distribution of the people was twofold: on the one hand, there was a general growth of the north of England at the expense of the south, and, on the other hand, a



INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

▨ The Chief Coal Districts of England and Wales.

▨ The Region of Densest Population in the early XVIIIth Century.

▬ · ▬ These lines enclose the Regions of densest population in the XXth Century.

The Cities are those which had a population of 100,000 or over in 1910.

Note the locations of the cities with regard to the coal fields. The shifting of population from the southeast to the northwest was due mainly to the use of steam-power in manufacturing, made possible by the opening up of the coal mines.

constant movement of population from the rural to the industrial centers. In the northern part of England where there are large deposits of coal and iron, the textile, cutlery, and pottery industries made their homes. In one generation this section of the country, which had been sparsely inhabited, became the most densely populated part of Great Britain. Enormous cities, like Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, sprang into existence almost overnight. In the south, where agri-

Growth of city life

culture continued to be the main occupation, population was at a standstill or had actually decreased. The entire natural increase was absorbed into industrial life, and the countryside was being emptied for the benefit of the town. Moreover, the rate of increase in population has more than doubled. Before the Industrial Revolution every decade saw an increase in population of about six per cent; during the decade 1801–1811, the increase was twenty-one per cent.

Just as the hamlet was the typical expression of medieval life, so the factory town became the outward and visible sign of the new order. A factory may be defined as a mass of complicated machinery, manipulated by laborers, which transforms raw material into manufactured articles. Both machinery and laborers are housed in large buildings, generally made of brick, known as the "mill" or "factory." With the establishment of the factory system minute subdivision of labor became possible. Every part of the article was made separately by workers who specialized in the making of one part and in nothing else. So minute has the subdivision of labor become that at the present time there are no fewer than ninety processes in the making of a shoe: some men punch holes in the leather, others cut heels, others fit the soles, others sew on the buttons, etc. Labor of this kind requires, not trained skill, but manual dexterity, easily acquired through the constant repetition of the same process. The modern machine needs but slight guidance to turn out unerringly thousands of articles; frequent improvements have made it almost human in its automatic intelligence, while man has become machine-like in his monotonous labor.

Subdivision of labor

The increase in output due to the introduction of machinery was so great that it is impossible to estimate it in definite figures. Large-scale production for the world market became the order of the day, and a great commercial expansion followed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. As the railway and steamship made possible rapid transportation to every part of the

Increase of production

world, every effort was made to stimulate old and to open new markets. Newer means of communication, like the cable, telegraph, telephone, and "wireless," have tended to unify the world market. Prices are quoted instantly the world over; hence buyer and seller are quickly brought together. Safety devices, a widespread system of insurance, and good policing have abated most of the dangers from accidents and robbery that formerly attended commerce.

The capitalist class

To the Industrial Revolution is directly due the appearance of two new elements in society, the capitalists and the working class. The capitalist was the new rich man who appeared side by side with the landed aristocrat in the country and the wealthy merchant in the city. By a capitalist is meant a person who invests his money in industrial enterprises like factories, railways, mines, and steamships, from which he derives dividends or profits. The opportunity for making money was greatly increased by the new inventions, as the resources of the world could for the first time be fully exploited. Profits were large; and enormous fortunes were made by the shrewd and enterprising "captains of industry," who before long quickly outstripped in wealth both aristocrats and merchants. Most of the capitalists came from the wealthier townsmen; many members of the old trading companies and sometimes even craftsmen found opportunities to apply their money or ingenuity in the new industrial order. The great power of the new class lay not only in their wealth, but even more in their ownership or control of the new machinery of production upon which millions depended for their livelihood. The influence of the old landed aristocracy began to dwindle before that of the new moneyed aristocracy, the nobility of industrial society who, as we shall see, were to oust the former from their centuries-old control of the State. The middle classes, likewise, greatly increased in numbers and influence. As shopkeepers and professional men, they found in the rapidly growing cities greater opportunities for money-making than they had ever before known.

Equally important socially was the appearance of the new poor man, the "workingman." In the past the great mass of poor had been the serfs in the country and the lower-grade artisans in the town. When the factory came, thousand of peasants flocked to the city to find work, some because they were rather glad of an opportunity to leave the dull, monotonous life of the farm, others, as in England, because they were ousted from their agricultural holdings.[1] The craftsmen found the competition of the factory too much for them, as the machine made things much cheaper, if not better, than their handiwork; consequently, many artisans were ruined by the labor of the "iron men," as the machines were called. It was no comfort to them to be told that the world would benefit in the long run from the use of the new inventions, which, they discovered, tended more to increase the profits of the capitalists than to better the condition of the laborers. A series of riots broke out against the "iron men"; many machines were destroyed by mobs, and Hargreaves himself was attacked by the rioters. But it was all in vain. The artisans were soon forced to give up their hopeless struggle against machinery and to find places in the factories.

The working class

The coming of the machine made all laborers equal; all were "hands" whose function was merely to guide in dull monotony the new slave of steel. The factory became a social group, often a very large one; it was, therefore, impossible to maintain anything like the personal relations that used to exist between employer and employee in the days of the "domestic system." The individual worker was lost in the great mass, and the owner of the factory was often not a person at all, but a corporation employing managers to conduct the factory. This tended to weaken the sense of responsibility; and evil conditions were often tolerated in the factories because the owners did not know of their existence. The greed for large profits caused many capital-

Impersonal relations between employers and employees ists to exploit their laborers mercilessly and blinded them to the evils that they were creating in society.

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[1] See p. 55.

Evil conditions in the factories

In spite of the fact that the factory worker was outwardly more free than the peasant or artisan, he was in reality more dependent than either. The peasant, although he might be a serf, had land from which he could eke out an existence no matter how meager; the artisan had his tools with which he could at any time gain a livelihood; but the landless and toolless "hand" was at the mercy of the man to whom he came seeking for a "job," for he was obliged to accept whatever terms were offered. Naturally the wages that he received were low, his hours of labor long, and his place of work unsanitary and even dangerous. The laborers' homes were in barrack-like structures called "tenement houses," badly ventilated, dingy, and crowded. Great numbers of human beings in the large cities were constantly on the edge of starvation, the result of low wages and unemployment. Work itself sometimes became a luxury. Women and children were employed on a large scale because the part of human labor in machine production is so simple that unskilled women and little children could supply it without great difficulty. The wages that they received were incredibly low. "It is questionable," wrote the great English philosopher and economist, John Stuart Mill, in 1857, "if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes, but they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish." Nevertheless, in spite of these evils the factory system, even at its worst, meant a great step of progress to the lower classes, who at that time were serfs or semi-serfs on large landed estates, working from sunrise to sunset, dwelling in hovels amid conditions that were almost primitive and living on food that was coarse and not too plentiful. To many peasants the factory spelled opportunity to be free, to work for regular wages, and to gain the social and educational advantages offered by the town; and they flocked to it in great numbers happy to become "hands" under any conditions.

Unemployment

As long as society was based on agriculture, and commerce was merely local, there was a high degree of security for all classes of the population. Prices varied but little, employment was regular, and panics were almost unknown. It was only in the case of an exceedingly bad harvest that there was what might be termed an "agricultural panic." But the change to an industrial society, although it brought great prosperity, at the same time brought with it instability and uncertainty. Trade based upon a world market is bound to be irregular and fluctuating; the supply of raw material varies every year; capital is sometimes unwisely invested; new machinery constantly displaces labor and changes the character of the industry; often, too, there is over-production. Such conditions tend to produce a general dislocation of trade, known as a "panic," which reduces or destroys the profits of capital, throws thousands of laborers out of work, and so brings misery and ruin to many. Insecurity of employment, even more than low wages, is the haunting fear of millions of workingmen, who seldom earn enough to tide them over periods of enforced idleness.

Labor saving through machinery

Once a momentum was given to invention, one improvement succeeded another in rapid succession, with the result that much of the labor in the factory, on the farm, and even in the home is now performed by machinery. Buildings are constructed, bread is baked, land is plowed, clothes are sewn, and floors are swept by machinery. It is not too much to hope that the time will come when human labor of the roughest kind will be entirely done away with. In the past, when labor was performed by slaves or serfs, leisure was enjoyed only by the very few wealthy persons. But now that machinery is superseding human labor, it has become possible for millions to enjoy a certain degree of leisure. The work-day is gradually being shortened to eight hours, holidays are more frequent, and vacations more general. This gives opportunities for recreation and culture to many who, in the past, were sunk in misery and ignorance. Nature, before which man once crouched in terror and helplessness, is now his willing slave, performing the most gigantic tasks at his bidding. By harnessing nature great engineering enterprises have become possible. Lofty mountains like the Alps are tunneled; suspension bridges span wide rivers; oceans are connected by great canals like the Suez and Panama; the continents of Europe and Asia are united by the Trans-Siberian Railway; ancient rivers like the Nile are made entirely navigable. Nothing now seems to bar the progress of man, who removes with the utmost ease obstacles on land and water that once appeared insuperable.

The new politics

The effects of the Industrial Revolution upon politics were far-reaching. It brought into the political arena the two new classes, capitalists and workingmen, who immediately began to clamor for political power, which up to this time had been enjoyed almost exclusively by the landed aristocracy. Democracy, hitherto an idea advocated by philosophers, became the rallying cry of the new classes who gave it the powerful support of wealth and numbers. The nineteenth century witnessed an almost continuous struggle to break down the power of aristocracy and absolute monarchy, which in many countries finally terminated in the triumph of universal suffrage and the control of the State by the majority of its citizens.

The new nationalism

The welding together of different parts of a country by the railway, steamboat, and telegraph deepened the sense of national unity. Particularly devoted to the ideal of nationalism were the new industrial classes, who needed strong governments to protect their manufactures at home and their investments abroad. The loosely knit agricultural nation, with its special privileges to localities, classes, and religions, controlled by a landed aristocracy and headed by an absolute monarch, gave place to a firmly established industrial nation, with uniform laws for all citizens, controlled by the industrial classes, and governed by representative parliaments. Old nations like France and England lost their provincial differences in customs, habits, laws, and speech. Common economic interests at last gave a solid foundation to the national aspirations of both Germans and Italians, who had remained divided for so many centuries, and led them to unite, each into a common fatherland.

The new internationalism

If nationalism was intensified, so was internationalism. The new means of transportation carried not only goods, but also people and ideas. Foreign travel has increased at an astonishing rate, and many persons are now enabled to visit foreign lands who formerly would never have set foot outside of their own country. This has inevitably led to a better understanding among the nations of the world of one another's ideals and institutions. The vast international trade that grew up as a result of the Industrial Revolution tended more and more to bind the various nations into a common economic life, each dependent for its very existence upon the other. No nation could now be self-sufficient.

Individualism

So great a change in human relations as was produced by the Industrial Revolution was bound to find expression in a new philosophy. "Individualism" was the ideal preached by the philosophers of the new order. They declared that the individual was to be allowed to work out his own salvation, particularly in economic affairs, unhampered by governmental restrictions. It was thought that the rivalry between individuals would develop strength of character and would stimulate originality by offering the rewards of wealth and fame; society would thereby be the gainer, for it would lead to an increased production of wealth. "Competition is the life of trade" was one of the aphorisms of the new school. Those individuals who survived the struggle were considered the "fit," and those who did not survive, the "unfit." To the State was assigned the rôle of *laissez faire* (French, "let alone"), by which was meant that its function was to be limited to the protection of life and property. On no account was the State to interfere between employer and employee or between buyer and seller save to prevent fraud, monopoly, or violation of contract. The Individualists were also believers in the doctrines of liberty and equality, which they desired to see applied to political, religious, and intellectual affairs on the principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none. They became stanch advocates of freedom of speech, equality of all classes before the law, religious toleration, and extension of the suffrage.

Naturally enough, the philosophers of individualism were mainly Englishmen. The most eminent were Adam Smith, whose book, *The Wealth of Nations*, became the Bible of the new school, and Jeremy Bentham, whose *Principles of Legislation* formulated the doctrines of political individualism. A group of brilliant writers, consisting of David Ricardo, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Robert Malthus, known as the Manchester School,[1] preached the doctrine of individualism in economics with such extraordinary ability that it was universally accepted for several generations. This philosophy harmonized well with the interest of the manufacturers, who dreaded State interference in economic matters lest it be exerted in favor of their rivals, the landed aristocracy, or of their subordinates, the working class.

Increase in the rate of progress

The rate of human progress has been greatly accelerated by the Industrial Revolution. In the past, changes took place so slowly that many people were not aware that they took place at all. The only noticeable changes were those produced by invasions of hostile armies, by pestilential diseases, or by natural calamities like earthquakes and fires. Hence, conservatism was the principle adhered to, for it meant the conservation of civilization. Moreover, an agricultural society is static; communication is slow and arduous; and it is consequently difficult to spread new ideas. As long as the basis of a people's social life remains unchanged, their ideas remain likewise unchanged. But an industrial society is dynamic. A factory appears in an isolated hamlet, and immediately a bustling city comes into being, with railways, telegraphs, telephones, and newspapers connecting it with the rest of the world. As a result, old habits are broken up, new relations are established, and sometimes a new population appears in the place of the old. The "good old times" pass quickly and new traditions take root; progress becomes the law of life, and backward communities soon decay and die.

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[1] The city of Manchester became famous as the industrial capital of England.

Influence of the Industrial Revolution on thought

In the Age of Machinery there appeared a new politics, a new history, and even new subjects of study, like Political Economy, Political Science, and Sociology. History, particularly, is being explained from new points of view. Instead of describing battles, sieges, treaties, dynasties, constitutions, and political parties almost exclusively, it concerns itself also with explaining how social and economic conditions influence the life and character of a people. These forces, although they have always been influential in moulding the destinies of nations, were lost sight of in the study of the more sensational happenings of war and politics. But the Industrial Revolution has made these forces visible. We see more clearly to-day how economic changes affect political development; how weak, divided, agricultural Germany became strong, united, industrial Germany; how the British system of government has been modified as a result of social and economic changes; how semi-agricultural, semi-industrial France has oscillated between revolution and reaction; and how the American railway, more than the Federal Constitution, has made of the United States a "more perfect Union." [1]

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[1] For a description of the Industrial Revolution in Germany, see pp. 297–307; in France, pp. 91–93; in Russia, pp. 542–545; of its relation to colonial expansion, pp. 650–654.

CHAPTER IV

OLD ENGLAND

Parliament supersedes the King as ruler of England

ENGLAND has the proud distinction of being the first country to institute the system of government known as constitutional, or limited, monarchy. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1689, which resulted in the election of William of Orange to the kingship, gave to Parliament predominant power in the government of the nation, although the king continued to exercise the executive power, to appoint and remove officials, to conduct foreign affairs, and to exercise the veto power. With the coming of the Hanoverians in the person of George I (1714), another great step was taken in rendering powerless the English monarchy. The king ceased to appoint officials, to veto bills, and even to attend cabinet meetings; these functions were taken over by the cabinet, headed by the prime minister, which was responsible to Parliament for all of its acts.[1]

England, the political model of Europe

Because of England's primacy in parliamentary government she was regarded by the reformers on the Continent as the home of political freedom and liberty. The great French writers, Montesquieu and Voltaire, had written fulsome praise of the English system, which they had recommended as a model to the oppressed peoples of Europe. In the opinion of the great English jurist, Blackstone, it was the perfection of human wisdom. England, too, was the only country which had passed safely through the terrific upheaval caused by the French Revolution that had transformed every other nation in Western Europe. Freedom combined with stability seemed to be the happy condition of the inhabitants of Great Britain.

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[1] See p. 325.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Unfairness of representation

The truth was that England was far indeed from having realized the ideal of true democracy. Behind the veil of Parliament an oligarchy held sway through a system of unfair representation and shameless corruption. In 1815 the House of Commons consisted of 658 members representing Great Britain and Ireland. Of these, 186 were elected by county, or country, constituencies, 467 by boroughs, or towns, and 5 by the universities.

As we have already seen, the Industrial Revolution had produced great changes in the number and distribution of the population. In some places, particularly in the north of England, small villages had grown into large cities; in other places, as in the agricultural south, the population remained stationary, or had actually declined. But representation in the House of Commons was largely what it had been since the Middle Ages, because there did not exist a system of periodic reapportionment of seats.

The unfairness of the apportionment of representatives before 1832 was most glaring. Towns like Buckingham, with thirteen voters, Gatton with five, Orford with twenty, Middlehurst with thirteen, old Sarum with none, and Dunwich, sunk under the waters of the North Sea, all duly elected members to Parliament; whereas great cities like Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds had no representation in the national legislature. Scotland was given forty-five seats, and the county of Cornwall, with only one eighth of her population, forty-four seats. The members of Parliament from the "rotten boroughs," as the decayed towns were called, were really appointed by the local landlords, who had little difficulty in coercing the few voters, generally tenants on their estates. Many seats were uncontested because of the certainty of the election of some noble lord's candidate. A system of "borough-mongering" had grown up whereby rich men, desirous of the social distinction of being in public life, would purchase seats in

Parliament. Lord John Russell, who led in the attack upon these conditions, declared that if a stranger, who came to England full of admiration for the land of political freedom, were taken "to a green mound, and told that this green mound sent two members to Parliament; or to a green wall with three niches in it and told that these three niches sent two members to Parliament; or, if he were shown a green park, with many signs of flourishing vegetable life but none of human habitation, and told that this green park sent two members to Parliament," he would be greatly surprised. "But his surprise would increase to astonishment if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large flourishing towns, full of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representation in the assembly which was said to represent the people." [1]

Property restrictions on suffrage

The right to vote, too, was limited to comparatively a very few. According to English theory, suffrage was not a human *right*, appertaining to every citizen, but a *privilege* attached to property, particularly to landed property, or to certain offices. In some towns the mayor and council, in others the "freemen," a small group of privileged burghers, chose the member of Parliament. In the counties, only those who owned land yielding forty shillings a year income could vote in the parliamentary elections: this class, because of the disappearance of the peasant proprietors, was very small. Hence, only about five per cent of all the adult males in Great Britain and Ireland had the right to vote. In Scotland, in a population of about two million, there were only about three thousand voters. Moreover, bribery was open and prevalent, no shame attaching to vote-buying, as suffrage was considered a property right. Candidates would openly advertise their prices for votes. The method of balloting then employed was known as *viva voce*, or declaration of one's choice of candidates in public. This method encouraged coercion of electors by those who had power over them, such as landlords, employers, and officials.

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[1] Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, p. 681.

During the days of the "unreformed" House of Commons there was seldom any disagreement between that body and the House of Lords, for the reason that the electoral system then in vogue resulted in the control of the former by the latter. The Government of England before the Reform Bill of 1832 might be described as a government of the people, by the landlords, for the landlords.

Control of Commons by Lords

Religious Conditions

Privilege was as dominant a feature in the Church as it was in the Government. As long ago as 1689, the English had by law established freedom of worship, whereby any person could worship as he or she pleased, without molestation by the authorities.[1] But this did not at all mean equal recognition of all religions; on the contrary, the greatest inequality among the various religious sects existed in Great Britain well into the nineteenth century. According to the law the people were classified as (1) Anglicans, or members of the Established Church;[2] (2) Dissenters, or Nonconformists, i.e., Protestants, like the Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists, who refused to conform to the ritual and organization of the Established Church; and (3) Catholics and Jews.

The Anglican was the favored Church. It was supported by special local taxes levied on landholders irrespective of their religion, and by the income from vast properties given to the Church in times past by the Government; it had the exclusive right to register births and perform marriages; of all religious denominations in England it alone was accorded representation in the House of Lords. Anglicans were especially favored by being appointed to the higher offices in the government service and by special educational opportunities in the universities. Socially, it was considered "bad form" to profess any other faith.

Privileges of the Established Church

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[1] Catholics, Jews and Socinians were excluded from the benefits of this law.

[2] In Scotland, the Presbyterian, not the Anglican, was the Established Church.

Disabilities of non-Anglicans

The position of the Dissenters, because they were subject to disabilities, was humiliating both socially and legally. Although they were permitted to vote and to be members of Parliament, they were disqualified from holding high office in the Government. Nevertheless, the law often became a dead letter, as Parliament annually passed an Indemnity Act which legalized the official acts of the Dissenters in office. They were, however, socially ostracized; and the higher institutions of learning, like Oxford and Cambridge, where degrees were granted only to Anglicans, were practically closed to them. The Catholics and the Jews suffered not only all the disabilities of the Dissenters, but, in addition, they were barred from the public service; they could not be members of Parliament and, in many instances, they were denied the suffrage entirely.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Employment of women and children in the factories and mines

In its train the factory system brought a host of evils to the working classes, particularly to the most helpless of them, the women and children. Large numbers of workers, men, women, and children, were gathered in huge buildings with little or no provision for the safeguarding of health or for the preservation of decency; naturally, factories became hot-beds of disease, misery, and vice. The hours of labor were from twelve to sixteen, even for children; wages were down to the starvation level, and frequently the entire family, father, mother, and children, were compelled to work in the factory in order to eke out an existence. In some places women were employed in the mines, where they were harnessed to coal carts which they dragged around creeping on hands and feet through narrow and dangerous passages. Pauper children were "apprenticed" to the factory by the overseers of the poor, their only wages being food and clothes of the coarsest kind. These child slaves, some only five or six years old, slept in relays in dormitories built near the factory. Early every morning they were awakened and taken to the "mill," where, "in stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, idle fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of the merciless overlooker, and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments invented by the sharpened ingenuity of insatiable selfishness." If any were suspected of a desire to run away in order to escape from their unbearable misery, they were regarded as criminals and mercilessly chained to the machines which they operated. To the claims of humanity, many employers had become entirely deaf through their desire for large profits. But thoughtful and patriotic Englishmen realized that the rising generation of the working class was growing up under conditions which produced physical degeneracy, abject ignorance, and shocking immorality.

Charity supplements low wages

During the early part of the nineteenth century the cost of living was continually rising, whereas wages either remained stationary or rose very slowly. The employment of women and children had the effect of throwing many men out of work. By the Poor Law of 1782 those who could not support themselves by their earnings were "assisted" by "outdoor relief," the money for which was raised from the rates, or local taxes. The employers who contributed to the poor rates regarded this as a supplement added by them to the factory "hand's" weekly earnings and thereby felt themselves justified in continuing the shamefully low wages. By 1821 the number of "assisted" poor had risen to about two and a half million.

Opposition to popular education

Popular education being in a very low state, the overwhelming majority of the lower classes could neither read nor write. Private religious and philanthropic societies conducted small schools in which the rudiments of knowledge were crudely imparted to a few, who were taught by ill-paid teachers assisted by "monitors," or pupil teachers. Astonishing as it may seem, education for the lower classes was generally regarded as an evil to themselves and to the community at large. When in 1807 Samuel Whitbread first proposed in Parliament that the public should support popular education, objection was raised that it would be prejudicial to the morals and happiness of the working class; that "it would teach them to despise their lot in life instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employment to which their rank has destined them; instead of teaching them subordination it would render them fractious and refractory as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors."

Taxation of knowledge

Although freedom of the press was theoretically established when Parliament abolished official censorship in 1695, a system of "taxing knowledge," nevertheless, made a mockery of this principle. Special taxes on paper and stamp taxes on pamphlets, newspapers, and advertisements so increased the cost of publication that the average price of a newspaper was fourteen cents a copy. A cheap press, it was feared, would curry favor with its readers by advocating democratic ideas and so undermine the authority of the upper classes. It was often possible to evade the law by resorting to irregular publication or by secret circulation; and "private papers" appeared, poorly printed, badly written, and ill-informed. Presaging better days, the London *Times* installed its first steampress in 1814. The circulation rose to five thousand, but the price of a copy was eighteen cents! And outside of London there was not a single daily paper.

Barbarous treatment of prisoners

The attitude of the public toward prisoners is sufficiently shown by the barbarous criminal code and by the conditions in the prisons. Death was the penalty prescribed for about two hundred and fifty offenses, some of them as trivial as stealing five shillings worth of goods from a shop, picking pockets, stealing linen from bleaching-grounds, or harboring offenders against the revenue laws. The humanity of the juries, however, softened the application of the code, as they frequently refused to send men to the gallows for committing petty crimes. The prisons, maintained by keepers subsidized by the Government, were filthy places; men, women, and children were indiscriminately herded together, the hardened criminals with the first offenders. Naturally enough, prisons became schools for crime, young criminals learning to become more expert in their dishonest calling.

Reform championed by the middle classes

Somber as was this side of English life before the great reform movements, in the rising power and growing influence of the middle classes lay the hope of a new and happier England. The Industrial Revolution having opened for them wonderful opportunities for the rapid attainment of wealth, great power and influence accrued to this element in society, which proved to be opposed to oligarchic rule in politics, to religious discriminations, to general illiteracy, and to barbarous and archaic systems of law. During the nineteenth century the middle classes were the champions of progress in almost every field of human endeavor. From their ranks were produced the great political and social reformers like Gladstone and Bright, the leaders of thought like John Stuart Mill, Darwin, and Huxley, and, in many cases, even the champions of the working classes. To organize society on an industrial basis was the prime function of the middle class. In the process much needless suffering was inflicted, serious problems were created, and many vicious practices were condoned; nevertheless, the task once accomplished, it marked the greatest advance mankind had yet made.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

Old-fashioned methods of farming

During the eighteenth century land in Great Britain was cultivated more or less in the same manner as it had been during the Middle Ages. Under the "open-field" system, farms consisted of strips scattered in various fields, and not of compact, fenced-off areas as they generally do to-day. Every villager owned several of these strips, one of rye, another of oats, and a third of wheat. This system compelled all to work upon the strips of similar crops at the same time, and to take equally good care of their land, for if the lazy or inefficient farmer allowed weeds to grow on his strip, that of his diligent neighbor suffered. The system involved a twofold economic waste: of much cultivable land given over to numerous footpaths; and of time spent in going from one to another of the strips. There was still in vogue, also, the centuries-old "three-field" system, which required that one field be allowed to lie fallow every three years in order to preserve its fertility. Root crops, like carrots and turnips, were virtually unknown. Progress in agricultural methods was difficult, as the entire village community had to take the initiative; this was seldom possible among the conservative, old-fashioned country folk. Besides the arable land there was the "common" to which every villager was entitled to send so many head of cattle. Promiscuous herding of cattle tended to promote disease among them; hence the live stock of those days was ill-fed and ill-kept, consequently small and lean. The main reason for raising cattle was not for their meat, but for their hides or wool, or for draught purposes.

The Agricultural Revolution

The pressure of a growing population, mainly urban in character, was directly the cause of an Agricultural Revolution, which, if not so profound in its influence as its industrial counterpart, nevertheless deeply affected the history of the English people. In order to fill the rapidly increasing demand for food it became necessary to convert the self-sufficing village farms into factories of bread and meat. This Agricultural Revolution had two important aspects: (1) a reform in agricultural methods, and (2) the establishment of a new system of land tenure.

One of the most distinguished of modern agricultural reformers was Jethro Tull, who became the English pioneer in what is now termed scientific agriculture. About the middle of the eighteenth century he introduced "drill husbandry," by which is meant that, instead of sowing the seeds broadcast as had been the custom from time immemorial, they were to be sown in furrows by a "drill" which deposited the seeds in straight rows. Tull was also a strong advocate of pulverizing the soil, a process which greatly improves the crop.

Drill husbandry

Viscount Townshend, an enthusiastic follower of Tull, turned his estate into a model agricultural laboratory. By planting root crops and artificial grasses alternately with grain upon the same land in successive seasons, he demonstrated the value of the new system called the "rotation of crops," by which he kept all his land under cultivation all the time, to such good effect that the value of his estate doubled during the decade 1730–40, and a death-blow was dealt to the three-field system in England.

Rotation of crops

The pioneer in the scientific breeding of cattle was Robert Bakewell, who greatly improved the breeds of sheep and cows by careful feeding and selection. As a result of his new methods the average weight of sheep in England doubled between 1710 and 1795.

Cattle breeding

One of the most famous of English agricultural reformers was Arthur Young. He traveled all over England and France investigating agricultural conditions, and became a tireless advocate of better methods of tilling the soil. It was he who strongly favored the idea of large farms worked by men with capital on a *profit* basis, the ideal of the new industrial system applied to agriculture. In the past, farming "had been the pastime of the town, the inspiration of the poets, the relaxation of statesmen, the pursuit of individual owners"; it was now to be an industry like any other, based upon capital and science.

Arthur Young

Along with these changes there came another, the enclosure movement, which was the effective cause of the present system of land tenure in Great Britain. Most of the land was then in the hands of "freeholders" and "copy-holders," peasant proprietors who,

The yeomanry

for all their inefficiency, managed to get a comfortable livelihood from their strips. These men were the yeomanry, so much praised in English literature and history as the virile class that had upheld English honor on many a battlefield. The advantages of the new methods of cultivation could not be fully reaped until a system of land tenure was established which should permit greater freedom of experiment and more efficient management than the conservative, easy-going, and wasteful system of strip cultivation allowed.

The enclosure movement

Enclosure, or the consolidation of strips into unified, fenced-off fields, was the only solution. But how was this to be brought about? The easiest way was the one that appealed to the selfish interests of the great landed proprietors who then dominated the politics of England. Acts of Parliament were passed appointing commissioners to investigate the validity of legal claims to landowning. These commissioners demanded that the yeomen show a legal title to their farms, and if it were not forthcoming, their claims to ownership were declared invalid. As many of these titles had been lost, thousands of peasants were summarily ejected from the lands which they and their ancestors had cultivated for centuries. Acts of "enclosure" were then passed by Parliament which consolidated the strips into farms and handed them over to the lord of the manor. Between 1750 and 1810 no fewer than 2921 such laws were passed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were about 180,000 yeomen "freeholders"; by the beginning of the nineteenth, this class of farmers had become almost extinct. The village "commons," to which no legal title had ever existed, fell an easy prey to the rapacity of the great lords. These lands were "enclosed," and became the property, by acts of Parliament, of the lord of the manor.

Thousands of husbandmen, ruined and rendered homeless, deserted their villages [1] and flocked to the industrial centers, constituting a large supply of cheap labor for the manufacturers. This great confiscation of the property of the poor by the great landlords is responsible for modern rural England with its huge estates, tenant farmers, and landless agricultural laborers.[1]

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[1] Goldsmith's famous poem, *The Deserted Village*, is a description of the results brought about by this change.

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[1] See p. 350 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE MAKING OF MODERN ENGLAND

1815–67

The Great Reform Bill of 1832

The history of England during the nineteenth century was largely a history of reforms. Long-established institutions, political, religious, social, and economic, were destined to be swept away or to be radically modified by the liberal tide which rose at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

Appearance of a powerful class that favored reform

At the end of the eighteenth century, efforts had been made to reform the political system by great statesmen, like Edmund Burke and the Earl of Chatham, and by radical agitators, like Thomas Paine and John Wilkes. But all the attempts came to naught, partly because the reformers lacked the support of a powerful class whose interest it was to change political conditions, and partly because the excesses of the Reign of Terror in France had discredited the cause of democracy. The Industrial Revolution gave birth to a class of manufacturers, who chafed under the rule of the landed aristocracy that controlled the State in its own interests. Most of the high positions in the public service, civil, military, educational, and even religious, were reserved for the members of the aristocracy and their favorites. Socially, the factory owners, no matter how wealthy, were despised by the upper classes, who regarded "trade" as undignified and somewhat defiling. The manufacturers determined to assert their power in the State, and they consequently became stout champions of reform which, by extending the suffrage and by giving representation to the industrial centers, would shift political power from the upper to the middle classes among whom they were the leaders.

The workingmen favor reform

To the help of the manufacturers came the working classes, who demanded not only the abolition of the "rotten boroughs" but also universal manhood suffrage. The workingmen, too, hated the aristocrats as the arch-enemies of their class, for they were prevented from organizing and agitating by the repressive laws of the day. To oust the aristocracy from power, it was thought, would mean the establishment of democracy, and the welfare of the worker would thereby be greatly promoted. As a matter of fact, the middle class, not the working class, was to succeed to the political position formerly held by the landed aristocracy.

The Radicals

Chief among the leaders in the reform agitation were the radicals, Francis Place, a London tailor of great organizing ability, whose shop became the resort of agitators of all kinds; Robert Owen, the well-known social reformer; and William Cobbett, the first influential popular editor in England. Cobbett published and edited a radical newspaper, *The Weekly Register*, the price of which he reduced from one shilling to twopence, or four cents, a copy. It was brilliantly and forcefully written and was widely read by the working classes, who came to regard Cobbett as their leader and spokesman. "Let us have this reform [universal suffrage] first, and all other good things will be given unto us," was his slogan.

The Peterloo Massacre; the Six Acts

The defeat of Napoleon brought peace, but not prosperity, to England. Thousands of discharged soldiers and sailors were without employment; many merchants were ruined by the reëntrance of foreign competition which came with peace; and thousands of laborers were therefore thrown out of work. Discontent of all kinds was skillfully directed by the radicals into the channel of parliamentary reform. Political societies were founded, monster demonstrations were organized, and petitions demanding reform were drawn up. Riots broke out in almost every part of the kingdom. The Government became frightened and, in 1817, suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. Two years later an event occurred which aroused the greatest indignation. A popular mass meeting was to be held at St. Peter's Field in Manchester for the purpose of demanding reform. As the meeting had been prohibited by the authorities, the military were ordered to break it up; they charged the crowd, killing some and injuring many, amid the wildest confusion. This Massacre of Peterloo, as it was called, was followed by the passage of the famous Six Acts[1] which greatly limited the freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. The governing classes at that time seemed to see no other remedy for discontent than repression, and they were willing to go to the extent of violating the traditional ideals of freedom so much prized by the English people.

The Duke of Wellington and reform

Nevertheless, England continued to seethe with discontent, which grew in volume from year to year; but Parliament, completely under the control of the aristocratic Tory party, turned a deaf ear to all demands for reform. The July Revolution of 1830 in France greatly aroused the English working class, who longed to imitate their French brothers behind the barricades. The King, George IV, died in 1830 and was succeeded by his brother, William IV. In the election which usually follows the accession of a new king, the Tory majority was considerably reduced. But the Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister, strongly opposed the reform of Parliament because, as he declared, he had "never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of representation could be improved," and that it would be difficult to reproduce a political system like the present one, "for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once." A wave of popular indignation swept over the country as a result of this speech, and many Tories in Parliament, who disliked Wellington because he had consented to Catholic Emancipation,[1] joined with the Whigs to overthrow the Ministry. A Whig Cabinet was formed on March 1, 1831, with Earl Grey as Premier, who promptly introduced a Reform Bill. In the debate which followed, the measure was denounced by the Tories as "destructive of all property, of all right, of all privilege." The bill was defeated, and Parliament was dissolved.

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[1] These were: (1) the prohibition of military exercises by persons not authorized to perform them, (2) quick trials for offenders, (3) issuing of search warrants for arms, (4) suppression of seditious literature and the banishment of the authors, (5) restriction of the right of public meeting, and (6) heavy stamp duties on newspapers.

The Reform Bill of 1832

The election which followed was one of the most memorable in English history. Each side was determined to win by fair means or foul, and intimidation, violence, and bribery were openly practiced. "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!" was the cry of the reformers. The result was a great victory for the Whigs, and Earl Grey again became Prime Minister. Lord John Russell, a prominent Whig leader, introduced the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. It was passed by the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. During the next session it was again passed by the Commons. The hostile attitude of the Lords to reform aroused the liveliest indignation throughout the country. Great mass meetings were held at which they were denounced as a corrupt and selfish oligarchy; enormous processions were organized that paraded in favor of the bill; and riots broke out in many cities. England seemed to be on the verge of revolution. The problem was how to pass the Reform Bill in a constitutional manner in spite of the opposition of the Upper House. An expedient was hit upon by the Whigs: the King was asked to swamp the House of Lords by creating a sufficient number of new peers pledged to vote for the Reform Bill. But the King refused the request, and the Grey Cabinet resigned. The Duke of Wellington then tried to form a Ministry, but his attempts were futile, and the situation became exceedingly dangerous for those in power. The King was plainly told that it was a question now of reform or revolution, and he finally consented to the plan of creating new peers. But the peers, hearing of the resolution of the King and knowing that it was useless further to oppose the bill, decided to let it pass: one hundred of its opponents absented themselves from the House of Lords, and the bill passed that body on June 4, 1832.

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[1] See p. 79.

Provisions of the law

The provisions of the new law concerned (1) the redistribution of seats and (2) the qualifications for suffrage. Great changes were made in the system of representation: fifty-six "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised; thirty-two, with populations of less than four thousand, lost one seat each; twenty-two large cities were given two seats each; and twenty got one each. The counties were divided into electoral districts, each of which elected a representative to Parliament. New qualifications for voting were prescribed. In the counties the vote was given to tenants whose holding was of the annual value of at least fifty dollars (£10); in the boroughs, to those who rented or owned a building of the same annual value. As it did not establish universal suffrage, the Reform Bill was very far from being a completely democratic measure. By the provisions of the bill the number of voters was increased from 435,000 to 656,000 out of about 6,000,000 adult males, the new electors being almost exclusively from the middle classes; but farm laborers in the country, the workingmen, and some of the lower middle class in the cities were still unenfranchised. Nevertheless, a breach was made in the aristocratic wall, only large enough at first for the middle classes to enter, but destined to be widened later to admit all classes.

The middle classes now in power

The Reform Bill of 1832 effected as great a change in the politics and government of England as did the Revolution of 1689. It transferred supreme political power from the landed aristocracy to the middle classes, who maintained their supremacy in the Government down to the beginning of the twentieth century. The House of Lords, though it remained under the control of the aristocracy, came out of the struggle with shattered prestige and partial loss of power. It was now established as a precedent that in case of a disagreement between the two Houses, the Lords must yield if, in the election following a dissolution of the Commons, the country upheld the latter. The Crown grew in popularity because it had contributed to the overthrow of the aristocracy; and whatever republican spirit had formerly existed now disappeared. That the Lords yielded to the demands of the people without any other than a contest at the polls was a great gain to orderly progress. The idea that great reforms could be brought about without revolution, if only there was sufficient agitation to convince the ruling classes that the people were determined upon a change, took deep root in English political life. It is to the great credit of the English aristocrats that they have never sought to undo a change once made: unlike the French aristocrats, they have been conservative, not reactionary.

THE ERA OF REFORM

The Municipal Reform Act

The passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 opened the floodgates to many other reforms. For a generation Parliament, which was now under the control of the reformers, busied itself in abolishing old abuses and in instituting reforms in almost every field, political, social, religious, and educational. In 1835 the Municipal Reform Act was passed, which radically altered local government. Hitherto, the city councils had been bodies either self-perpetuating or chosen by a limited number of specially privileged persons known as "freemen." These municipal oligarchies had become notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and they were abolished by the Act of 1835. In their place councils were established which were chosen by the rate-payers,[1] who were practically the same men that voted in parliamentary elections.

Abolition of slavery

Another great reform was the abolition of slavery. In the British West Indies there were many negro slaves on the coffee and sugar plantations. As a consequence of an anti-slavery agitation led by William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, the father of the historian, a law had been passed in 1806 abolishing the slave trade. The reformers were indignant at the existence of human slavery under the British flag, and induced Parliament, in 1833, to pass a law abolishing slavery throughout the Empire. The slave-owners were mollified by being given an indemnity of about one hundred million dollars.

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[1] In England local taxes are known as "rates."

Reform of the Poor Law

During the same year a famous parliamentary report on the Poor Law recommended a radical revision of the laws regarding pauperism. In 1834 Parliament enacted a law which limited outdoor relief to aged and infirm paupers. It also established a new system of administration by dividing the country into districts which elected boards of guardians to take charge of the administration of the Poor Law. The new measure gave general satisfaction, for its main purpose was to discourage pauperism.

Prison reform

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared in England a new attitude toward the criminal which was an eloquent testimony to the spirit of the Age of Reform. By many it was felt that the harshness of the criminal code in holding life cheap and property dear, far from discouraging crime, was a direct incitement to it: a man might as well be hanged for committing murder as for stealing a trifling sum of money. A reform of the criminal code had long been advocated by Jeremy Bentham, the radical reformer, and by John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. But it was Sir Samuel Romilly, a distinguished member of Parliament, who began a tireless agitation for this reform. His efforts were continually frustrated by conservative persons, particularly the judges, who feared that a modification of the code would lead to the spread of crime. In 1820 Sir Samuel induced Parliament to make the first breach in the Draconian laws: it abolished the death penalty for stealing five shillings or more from a shop. Two years later more offenses were exempted from the death penalty, and Parliament continued to moderate the legal code until, by the laws of 1861, only murder, piracy, and treason remained capital crimes.

Large, airy prisons were built to house the criminals, who were now to be treated in a spirit of compassion and not in a spirit of vengeance. Contrary to general expectations, crime, instead of increasing, diminished.

The introduction of cheap postage was another achievement of the reformers. The charge for transmitting a letter depended upon its size, shape, weight, and the distance that it was carried; the average cost of sending an ordinary letter in Great Britain was about sixpence, or twelve cents. Rowland Hill, a member of Parliament, became an ardent advocate of cheap postage, and, in 1840, he prevailed upon Parliament to pass a law charging a uniform rate of one penny to any part of the United Kingdom. The penny post proved a great success, because the great increase in the use of the mails more than made up for the lower charges. In 1898 the penny post was extended to the entire British Empire.

The penny post

The remarkable spread of general education during the nineteenth century has well-nigh abolished illiteracy, at one time almost universal. Until well along in the nineteenth century, the mass of English people could neither read nor write; only the upper and middle classes had any degree of education. The first attempt to abolish illiteracy was through the Factory Act of 1802, which required that apprentices should be sent to school for part of the time; but the law was generally evaded by the employers, who were more anxious that their employees should be in the factory than in the school. Popular education found a champion in Lord Brougham, who introduced two bills, one in 1815 and another in 1820, with that in view, but both were defeated. Finally, in 1833, Parliament voted an annual grant of one hundred thousand dollars to be distributed among the voluntary schools, most of which were managed by religious societies. Although the grant was increased from time to time, this system of state aid to private schools was found to be unsatisfactory, as it tended to promote sectarian rivalries in education, to the injury of the schools. In 1858 Parlia-

Educational reform

ment appointed a Royal Commission to make a thorough inquiry into the state of popular education. The report of this Commission recommended many changes and especially urged the establishment of a system of national secular schools to be supported by local taxation.

Factory reform

A great agitation for factory reform was started by philanthropic people who were shocked at the cruelty of industrial life, particularly as it affected women and children. Chief of these factory reformers was a prominent aristocrat, the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose unselfish and tireless devotion to the cause of the wretched mill-workers entitles him to a great place among modern humanitarians. Something had already been done by the Act of 1802, which limited the hours of labor to twelve, prohibited night work, and required the mill-owners to furnish more beds in the factory dormitories. But that law had applied only to the pauper children working in the cotton factories.

Opposition of the manufacturers

The most bitter opposition to factory reform came from the manufacturers, most of whom were Liberals in politics. John Bright, the "people's friend," declared that such legislation would be "most injurious and destructive to the best interests of the country," and was "a delusion practiced on the working classes which would lead to retaliation on the part of the employers." The great economists of the day, like Ricardo and Malthus, were stanch believers in the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and they denounced the proposed reforms as a violation of "the liberty of the subject" and of "the freedom of contract," which guaranteed to every individual the right to make any terms without interference by the State. Fear was also expressed by the manufacturers that factory reform would prove so expensive to them that they would be unable to compete with their foreign rivals, who then had no such burdens.

Many aristocrats took up the cause of factory reform, partly because they were sincerely desirous of improving the lot of the workers, and partly because the burden of the reforms would fall on the manufacturers, whom they cordially disliked. Accordingly, the Conservatives supported the reformers, Lord Shaftesbury, Robert Owen, Richard Oastler, and William Cobbett, and Parliament was induced to pass the first great Factory Law in 1833, which has been characterized as the Magna Charta of labor. The law prohibited the employment in the textile factories of children under nine; it restricted the labor of children between the ages of nine and thirteen to forty-eight hours a week, and of those between thirteen and eighteen to sixty-eight hours; it prohibited night work to those under eighteen; it provided for a system of factory inspection; and it established schools for the child laborers.[1] A parliamentary investigation committee horrified the country by a report on conditions of labor in the mines, and a law was passed in 1842 forbidding the employment in the mines of boys under ten and of women and girls. In 1847 Parliament took a most radical step in passing the famous Ten-Hour Act, which limited the labor of women and children in the textile factories to ten hours a day. This law encountered the bitterest opposition of the manufacturers, and John Bright, the stout upholder of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, declared that it was "one of the worst measures ever passed in the shape of an act of the legislature." Further legislation, enacted in 1846, 1861, and 1867, extended the principles of factory reform very widely, to the great benefit of the working class who, otherwise, might have sunk to a condition of degeneracy.

Factory Act of 1833

POLITICAL HISTORY (1832–67)

The Reform Bill of 1832 completely transformed the two historic political parties. Both took new names, advocated new principles, and found new leaders. The Tories became the Conservatives, in theory still committed to the aristocratic ideals of society and of government, but in practice ready to accommodate

The new parties, leaders, and principles themselves to the new conditions in political life. The Whigs became the Liberals, the champions of reform and of progress, but with due regard to the traditional English way of making substantial changes without undermining the cherished institutions of the country. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the dominant political figures were, among the Liberals, Lords Melbourne, Russell, and Palmerston, and among the Conservatives, Sir Robert Peel and the Earl of Derby, all of whom recognized the necessity of broadening the institutions of England in response to the new spirit of reform which had arisen. They were, however, strongly opposed to universal suffrage, which was then regarded as revolutionary; they considered the lower classes unfit to exercise political power. Lord John Russell, who was chiefly instrumental in passing the Reform Bill, regarded that measure as a "finality," and he was consequently averse to any change that would undermine the political structure erected in 1832. It was not till Gladstone and Disraeli appeared that the Liberals and Conservatives were willing to take further steps toward democracy.

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[1] Five years after the passing of this law, the number of child laborers decreased from 56,000 to 24,000.

Queen Victoria

In 1837 King William IV died and he was succeeded by his niece, Victoria, then a young girl of eighteen. During the years of her long reign (1837–1901) "the Queen," as she was affectionately called by her subjects, occupied a unique place in the life of England. She was very careful not to overstep the constitutional limits of an English monarch;[1] yet, indirectly, she exerted a powerful influence on the conduct of affairs. Queen Victoria generally insisted upon being consulted in important matters, and more than once her good sense prevented the adoption of rash and partisan policies. Her marriage to Prince Albert, of Saxe-Coburg, in 1840, was one of affection, and the happy royal pair became the models of domestic virtue to millions of English men and women.

Lord Melbourne, who was Prime Minister from 1835 to 1841, was a great favorite of the Queen because of his charm of manner and of his assiduous attention to her wishes. His Ministry's most important achievements were the Municipal Reform Act and the establishment of the penny post. A rebellion in Canada led the Ministry to send Lord Durham to investigate the situation, and his recommendations resulted in the establishment of responsible government in Canada.[1]

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[1] See p. 324.

Lord Melbourne

The Ministry of Sir Robert Peel (1841–46) is one of the most notable in the history of modern England. Peel was a Conservative of the new school, one who was willing to harmonize Tory principles with the new political conditions established by the Reform Bill. He was cautiously progressive in the best traditions of English statesmanship, "a complete Briton" as he was admiringly called, for he exercised a liberalizing influence on his own party and a moderating one on the radical reformers who opposed him. Peel was an able administrator and fine debater, but utterly lacking in imaginative qualities; hence he did not possess the greatest elements of statesmanship. Although few men were more highly esteemed in his day, he was destined to be driven out of office and out of his party because of his championship of free trade.

Sir Robert Peel

England entered the nineteenth century a modern industrial nation, but encumbered with seventeenth and eighteenth century economic policies, which did much to hamper her industrial development. The Navigation Laws, which had been in existence for centuries, created a protected monopoly for British shipping by forbidding the transportation of goods in foreign vessels between parts of the British Empire. Only British subjects could be employed as seamen on board British ships. Bounties were given on exports to encourage selling to the foreigner, and high tariffs were imposed on imports to discourage Englishmen from buying from him. England, it was thought, would benefit both ways and so prosper greatly.

Restrictions on trade

These views of trade were attacked by Adam Smith, whose book, *The Wealth of Nations*, exerted a profound influence on scholars and on statesmen. Adam Smith advocated the abolition of all artificial restrictions and encouragements to trade and the adoption of the policy of free trade, by which he meant that foreign and native goods should compete equally in the home market. Free trade would (1) stimulate the native producer to greater enterprise and ingenuity in order to compete successfully with the foreigner, and (2) encourage the various nations to produce only those things for which they were best fitted: England, for example, would specialize in cotton goods, woolens, and hardware; France, in silks, wines, and laces; Russia, in agriculture, lumber, and furs. In this way the world would benefit by getting the best products at the lowest cost.

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[1] See p. 408.

Adam Smith

The heaviest protective duties in Great Britain were those on corn, or breadstuffs, like wheat, barley, rye, and oats. In defense of the Corn Laws, as they were called, it was argued that every encouragement should be given to the nation to produce its own food, that agriculture gave employment to many, and that rural life sustained the stamina of a nation. As the landed aristocracy was then in control of the Government, the Corn Laws were zealously and rigorously enforced. In 1815 a law was passed prohibiting absolutely the importation of foreign corn until the price of the home product rose to a point which enabled the British farmer to compete with the foreigner. As many protested against this artificial method of keeping up the price of bread, a sliding scale was adopted in 1828 which provided for lowering duties when prices rose and raising them when prices fell.

The Corn Laws

An attack on the protective system was made by William Huskisson, who became President of the Board of Trade in 1823. Through his influence Parliament was induced to repeal some of the Navigation Laws; and by 1849 foreign ships were put on the same footing as English ships. Huskisson made further inroads on the protective system by abolishing the duty on

Repeal of the Navigation Laws

silk and lowering it on wool, but the Corn Laws remained intact.

The Anti-Corn Law League

In 1838 Richard Cobden and John Bright founded the famous Anti-Corn Law League, which began an energetic propaganda in favor of free trade. Cobden was a brilliant writer and organizer who gave his fortune and services freely to the cause which became his life's passion. England was flooded with Anti-Corn Law pamphlets which denounced protection as an economic evil, because it artificially raised the cost of food, and as a moral evil, because it incited nations to needless and fruitless rivalries, thereby causing wars. Free trade, it was claimed, by removing national barriers would promote international peace. Great mass meetings and banquets were held to protest against the "dear bread" maintained by a selfish landed aristocracy. The League received the powerful support of the manufacturers, who believed that if food were made cheaper, they would be enabled to pay lower wages; and, moreover, if foreign countries were permitted to send their food-stuffs free of duty to England they would buy more manufactured articles from her. They also favored free trade in industrial products as they had little fear of foreign competition, England being so much further advanced industrially; moreover, they would be enabled to get their raw material at lower cost. In this way the free-traders were able "to combine comparatively selfish class interests with other motives springing from philanthropy and patriotism, a combination which tended to give them that combination of moral fervor, efficient organization, and shrewd political tactics, which made the Anti-Corn Law League one of the most effective organizations which has ever taken part in British political history. Neither money nor ability was wanting." [1]

In 1845 the potato crop in Ireland was ruined by the "blight," or potato disease, which meant starvation for thousands of Irish peasants for whom the potato was the

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[1] G. Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, p. 140.

Peel deserts the protectionists

chief article of food. At the same time the English grain crop proved unexpectedly bad. The free-traders seized the opportunity to demand the repeal of the Corn Laws, in order to facilitate the importation of cheap food for the starving Irish. Sir Robert Peel was a protectionist, but the seriousness of the situation forced him to change front. In 1846 he carried through Parliament the repeal of the Corn Laws, and so gave the death-blow to the protective system in England. The protectionists were furious. Benjamin Disraeli came forward as their champion in a speech bitterly attacking Peel. For the time being the Conservative Party was rent in twain by the action of Peel, but it was later reorganized under the leadership of Disraeli and the Earl of Derby. Free trade was not entirely established until 1867, when Parliament, through the efforts of Gladstone, removed the last of the protective duties. A tariff on tobacco, tea, sugar, and spirits was, however, maintained, but for purposes of revenue only.

Chartism

The Ministry of Lord John Russell (1846–52) witnessed the culmination of a revolutionary movement known as "Chartism." The Great Reform Bill had proved a bitter disappointment to the working classes, who had hoped to see universal suffrage established. It was they who had suffered imprisonment, exile, and death for the cause of reform which, they realized, benefited mainly the middle classes. The workingmen felt that they had been cheated out of the fruits of the victory that their efforts had largely won, and they smarted with disappointment. Unlike the French, who had had a similar experience in the July Revolution of 1830, the English workingmen were not converted to violent revolution as a method of establishing their rights, partly because of their conservative temperament, but chiefly because they had just seen a great change accomplished through peaceful agitation. Instead, a radical democratic movement known as "Chartism" began to make rapid headway among the unenfranchised. In the year 1838 the People's Charter was drawn up and enthusiastically acclaimed at great popular meetings held in Glasgow and in Birmingham. It demanded the famous Six Points: (1) universal manhood suffrage; (2) vote by secret ballot; (3) abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; (4) salaries for members of Parliament; (5) annual elections; and (6) a division of the country into equal electoral districts.

The Chartist Petition

This program, which would to-day be considered exceedingly moderate, excited the greatest apprehension among the governing classes, to whom democracy was synonymous with anarchy. At first the "moral force" element among the Chartists, those who believed in peaceful agitation, was in the ascendant. Radical clubs were organized to conduct a democratic propaganda; monster processions and mass meetings were held and impassioned speeches were delivered. A gigantic petition, embodying the demands of the People's Charter, was presented to Parliament, first in 1839 and again in 1842, but each time it was summarily rejected. This so discouraged many that the "physical force" element, or those who advocated violent methods, got control under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 gave great encouragement to the Chartists, who organized a great convention, or People's Parliament, in London. Another petition demanding the Charter, which was to be presented to Parliament by a procession of half a million workingmen, was drawn up and subscribed to by about six million names, many of which were later proved to be fictitious. It was understood that if the petition was rejected an uprising would follow, as many of the Chartists were armed. The Government became greatly alarmed, and a special military force of volunteers to aid the Government was organized and put under the command of the Duke of Wellington. The petition was rejected, and the street demonstrations which followed were ruthlessly suppressed.

A Conservative Ministry came into power in 1852 with the Earl of Derby as Premier and Disraeli as Chancellor of the

The Derby and Aberdeen ministries

Exchequer. Although they had bitterly opposed the establishment of free trade, the great prosperity that England was now enjoying convinced them of its benefits, and they consequently abandoned protection, which remained a dead issue in British politics for almost two generations. The Derby Ministry was in office but a short time, and was succeeded in 1852 by a Coalition Ministry headed by the Conservative, Lord Aberdeen, and the Liberal, Gladstone, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although the Ministry took office with great promise, it aroused a storm of criticism because of its conduct of the Crimean War,[1] and it was overthrown in 1855.

Palmerston

The man who succeeded Peel as the leading figure in English public life was Lord Palmerston, who now became Prime Minister. If Peel was a liberal Conservative, Palmerston was a conservative Liberal. His views on the domestic policies were exceedingly moderate, as he had little sympathy with the democratic movement of his day. His main interest was in foreign affairs, and he had been a most popular Foreign Minister in the Russell Cabinet. Strange as it may seem, Palmerston had a most lively sympathy with the democratic and nationalistic movements abroad; and he was continually at odds with the Queen because of his anti-dynastic policy of encouraging the revolutionary movements in Italy, Germany, and Hungary. Cavour and Kossuth found in him a stanch friend and admirer, but he was hated by the princes in Germany, who used to say that,

"If the Devil has a son,
His name is Palmerston."

Palmerston was at the same time a vigorous upholder of British interests abroad, and on several occasions he gave utterance to "jingo" sentiments which greatly delighted his fellow countrymen, who were now awakening to the necessity of England playing a great part in international affairs as well as in domestic reforms. The Prime Minister was temperamentally irrepressible and indiscreet, and frequently shocked and delighted his contemporaries by blurting out his true sentiments about foreign affairs. During his first Ministry the Indian Mutiny took place, causing great anxiety in England. After it was suppressed, Parliament abolished the British East India Company, and the government of India passed into the hands of the Crown.[1]

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[1] See p. 629.

The American Civil War dislocates England's industries

Palmerston was overthrown in 1858, but he came back to power in the following year. His new Ministry was compelled to face the serious economic disturbance occasioned by the American Civil War. England's prosperity depended to a considerable degree on her cotton manufactures, and she imported nearly all her cotton from America. When the South was blockaded, a cotton famine in England caused many of the factories to close, throwing thousands of men out of work and almost ruining many of the manufacturers. Palmerston and his fellow ministers, notably Gladstone and Russell, sided with the South and did everything they could to help her win. Southern privateers, the most famous of which was the Alabama, were built in England to prey on Northern commerce, and they destroyed the then flourishing American merchant marine. These privateers were sheltered and given much aid and encouragement by the British Government. Although the upper classes favored the South, the great mass of the English people favored the North as the champion of freedom and democracy. The very operators who were thrown out of work by the cotton famine enthusiastically acclaimed the cause of the North. John Bright who, as a Quaker, had a burning hatred of slavery, became a most eloquent champion of the North, and pleaded with his fellow countrymen to give their support to those who were struggling to free the negro and to save the Union.

England herself faced a political crisis during those

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[1] See p. 402.

The agitation for franchise reform

momentous years. Chartism had been suppressed, but the agitation for universal suffrage continued unabated. Political inequality in reformed England was most glaring. When Lord John Russell became Prime Minister for a second time, in 1865, only one man in five enjoyed the right to vote. The working classes were learning the art of organization through their unions, and the spirit of discontent was being constantly stimulated by strikes. Leadership within the Liberal Party was passing from the hands of those who, like Russell and Palmerston, were satisfied with the political conditions established by the Reform Bill of 1832, to the hands of a younger and more progressive element represented by Gladstone and Bright.

The Reform Bill of 1867

Gladstone became the champion of franchise reform, and in 1866 he introduced a bill proposing to reduce the £10 franchise to one of £7; this was a moderate measure, as its enactment would have increased the electorate by only 400,000. The Conservatives were opposed to this bill, and with the aid of those Liberals who dreaded the coming of democracy, they succeeded in defeating it. The Russell Ministry then resigned, and the Conservatives came into power with Lord Derby as Premier and Disraeli as leader in the Commons. It was naturally thought that a Conservative Ministry would be even less friendly to electoral reform than a Liberal one had been. A mass meeting in favor of universal suffrage was called in Hyde Park, London; but the Government, fearful of a possible uprising, forbade the assembly. In spite of this, however, a great throng of workingmen crowded to the place of meeting. When they arrived they found that it had been fenced off by the police who were there ready to receive them. This so infuriated the mob that they broke down the railings and stoned the police. As in 1832, the governing classes realized that the further withholding of reform might lead to revolution, and were disposed to make another concession to democracy. Disraeli, seeing that the extension of suffrage was now inevitable, determined "to dish the Whigs" by granting it himself. Under his leadership the Conservative Party, in 1867, passed the second great Reform Bill, which gave the vote in the boroughs to all householders irrespective of the value of their holding and to all lodgers who paid not less than fifty dollars (£10) a year for unfurnished rooms. The main purpose of this law being to give the vote to the working classes in the towns, only slight changes were made in the suffrage qualifications of those living in the country. This sweeping measure raised the electorate from 1,353,000 to 2,243,000. It was denounced by conservative-minded Englishmen as "a leap in the dark" and as "shooting Niagara." The only class that now remained without the vote was the agricultural laborers.

Industrial Progress

Reasons for England's prosperity

To both nature and man is due the extraordinary development of British commerce and industry. An abundance of coal and iron,[1] a good climate, fine harbors, a long coast line, a large merchant marine, plenty of capital, and, above all, priority of invention, gave the English people overwhelming advantages over all other nations in the race for economic supremacy. France was seriously handicapped by small quantities of coal and iron, the two pillars of modern industry; Russia was rich in natural resources, but these, owing to a lack of capital, were undeveloped; America had both resources and capital, but she was devoting her energies to her enormous home market; and Germany was not yet in existence either as an economic or as a political factor.

Railway building

An era of railway building was opened up in England by the construction, in 1825, of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, which was only forty miles long. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was built. This venture proved so successful that a "railway mania" set in, and England was in a short time covered with a network of railways which established a fine system of internal communication.[1] Owing to the widespread belief in the efficacy of competition, State ownership was not favored; and many rival companies existed, causing wasteful expenditures of labor and capital. During the forties efforts were made by the Government to regulate conditions and rates in the various railway systems.

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[1] Between 1788 and 1839 the iron output of England increased from 61,000 to 1,250,000 tons annually.

Expansion of the merchant marine

Steam navigation was a little slower in developing. In 1839 the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company had only fourteen small steamers. The famous "P. and O." (Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company) began by running steamers between Falmouth and Lisbon, but soon extended its traffic to ports in Asia, Africa, and Australia. In 1840 the Cunard Line, aided by a government subsidy, began sending steamers across the Atlantic; and the Pacific Steam Navigation Company was organized for the trade with the western coast of South America.

England's industrial supremacy

The period from 1840 to 1870 was the Golden Age of British commerce and industry. The repeal of the Navigation Laws, the establishment of free trade, and the improvement in the means of transportation resulted in an extraordinary expansion of business. By far the most important of England's industries was the textile industry, and enormous quantities of cotton and woolen goods were exported to all parts of the world.[2] Foreign commerce was greatly stimulated by the Cobden treaty with France in 1860, which established reciprocity between the two countries.[3] England had also developed a great reëxport business by distributing foreign and colonial goods to all parts of the world, so that she became the emporium as well as the workshop of the world.

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[1] In 1874 there were about 16,500 miles of railways in the United Kingdom.

[2] In 1815 England imported 82,000,000 pounds of raw cotton, and in 1851, 659,000,000 pounds, showing the advance of the cotton industry.

[3] At the beginning of the nineteenth century England's total foreign trade, excluding precious metals, was about $200,000,000, which rose in 1872 to about $3,000,000,000.

Shipbuilding became practically a British monopoly, and the world not only bought English goods, but had them transported in English vessels, which yielded a golden harvest to the English shipowners.[1] Profits multiplied very rapidly and wages, too, rose, but the cost of living, owing to free trade, remained low. The enormous surplus wealth produced in England was invested abroad in new industrial enterprises which brought handsome returns to the investors. Wealth was accumulating at a staggering rate in the hands of the "captains of industry," so that even haughty aristocrats condescended to invest their money in "trade," which they had always affected to despise.

The Crystal Palace Exposition

In 1851 the great Universal Exposition was opened at the Crystal Palace, London, under the patronage of Queen Victoria. The products of commerce, industry, and agriculture were shown to about six million visitors, who came from all parts of the world to learn from, to admire, and possibly to emulate, British industrial genius. England had arrived at the very zenith of her economic glory.

RELIGIOUS REFORM

Removal of the disabilities of the Dissenters

As we have seen, there existed in England various degrees of legal discrimination against those who were not members of the Established Church. The Dissenters, or Nonconformists, increased rapidly in numbers owing to the growth of the Methodist, or Wesleyan, Church, whose adherents came mainly from the middle classes, at this time rising in influence and importance. In 1828 Parliament removed the disabilities of the Nonconformists by repealing the Test and Corporation Acts. This was the beginning of the movement for religious equality in England.

To emancipate the Catholics was a much more difficult undertaking, partly because of the inherited hatred of Catholicism on the part of the English people, but chiefly because the overwhelming majority of Catholics in the British Isles were the Irish, a subject race. Religious emancipation of the Irish might lead to their political and economic emancipation, a state of affairs then undesired by the dominant English. A widespread agitation was started in Ireland under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, a remarkable orator and organizer, who formed the powerful Catholic Association to intimidate the English Government into removing Catholic disabilities. O'Connell decided upon a plan for calling public attention to the iniquity of the anti-Catholic laws. Accordingly, in 1828, he became a candidate in an Irish constituency and was overwhelmingly elected;[1] but Parliament refused to admit him on the ground that his election was contrary to the law which prohibited Catholics from entering Parliament. Immediately all Ireland was astir. Huge mass meetings were held denouncing the exclusion of O'Connell, and the Catholic Association began an orderly though menacing agitation. In 1829 the fear of a possible Irish rebellion induced the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, to carry the Catholic Emancipation Act through Parliament. O'Connell was reëlected and allowed to take his seat, and Catholics were thereafter made eligible for nearly all public offices. However, the property qualifications for voting in Ireland were shortly afterwards raised, which had the effect of disfranchising many Catholics.

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[1] Between 1821 and 1849 British shipping increased over 2500 per cent.

Catholic emancipation

The movement to emancipate the Jews encountered comparatively little opposition for the reason that they were few in number. The House of Commons had many times passed a bill to remove the disabilities of the Jews, but each time it was rejected by the Lords. Jews were excluded from Parliament, not by any special law, but by the oath of allegiance which required a member of Parliament to swear to be loyal to Great Britain "on the faith of a Christian." A member of the Rothschild family,

Jewish emancipation

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[1] In 1793 Catholics had been given the right to vote, provided they had the required property qualifications.

who had been elected to the House several times, was not permitted to take his seat because he had refused to take this oath. Finally, in 1858, Parliament passed the Jewish Relief Act, which changed the oath into one which Jews could conscientiously take. In spite of the removal of the religious disabilities of British citizens, religious equality was not yet attained for the reason that the special privileges of the Established Church continued in force.

The Oxford movement

Within the Established Church, two significant tendencies appeared, the Oxford movement and Christian Socialism. The Oxford movement, so called because it was initiated by a group of scholars in Oxford University, aimed to emphasize the medieval ideals of the Church as the center of all activity, the supremacy of ecclesiastical ideals over all others, and the importance of ritual in service and holiness in life. In one sense the Oxford movement was a reflection of the Romantic School in literature;[1] in another, it was a reaction against the worldly bishops and "sporting parsons" in the Established Church, who scandalized devout people by their lack of devotion. A group of brilliant writers and thinkers, among them John Keble, the author of *The Christian Year*, John Henry Newman, the famous preacher and writer, and Dr. Pusey, the most eminent ecclesiastical scholar in England, began advocating their ideas in a series of pamphlets called *Tracts for the Times*. The Tractarians, as they were called, asserted the continuity of the Church of England from the days of Christ; hence, the separation from the Church of Rome, effected in the sixteenth century, did not make it any the less Catholic. Before long a trend toward Roman Catholicism became noticeable among the Tractarians, and the leader of the movement, Newman, was converted to the Roman Catholic faith in 1845. He was later created a cardinal.

Under the able leadership of Cardinals Newman and Wiseman, a revival of Roman Catholicism took place, encouraging the Pope to reëstablish the Catholic hierarchy, which had not been in existence in England since the days of the Protestant Revolution. Cardinal Wiseman was made Archbishop of Westminster. The Protestant feelings of the English people were now greatly aroused; they seemed to see in the action of the Pope a threat to destroy the Established Church and to subject England to Rome. Parliament, in 1851, passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, forbidding any person to assume an ecclesiastical title already appropriated by the Established Church. But the law immediately became a dead letter, and the Catholic officials continued to use their titles.

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[1] See p. 110.

Reëstablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England

Quite opposite to the medieval tendencies of the Tractarians were those of the Christian Socialists led by Charles Kingsley, the famous novelist and preacher, Frederick Denison Maurice, the social reformer, and Thomas Hughes, author of the *Tom Brown* stories. The Christian Socialists believed that if the world were ordered according to the teachings of Christ, poverty and its attendant evils would disappear; hence they became fervent preachers of social reform. Charles Kingsley was a stout advocate of labor unionism and sympathized with the Chartists in their demand for better conditions. His novel, *Alton Locke*, is a moving description of the conditions of the London tailors, whom grinding poverty had reduced to a state of misery, wretchedness, and hopelessness. The Christian Socialists busied themselves among the working class, founding trade unions, workingmen's colleges, and social settlements; they were largely influential in laying the foundations of the great social reform movement that swept over England at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Christian Socialists

ROMANTIC AND VICTORIAN LITERATURE

The first quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the high tide of the Romantic school in English literature. The period was especially rich in poetry, and the works of Shelley, Byron, Keats, Coleridge, and Words-

Characteristics of English Romanticism: (1) revolutionary fervor

worth have left an imperishable influence on English literature and life. Like those in France, the English Romanticists were deeply stirred by revolutionary feeling of which the lyrical outbursts of Shelley and Byron were typical expressions. Even the calm and retiring Wordsworth wrote of the French Revolution, —

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven!"

During the period of reaction that followed the Battle of Waterloo, revolutionary sentiments were frowned upon in England as elsewhere; both Byron and Shelley found their native land unresponsive to their message, and they lived in exile during the latter part of their lives.

(2) love of nature

Another characteristic of the English Romanticists was their love of nature. It might almost be said that they discovered nature, as the writers before them had rarely appreciated either the charms or the terrors of field, stream, sea, and mountain. It was the aim of the Romanticists not merely to describe nature, but to interpret her moods and to show her various aspects in order that man might find himself in greater sympathy with the universe. Byron expressed his temperament by vividly describing the picturesque and the grand, such as the sea and mountain; Wordsworth, by pensive musings on the more quiet aspects; the shady nook and the gentle hill.

Shelley

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) was aflame with the spirit of revolt. His greatest poem, *Prometheus Unbound*, is an apotheosis of revolution, in which he describes how the god Prometheus, the "friend of man," was chained to a mountain by Jove, who personifies conservatism, and how he is finally released by the spirit of revolution. In grace, melody, and sheer loveliness, Shelley's lyrics are unsurpassed. So refined and delicate are his sentiments, so insatiate is his craving for the "Spirit of Beauty," and so generous is his sympathy for the unfortunate, that Shelley has come to embody the ideal in its revolt against the gross, the stupid, and the reactionary forces of the world. Although he died at the age of thirty, he is regarded as the supreme genius of English lyric poetry.

Byron

The poetry of Lord Byron (1788–1824) is characterized by great virility, intense passion, and hostility to accepted ideas and institutions. He excels in magnificent descriptions of scenery and in oratorical declamation, which are, however, frequently marred by tawdry bombast. Byron's life, like his poetry, was stormy. Having roused the hostility of his countrymen by flouting their social conventions, he was perforce exiled for the remainder of his life, and died aiding the Greeks in their revolution against Turkey. Byron's popularity as a poet was so great that a Byronic cult grew up which glorified romantic revolt against narrow conventions. Byronic influence on the Continent was widespread.

Keats

John Keats (1795–1821), like Shelley, was a seeker after the beautiful, and not even the latter was more devoted to the ideals of beauty, pure and undefiled. For Keats, poetry existed for its own sake, and he held himself aloof from the world of men, things, and "problems" in order to devote himself to his muse. His poems are perfect models of grace and exquisite loveliness. His death at the age of twenty-five cut short a most promising poetic genius.

Coleridge

Quite different in temperament from his contemporaries was Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834). Although he wrote very few poems, these have been considered masterpieces because of their almost flawless mechanism and enchanting melody. His themes are romantic, mysterious, weird. His best-known poem, *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, tells the story of a phantom ship sailed by a crew of dead men, and contains wonderful passages, the product of a rich imagination and a strange mysticism. Coleridge is famous also as a literary critic and philosopher. But it is as a poet of regions beyond the earth and of dreams beyond the heavens that he is best remembered. No English writer succeeded as he did in making the supernatural seem natural.

Wordsworth

The Romantic Movement roused high hopes in 1798 when William Wordsworth (1770–1850) and his friend Coleridge published the *Lyrical Ballads*, of which the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* was the most notable. A second edition of this remarkable volume, printed in 1800, contained a prose preface in which Wordsworth laid down a new theory of verse in which he pleaded for freedom of rhythm and simplicity of diction.

Wordsworth is generally held to be one of England's greatest nature poets. To him, Nature had a conscious soul expressing itself in the daisy, the cloud, or the skylark's song, and responding to the moods of men and women as plainly and intelligently as one human voice responds to another. His lifelong aim was to reveal the significance hidden in the commonplace, for he believed that the supreme function of the imagination was to dignify simple people, places, and incidents; hence, his poems contain no striking themes or personalities and are free from embellishments. There is another note in Wordsworth's poetry, duty, the "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," rather a strange one for a Romanticist; he apostrophizes the common virtues as he does the common things. Although unsurpassed at his best, Wordsworth is often dull, tedious, and commonplace.

Scott

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) stands out as the leading, and one might say the only, great prose writer among the English Romanticists. He was to a large degree the creator of the historical novel, wherein history furnishes the background for fiction; the author tries to reproduce the past partly by introducing some historical characters and incidents, but mainly by faithful attention to the spirit of the period about which he is writing. Scott was a master in the art of invoking bygone ages, and he actually succeeded in making history more real by clothing it with fiction. Unlike his fellow English Romanticists, Scott was exceedingly conservative. He chose the Middle Ages for his favorite field, as he delighted to describe picturesque characters, such as kings, knights, ladies, crusaders, clans-men, pirates, and gypsies. No one has ever excelled Scott in the power of vividly portraying romantic characters and stirring incidents, and he quickly became the most popular novelist in the English language. He was also a fervent lover of his country, Scotland, whose history and legends he knew intimately; Scotland became the theme of many of his novels and poems. Scott's most famous works are *Ivanhoe*, which deals with Norman England, *The Talisman*, which deals with the crusades, and *Old Mortality*, which deals with Scotland in the days of the Covenanters.

De Quincey and Lamb

Two remarkable essayists flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A strange, almost uncanny writer was Thomas de Quincey (1785–1859), whose mystical and eccentric essays would have perished long ago had it not been for the extraordinary precision and stateliness of his style which placed him among the masters of English prose. Charles Lamb (1775–1834) succeeded in turning the English essay into a "fine art." Full of quaint charm, delicious humor, and delicate irony, Lamb has been a never-failing source of delight to many readers down to this day.

Characteristics of the Victorian Age: (1) Morality

The period from about 1840 to the end of the nineteenth century is designated in English literature as the Victorian Age, in honor of Queen Victoria, whose long reign was so notable in the history of the British people. As we have already seen, it was a period of great prosperity, of social unrest, of humanitarian reforms, and of democratic advance. For many centuries social ideals had been largely fashioned by the upper classes; now that the middle classes had at last come into power, there came with them new ideals of personal and social conduct, which quickly found expression in the literature of the day. Moral purpose dominates much if not all of the writing of the Victorian Age. Art was practiced for morality's sake. The new writers produced novels, poems, dramas, histories, and essays, primarily as aids to better thinking and better living, and incidentally as works of art. Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot wrote novels not only to "adorn a tale," but especially "to point a moral"; Browning wrote poems to edify and instruct his readers; Macaulay wrote history with a "purpose," to show why the Whigs were right and the Tories wrong; Carlyle wrote biographies of heroes as the embodiment of the "eternal verities"; and to Ruskin, painting itself was a form of moral expression.

(2) Democracy

The progress of popular education and the establishment of cheap magazines and newspapers created a new and vast reading public. Writers were forced to cater to a wider and more varied demand, and as a result literature became more democratic; it began to concern itself with the problems of humble people; it searched for comedy or tragedy in the daily routine of the masses; it became a passionate advocate of social and political reform.

(3) Science

Another striking characteristic of the Victorian Age was the great rôle that science played in the affairs of mankind. The wonderful discoveries of the inventors and the writings of the great scientists, like Darwin and Huxley, exercised a profound influence, directly and indirectly, upon imaginative literature. The idea of evolution was constantly made use of by the novelists; and the theme of some of the greatest poems was the origin and destiny of man in the light of evolution.[1]

Macaulay

A truly great and representative Victorian was Lord Macaulay (1800–59), the historian and essayist. No man had the faculty of investing history with dramatic power so wonderfully as Macaulay, whose *History of England* remains to this day one of the most popular books in the English language. Macaulay is a panoramic rather than a philosophic historian; he gives graphic pictures of the exterior of human society, but seldom sees the great underlying causes of human affairs. Brilliance of style, vividness of narrative, and a luxuriant imagination combine to make him one of the great writers of English prose.

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) was the great censor of the

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[1] See p. 612.

Victorian Age. It was a thrilling message that this Scotch philosopher, historian, and biographer preached to his generation. A man's prime duty was to recognize the hero qualities, to tear away shams, and to pierce the only reality, the inner spirit. He denounced in prophet-like language the materialism and selfishness of his time, and attempted to demonstrate that the new industrialism had made a "swine's trough" of the world by establishing only a "cash nexus" between man and man. Carlyle, however, had no faith in democracy, for his ideal government was one by an aristocracy of talent. His influence upon his own and succeeding generations was of the profoundest, and he may be justly regarded as one of the spiritual makers of modern England. His most famous books are *Sartor Resartus*, a series of philosophic essays in the form of an imaginary biography; *The French Revolution*, a highly dramatic but unbalanced study of the movement; and *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, a unique biography of the great Protector.

Carlyle

The three great novelists of the Victorian Age were Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, and George Eliot. Of these, Charles Dickens (1812–70) was the most popular and the most typical representative of the spirit of the times. Few authors have been able to combine humor and pathos so successfully as Dickens; and generations of English-speaking people have laughed and cried over his pages. He is above all a social-reform novelist, and his attacks on charity schools, law courts, and workhouses led to beneficent reforms in those institutions. Dickens was the first to introduce the poor and the degraded of industrial England into literature, and he succeeded in arousing the widest sympathies for the unfortunate classes of society. His most famous books are *David Copperfield*, considered by many his masterpiece; *A Tale of Two Cities*, a historical novel of the French Revolution; *Pickwick Papers*, a rollicking tale of the adventures of a unique character; and *Oliver Twist*, an exposure of the suffering of the poor in the workhouses.

Dickens

Quite different from Dickens was William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63), the novelist of the elegant world. The latter's smooth style, delicate wit, and urbanity contrast sharply with the rollicking humor and grotesqueness of Dickens. Thackeray was essentially a satirist who delighted to expose the foibles of the great, and for that reason his work has sometimes been called "a whispering-gallery of scandal." But he was a satirist touched with emotion, for it is his habit to take his readers aside in order to preach to them little private sermons on the evils of mankind. His most famous works are *Henry Esmond*, a historical novel of the eighteenth century; *Vanity Fair*, in which the famous character Becky Sharp appears; *Pendennis*, a satire on society; and *The Newcomes*, a study of a lovable character, Colonel Newcome.

Thackeray

Mary Ann Evans (1819–80), known to the world by the pen-name of George Eliot, is the novelist of the middle classes as Dickens is of the lower, and Thackeray of the upper classes. She was essentially a philosopher, and her novels are searching studies of human character and motives. An ethical atmosphere pervades all her books which, were it not for the author's supreme art, would be mere moral tracts. George Eliot took particular delight in analyzing her characters psychologically in order to discover the hidden springs of good and evil. Although not so popular as Dickens or Thackeray, she continues to hold a great place in English literature. Her most famous works are *Silas Marner*, a story of a poor weaver; *Middlemarch*, an ethical problem novel; *Adam Bede*, a charming picture of country life; and *Romola*, a historical novel of the Italian Renaissance.

George Eliot

CHAPTER VI

DEMOCRACY AND REACTION IN FRANCE
1815–52

Conservative and Radical Elements in French Society

Influence of the French Revolution

The French Revolution had left a memory which never could be effaced, the stirring tale of a successful revolt against monarchs, classes, and conditions. It had uprooted nearly all the inherited traditions of the land and, indeed, had enthroned revolution itself as an established tradition. As a consequence there was engendered among the people a spirit of resistance to oppression, which was later to overturn the thrones of kings and of emperors and, at times, to threaten the social order itself. Even though the restored Louis XVIII sat on the throne of his ancestors, the old system of society, the *ancien régime*, with its semi-serfdom, political despotism, special privileges, and religious intolerance, was gone never to return. However, the work of the Revolution was not yet completed; it was as much a promise for the future as a notable achievement of the past; in a broad, general way, it indicated the line of progress along which France and the rest of Europe were to travel for the next century. But the deep wounds inflicted by the Revolution on the conservative elements of French society embittered the latter into becoming reactionary; hence the history of France during the nineteenth century is the story of a struggle between those who wished to fulfill the promise of the French Revolution and those who sought to restore the old order, or, at least, to keep the revolutionary spirit chained to what it already had accomplished.

On one or the other side of this dividing line, the various elements in France ranged themselves according to their interests and ideals. On the conservative side were naturally the aristocrats, who, however, exercised but little influence over the nation because they had been shorn of property and privilege by the Revolution. In fact, French aristocracy became a mere name which meant little or nothing; the nobles of the *ancien régime* had been guillotined or discredited by treason during the Revolutionary wars, and the new ones created by Napoleon and later by Louis Philippe were of too recent origin to elicit much respect. Far stronger as a conservative force was the Roman Catholic Church, which feared the establishment of a democratic republic because that form of government was favored by its enemies, the partisans of the French Revolution. In spite of the fact that rationalism and free thought were widespread among all classes of society, the bulk of the French people remained Christian and Catholic, and conservatism found in the Church a most powerful support. But the rock against which revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century dashed in vain was the peasant. Once the Revolution had freed him from feudal dues and services and established him as a proprietor of the land which he cultivated, the peasant became a stanch supporter of conservative policies; and the influence of the great mass of peasant proprietors has more than once decided the fate of governments, parties, and dynasties in France. Along with the spirit of innovation engendered by the Revolution there was the tradition of military glory associated with the name of Napoleon. Frenchmen could not easily forget the time when the tricolor had waved triumphantly on the great battle fields of modern times. It needed but a phrase, a book, a "legend" to rekindle in France the desire for military conquest. "The man on horseback" remained an appealing figure to the imagination of Frenchmen despite his having frequently trod on principles very dear to them.

Conservative forces in French society

The mainstay on the radical side was the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class. The disappearance of the landed aristocracy had left them masters of the field, with power out of all proportion to their number or to their wealth. As heirs of the great Revolution, they

Radical forces in French society

generally favored a democratic suffrage, a republican form of government, separation of Church and State, and freedom of thought. Another and far more radical element made its appearance as a result of the introduction of the factory system, namely, the working class, of which we shall speak later. In addition, there was the small but powerful group of philosophers, poets, artists, novelists, and dramatists who, in France, have exercised a profound influence on public affairs. These "intellectuals," inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the great philosophers of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Montesquieu, nearly always allied themselves with the radical elements of the nation.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Reasons for France's industrial backwardness

While the statesmen and monarchs of the Restoration Period were confidently planning to restore the old system of government and society, there was taking place in the life of the people on the Continent that silent change known as the Industrial Revolution which was to render all their plans abortive. In England conditions were favorable to the growth of industry; in France, the reverse was true. In the first place, the latter country did not possess in sufficient quantities the essentials of the factory system, coal and iron; secondly, there was no over-supply of cheap labor, because peasant proprietorship was the inducement that operated to prevent an exodus of the country folk to the cities; thirdly, the great drain in men and money during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars depleted the requisite supply of labor and capital. The Industrial Revolution in France was, consequently, neither so rapid nor so widespread as in England. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the domestic system was still in full bloom, and it was not till the middle of the century that the foundations of the new industrial era were laid.

In England, as we have seen, the manufacturers devoted themselves by the force of circumstances to the production of textiles and iron and steel goods, the every-day necessities of life; in France, on the contrary, and for similar reasons, the staples of industry were silk and wine, the luxuries of life. Cartwright's loom gave immediate impetus to the establishment of the factory system in England; but a similar invention in France, the famous Jacquard loom for the rapid weaving of complex patterns in silk (1804), had no such immediate influence on the establishment of the factory system in that country; artisans continued to spin and weave silk cloth in their homes. Notwithstanding the retarded development, the value of the product of the silk loom more than tripled during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The silk industry

Machinery was imported from England in order to give French industry a start; and, about 1823, the power loom was established in the city of Mülhausen, in Alsace, which became the cotton manufacturing town of France. Lille, because it was situated in the mining region and so was able to get coal quickly and cheaply, soon developed as an industrial city comparable to Manchester and Leeds. Steam was introduced as a motive force between 1830 and 1840, much later than in England, chiefly because of the low output of coal.

Introduction of machinery

Although industrially backward, France was a wealthy nation because of her naturally rich soil and her splendid wine districts. Rural industries were greatly aided by the manufacture of wines, liquors, brandies, and beet sugar. In 1846 more than half of the exports consisted of silks and wines. In general, it might be said that France imported raw materials, such as cotton, wool, and leather, and exported manufactured luxuries and agricultural products.

Rural industries

In the matter of modern means of transportation, such as railways and steamboats, France was also backward. During the two preceding centuries, she had developed a fine system of roads and canals, but it was not until 1837 that a railway, only twelve miles long, was constructed. The first law regulating the construction

Transportation

of railways was adopted in 1842; it provided for the building and operation of a comprehensive system of railways by private companies with the aid of government grants. Four years later, there were in operation over eleven hundred miles of railways, transporting annually about thirteen million passengers and three and a half million tons of merchandise. Internal trade increased greatly, which enabled the country to recover from the economic wounds left by the Napoleonic wars. The first transatlantic steamship line was established from Havre to New York in 1840. Protection was afforded to the merchant marine by legislation which provided for special taxes on goods carried in foreign vessels, and which forbade trade with French colonies in any but French ships.

Special results of the Industrial Revolution in France

The general outcome of the Industrial Revolution in France was the same as that in England, which has already been described. In the former there were, however, special developments worthy of notice. One was the extreme radicalism of the industrial laborers. The traditions of the French Revolution inherited by the working class accentuated their hostility to capitalism, to which, almost from the very start, they threw down the gage of battle. Although few in number and poorly organized, the French workingmen have ever been in the van of radicalism and an example to the laborers of other lands. Another was the strengthening of the power of the *petite bourgeoisie*, or lower middle class, who invested their savings in industrial enterprises both at home and abroad. In France numerous small investors, whose frugality and thrift enabled them to buy a few dearly prized shares of stock or government bonds, constituted a power which was a near approach to a governing class. Kings, emperors, and even republics were apt to suffer swift destruction when they antagonized the interests of this numerous and influential class of small investors.

THE RESTORATION

The Charter of 1814

After the Battle of Waterloo the Allies once more triumphantly entered Paris, "carrying the Bourbons in their baggage." Louis XVIII was reseated on the throne from which he had been driven by Napoleon after the latter's escape from Elba. In order to win the people to the new order, the King granted the nation, as a favor, a charter establishing constitutional government. This document remained in force with various modifications till 1848. According to its provisions full executive authority was lodged in the monarch; it empowered him to appoint officers, name the cabinet, direct foreign policies, propose laws, and dissolve parliament. There was established also a legislature of two houses, an appointive[1] Chamber of Peers and an elective Chamber of Deputies. Age and property were to insure conservatism in the latter body. A Deputy had to be at least forty years old and had to pay a minimum of two hundred dollars a year in direct taxes; and the suffrage was limited to citizens at least thirty years of age paying a minimum of sixty dollars a year in direct taxes. An aristocratic parliament, hardened by the spirit of Bourbon despotism, was the government instituted by the returned monarch. The social organization of France, however, remained Revolutionary, as the famous law of 1789 abolishing feudalism was not repealed; the administrative system organized by Napoleon was likewise accepted. To restore the structure of the *ancien régime* was impossible, for it would have meant the dislocation of French society which had now become firmly knit by the life of almost a generation born and reared under the new régime. What was restored was the *spirit* of pre-Revolutionary days, for the exiled nobles returned cherishing an undying hatred of democratic principles.

Opposition to the King developed most strongly among the reactionaries led by a brother of Louis XVIII, the Count of Artois, a true Bourbon, "who never learned anything and never forgot anything." His party, known as the "Ultras," was more royalist than the King and was composed mainly of *émigrés* and their adherents who thirsted to avenge their sufferings caused by the Revolution and who wished to restore the old system of government and society. As long as Louis lived he generally held the Ultras in check, not because he lacked sympathy with their views, but rather because he saw the folly of trying to restore the *ancien régime*. As he himself once declared, the throne was "the easiest of chairs," and, like King Charles II, he had no wish "to go on his travels" once more. Nevertheless, an increase in the number of the Left, or radical side of the Chamber of Deputies, and particularly the election of Abbé Grégoire, the famous revolutionist, forced the King to the side of the Ultras. The suffrage was, accordingly, still further restricted in 1820 by giving the rich electors a double vote; and a drastic press law was enacted establishing a censorship of all journals. Louis XVIII died in 1824 and his brother ascended the throne as Charles X.

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[1] Some were appointed by the King for life, others for hereditary transmission.

Moderation of Louis XVIII

The new King was a child of the *ancien régime* to whom the French Revolution brought bitterness without enlightenment. He had returned from exile a sadder but not a wiser man; hence, he was fully determined to restore both the spirit and the institutions of former days. To Charles a divine right monarchy was the only legitimate form of government, an intolerant church the only true Christianity, and a landed aristocracy the only stable basis of society. His mind was a curious blend of mediocrity and fanaticism, a most detestable combination in the eyes of the enlightened and brilliant French people, which was bound to arouse bitter opposition and to lead to his eventual overthrow.

Character of the new King

Charles forthwith proceeded to carry out his ideas. Under his influence a law was passed by the Chamber which aimed to indemnify the nobles whose estates had been confiscated by the Revolution. To raise the huge sum, — about two hundred million dollars, — the then existing debt of France was converted

Reactionary legislation

from five per cent to three per cent bonds. This was done in order to prevent the imposition of new taxes; but it cut into the income of the bondholders, who thenceforth became the bitter enemies of the Bourbon Monarchy. A series of laws was then enacted which aroused the greatest indignation among the intellectual classes. Sacrilege, or profanation of sacred vessels in a church, was made punishable by death; the control of higher education was given to the clergy; and the liberty of the press was still more curtailed. An attempt was also made to restore primogeniture, or the right of the eldest son to inherit the entire estate of the father. As equal division among all the sons of land bequeathed by the father was regarded as a fundamental principle of the French Revolution, the attitude of the Government aroused the bitterest hostility of all classes, especially of the peasant proprietors, who now feared the return of the landed aristocracy. The King, in addition to procuring the passage of the reactionary laws, made it quite clear that he intended to disregard the Charter and to re-establish naked absolutism. On July 26, 1830, were issued the infamous "July Ordinances," which suspended the liberty of the press by requiring government authorization for the publication of periodicals and its renewal every three years; which dissolved a newly elected Chamber even before it had met, because the majority was hostile to the King; and which modified the electoral law in order to disfranchise the wealthy liberals of the middle classes, so that the electorate was to consist of only about twenty-five thousand, mainly large landowners. Charles furthermore expressly claimed the right to interpret the Charter in any way that he pleased.

The July uprising

In this manner the King managed to antagonize every influential element in France, except the small clique of returned *émigrés* headed by his favorite minister, Polignac. Opposition to the Government became general, and all factions, Bonapartist, Republican, and Liberal Monarchist, each, however, for particular reasons of its own, united to overthrow a system which had become an anachronism. On July 28, 1830, rioting — prelude to revolution — was begun by Paris workingmen who had erected a network of barricades out of paving-stones, wagons, and old furniture, in the crooked and narrow streets. The soldiers attempted half-heartedly to suppress the revolt, but were beaten by the insurgents. As soon as it appeared certain that Paris was in the hands of the revolutionists, Charles abdicated and fled to England.

Louis Philippe becomes King

The two most important elements that brought about the July Revolution, as it was called, were the workingmen, who desired a democratic republic, and the middle class, who wished merely a constitutional monarchy. Most of the fighting behind the barricades was done by the former, but the latter, better organized and more influential, soon got control of the situation. Their candidate for the throne was Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, a member of the younger branch of the Bourbon dynasty, and a man who was not only willing, but even desirous, to become a strictly constitutional king. "He will respect our rights because he will hold his from us," was the announcement made on his behalf. Louis Philippe was eager to show his democratic bent of mind. He wore the cockade and accepted the tricolor flag, symbols of the French Revolution, and he publicly embraced General Lafayette, the leader of the popular party. On August 3, 1830, the Chamber of Deputies chose Louis Philippe as King of the French by the "grace of God and the will of the nation"; and once more did the Revolutionary tricolor become the flag of the nation in place of the Bourbon *fleur de lys*, or the white banner with golden lilies.

THE JULY MONARCHY

Constitutional reforms

The new régime began by making important changes in the constitution. Absolute government was abolished by a declaration that the Ministers were to be responsible to the Chamber and not to the King. The "July Ordinances" were repealed, and freedom of the press and of assembly assured. An important change was also made in the suffrage. The vote was now given to all men over twenty-five years old paying a direct annual property tax of forty dollars instead of sixty as formerly; in the case of professional men only twenty dollars was the requirement. Although the electorate was greatly enlarged by these provisions, it numbered only about two hundred thousand out of a population of about thirty million. These property requirements for suffrage were so arranged as to include the middle class and to exclude the workingmen. It soon became perfectly plain that the center of political gravity had shifted from the landed aristocracy to the well-to-do of the bourgeoisie.

Character of the "Citizen King"

The new King had had a checkered career. Exiled in 1793 by the Terrorists, he had traveled all over Europe, and even in America, earning a livelihood by teaching French. He returned to his native land during the Restoration, after an exile of twenty-one years. Unlike his Bourbon predecessors, he was shrewd enough to see that a new class, the capitalists, was rising to power and influence and that it would soon displace the old nobility in the government of the country. He therefore did everything in his power to ingratiate himself with these newly rich, greatly to the disgust of his aristocratic friends, who regarded bankers, stockbrokers, and manufacturers with haughty contempt. It was his custom to walk the streets unattended, dressed in a frock coat and top hat and carrying an umbrella, the symbols of the new régime, as wig, knee-breeches, and sword had been of the old. He also delighted to parade ostentatiously his liberal views, and was fond of calling himself the "Citizen King." In the opinion of many, this man, who in his youth had fought in the armies of the Revolution and was now so democratic in his manners and sentiments, would be the ideal constitutional monarch dreamed of by liberals in all lands.

Louis Philippe's policy was to favor the middle classes in order to win their support for his throne. Just as

The new Government favors the middle classes

Napoleon had created a nobility from among his soldier supporters, so the new King began to create a capitalist nobility, the "July nobles," as they were derisively called. Bankers, speculators, and manufacturers received patents of nobility, and the old aristocrats, greatly to their astonishment, found themselves unwelcome at Court. The only opposition to the Government came at first from the Legitimists, or the supporters of the Bourbons, who were now weak and discredited, and from the Republican workingmen who, as we have seen, were not given the ballot, although they had been mainly instrumental in the expulsion of Charles X. In one sense, the working classes were even worse off under the new régime than they had been under the old, because their employers, who were now in control, had a direct interest in keeping them in subjection. Severe laws were passed forbidding the formation of trade unions for the purpose of increasing wages. The hours of labor were long, sometimes as many as eighteen; the factories were unsanitary; and women and children were employed under outrageous conditions. Strike after strike broke out in the industrial centers, but they were ruthlessly suppressed by the Government. The silk weavers of Lyons, exasperated by a reduction of their already low wages, rose in revolt, declaring that they would either "live by working or die fighting." Many died fighting.

Working class demands "national workshops"

Disappointed with the outcome of the July Revolution, the workingmen began to organize on a new basis, hostility to the capitalists as well as to the aristocrats. One revolution, they argued, that of 1789, had benefited the peasants and middle classes; another, that of 1830, the capitalists; the next was to be a revolution for the benefit of the working classes. "We have in view," they declared in a manifesto, "not so much a political as a social change. The extension of political rights, electoral reform, universal suffrage, may all be excellent things, but simply as a means to an end. Our object is to divide the burdens and benefits of society equally and to establish the complete reign of equality." This new working-class movement came to be known as "socialism." The leading figure in it was Louis Blanc, whose book, *The Organization of Labor* (1839), was widely influential in its day. According to the plan proposed, the State was to become an industrial republic by organizing "national workshops," which were to be managed by the workers, who were to be employees of the State. The product of their labor was to be divided among them on the principle of "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his need"; in this way the laborers were to be elevated from the condition of economic dependence upon the capitalists.

Newspaper attacks on the King

Republican sentiment, even among the middle classes, finally became strong enough to frighten the July Monarchy. Incipient insurrections and violent demonstrations were continually breaking out, and several attempts were made even on the life of the King. The country was covered with secret societies, like the powerful Society of the Rights of Man, which aimed to overthrow the Government. Louis Philippe, although a "King of the Barricades," began to fear that he might at any time be forced to flee like Charles X. Like many other tyrants, he had no policy other than suppression. Laws were enacted requiring all societies to submit their constitutions for approval by the Government. In spite of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press, Republican journals were suppressed and their editors jailed, fined, or deported. In 1835 were passed the infamous "September Laws," which prohibited, by severe penalties, criticism of the King in any form. Caricatures of Louis Philippe were especially forbidden, as the comic journals of Paris were fond of picturing him with a pear-shaped head. It was likewise made unlawful to question the institution of property or to defend any but the monarchical system of government. Newspapers had to deposit twenty thousand dollars with the Government as a guarantee of good behavior. To try cases arising from breaches of these laws special courts were organized which could condemn an accused person even in his absence.

Reactionary policies of the King and Guizot

By these methods Louis Philippe managed to get rid of opposition for a time. But the more liberal-minded men of all classes were now convinced that liberty would not be safe under any monarch, no matter how democratic his professions. More and more did the King assert his prerogative to govern, for he firmly believed that the throne was not an "empty armchair." He began a policy of personal government by choosing the Cabinet himself, irrespective of the wishes of the Chamber. Adolphe Thiers, who had been his sponsor and stoutest supporter, was compelled to resign his position as Prime Minister, because he believed in the English theory that the king should reign but not rule. In François Guizot, the famous historian, the King finally found a Minister in harmony with his ideas. Guizot had opposed the tyranny of Charles X most bitterly, and he was now as strongly opposed to the other extreme, the rule of the common man. According to him, the essence of free government was that of a king and parliament, the latter to be chosen by property-owners, i.e., the upper and middle classes. The cabinet should be chosen independently by the king and, at the same time, receive the support of parliament. In order to insure this support, Guizot organized a system of political corruption to grind out majorities for the Government during the elections. The two hundred thousand voters were known as the *pays légal*, or the legitimate source of political power. They chose electoral colleges which, in turn, chose the Deputies to the Chamber. In the highly centralized government of France, both local and national patronage, as well as special favors to localities, were used by Guizot to gain supporters. The Deputies themselves were often bribed by being made stockholders in industrial corporations or by being given government contracts. In this way Parliament became a willing tool in the hands of the King; the system was not unlike the one which existed in England under George III and his Minister, Lord North. To Guizot, whose mind was of the rigid, pedantic type, adherence to parlimentary *forms* constituted political liberty; consequently he was exceedingly careful to observe the constitution in regard to the rights of the legislature.

Unpopularity of the King and of Guizot

Naturally enough this system encountered great opposition. Sharp demands were made for universal suffrage, direct election of Deputies, and ministerial responsibility. To all of these Guizot turned a deaf ear. The tyranny of the July Monarchy was all the more resented because it had come in on the wave of revolution; moreover, unlike the Bourbons or Imperialists, it could point to no great traditions or achievements with which to arouse enthusiasm. Hypocrisy was the stamp of its birth, as mediocrity was of its life. The commonplace King and his stilted, pedantic Minister were beginning to bore France, always a fatal thing in that vivacious land. What made the Government most odious was its tendency to pursue a peace-at-any price policy in foreign affairs. At that time Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt and a vassal of the Sultan of Turkey, rebelled against his suzerain and received the support of France.[1] But the Sultan was supported by England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who arranged a conference in London (1840) in order to agree on the means of fighting the rebellious viceroy. France was ignored. This aroused a warlike sentiment among the French, to which the King refused to respond because he feared that an unsuccessful war might lead to his downfall. It was felt by many that Louis Philippe was willing to sacrifice the honor of his country for his own safety.

Uprising of 1848

Opposition to the Government gathered force every year, although both the King and Guizot failed to see the strength of the revolutionary movement which was uniting moderate monarchists and extreme socialists against their régime. A number of "reform banquets" were organized to promote the agitation. On February 22, 1848, a great reform banquet was to be held in

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[1] See p. 404.

Paris, but a government order forbade it. However, on the day appointed a great crowd, composed mainly of students and workingmen, gathered before the hall to protest against this order. The National Guard was sent to disperse the mob, but, instead, it joined the rioters with shouts of "Long live Reform! Down with Guizot!" The King, frightened, promised concessions. Guizot resigned. But the march of events was swifter than the tardy concessions. On the next morning barricades appeared in the streets, and Paris was in the hands of the revolutionists, who proclaimed a republic amid shouts of "Long live Reform!" A mob entered the Tuileries palace and destroyed the throne, and then rushed into the Chamber of Deputies with cries of "Down with Royalty!" Louis Philippe abdicated and fled to England. A provisional government, composed of seven Republicans and three Socialists, was then organized.

The Second Republic

Working-men and middle class win the revolution

The complete success of the February Revolution was as much a surprise to the victors as to the vanquished. It was the work largely of two elements, (1) the militant Parisian workingmen who were now determined to control the new government in their own interests, and (2) the idealistic Republicans of the middle class whose program, when they had one, consisted of demands for political, religious, and educational reform. Lamartine, poet, essayist, and statesman, was the spokesman of these "Men of '48." To Louis Blanc, the leader of the Socialists, the time was now propitious for a *social* revolution which was to establish Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality in economic as well as in political matters.

The establishment of "national workshops"

The ease with which the July Monarchy was overthrown stirred the hopes of the socialists. Events moved rapidly in their direction, so it seemed. Fearing to arouse the Parisian workingmen, the Provisional Government recognized the principle of the "right to labor," namely, that the State owed every one an opportunity to gain a livelihood; and it also established a Labor

Commission and ordered the creation of the "national workshops" demanded by Louis Blanc and his followers. But it was not at all the intention of the Provisional Government to favor these socialistic experiments; on the contrary, it proposed to do everything possible to frustrate them. The recommendations of the Labor Commission were ignored, and the "national workshops" were placed in charge of a man avowedly hostile to the idea. What was established was a caricature of Blanc's plan. Men of all trades were assuredly given "the right to work" — building fortifications at a wage of forty cents a day. In spite of this low wage, however, over one hundred thousand men were at one time at work on the fortifications, for there was great distress owing to general unemployment.

The "June days"

The Provisional Government soon gave place to a Constitutional Assembly which met May 4, 1848. Most of the delegates elected to this body were moderate republicans and bitterly hostile to socialism. A demand made by Blanc for the creation of a Ministry of Labor was refused. The Parisian workingmen soon realized that socialism was as little favored by the republicans as by the monarchists. In fact, almost the first act of the Assembly was to abolish the "national workshops" and to discharge the laborers, who were denounced by the conservatives as "a reserve army of insurrection, a perpetual strike supported by public money." Many men were thus thrown out of employment, and so bitterness was added to disappointment. Once more the barricades went up in the streets of Paris, this time against those who had but recently been behind them. Street fighting, such as had not been seen since the Reign of Terror, took place during the famous "June days" (June 23–26, 1848), between the workingmen under the red flag, the emblem of socialism, and the military. The middle classes, now thoroughly alarmed, took a terrible revenge. General Cavaignac was given full power and the uprising was ruthlessly suppressed. About ten thousand men were killed or wounded and many were deported or imprisoned. The terrible "June days" had important consequences. A bitter and lasting antagonism arose between the bourgeoisie and the working classes. The latter became more or less indifferent to political reforms, no matter how radical; and the former became hostile to government by the "vile mob," no matter how idealistic their sentiments. Again, there took place a consolidation of conservative sentiment among all property-owners, great and small, capitalists, peasants, and shopkeepers alike, who saw in the insurrection of the workingmen a menace to their prosperity, and even to their very existence. The "June days" were to exercise a decided influence on the downfall of the Second Republic.

The new constitution

The Constitutional Assembly then drew up a constitution for the Republic. A parliament, called the Legislative Assembly, was provided for, to consist of one house of seven hundred and fifty members elected by universal suffrage. Full executive power was given to a president, to be chosen by universal suffrage for a term of four years. Complete freedom of speech and of assembly were especially guaranteed. As candidates for the Presidency there appeared three men: General Cavaignac, Republican, Ledru-Rollin, Socialist, and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The last was a son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Empress Josephine by her first husband; hence he was related to the great Napoleon by the ties of blood and marriage.

Character of Louis Napoleon

After the downfall of the Empire, Louis Napoleon had led a life of exciting exile in many lands. In Italy, he became a member of the secret revolutionary society known as the Carbonari; in England, he became a special constable to suppress the Chartist rioters. Throughout his life he was obsessed with the idea that France had still another imperial life to lead and that he, the sole inheritor of the great Napoleonic tradition, was destined to revive the glories of the First Empire. In 1836 and again in 1840, he made attempts to provoke an uprising in the French army, but each time he failed miserably and was imprisoned. In appearance the inheritor of Napoleonic traditions was peculiar: his body was long, but his legs were short; his face was adorned by a pointed moustache and by an "imperial," or pointed beard, in order, so his enemies said, to hide a weak chin. Some thought him commonplace; others, crafty; still others, dreamy; all thought him insignificant and ridiculous. But the revival of a great emotion gave this singular man his opportunity. The bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe had bored the French, who harked back to the splendor and glory of the past at the very time that the Napoleonic "legend" was in the process of formation.

The Napoleonic "legend"

In 1840 the remains of the great Emperor were brought from St. Helena and deposited with elaborate ceremonies in a magnificent tomb. Thiers, who was a historian as well as a politician, published his famous work, *The Consulate and the Empire*, which was a glorification of the Emperor's life and deeds. Louis Napoleon himself wrote a book called *Napoleonic Ideas*, in which he contended that his famous uncle was a true servant of the French Revolution, his chief aim having been to establish a democratic government, but that he was prevented from doing so by the tyrant kings of Europe. For this reason his work remained unfinished. "I represent before you," declared Louis Napoleon at his trial for treason in 1840, "a principle, a cause, a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause is that of the Empire; the defeat is Waterloo." In the campaign for the Presidency of the Second Republic, he naturally had the advantage of a great name and a great tradition. "Why should I not vote for this gentleman?" said a Napoleonic veteran, "I, whose nose was frozen at Moscow?" In the election that followed, Louis Napoleon received about 5,400,000 votes, almost three times as many as both of his opponents combined. "My duty is clear," announced the Prince-President, "and I shall fulfill it as a man of honor. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavor to change by illegal means that which France has established." How he fulfilled his "duty" we shall soon see.

Overthrow of the Second Republic

The Monarchist Assembly

The result of the election to the Legislative Assembly in 1849 was surprising. It was overwhelmingly monarchist, as only about 250 out of the 750 members were Republicans, either moderate or socialist. There was now a "republic without republicans." Both the President and the Assembly immediately devoted themselves to the suppression of the democratic propaganda. Republican journals were suppressed, their editors jailed on one pretense or another, and, in some cases, Republican representatives were deprived of their seats. The Assembly proposed also to "purify" universal suffrage. In 1850 it passed an electoral law which directly disfranchised members of secret societies and those who had taken part in the revolutionary agitation; and, indirectly, it disfranchised many workingmen by requiring that a citizen, in order to be qualified as an elector, had to have his name on the local tax list for at least three consecutive years. Few working men could fulfill these qualifications.

The President discredits the Assembly

Having thus disposed of the Republicans, the Prince-President and the monarchist Assembly fell to quarreling with each other. Their rival ambitions clashed, for the secret desire of the former was to become Emperor, whereas the latter wished to restore either the Bourbon or the Orleans dynasty. Louis Napoleon demanded the repeal of the provision in the constitution which made the President ineligible for a second term, and the Assembly naturally opposed him. Failing in this he decided to discredit that body by demanding the repeal of the franchise law of 1850, and so posing as a champion of universal suffrage. As Commander-in-Chief he put his friends in positions of command in the army, the rank and file of which were enthusiastic over the idea of having a Bonaparte at its head.

Everything was prepared for a *coup d'état*, or the overthrow of the Republic by a military conspiracy, and the day chosen was December 2, 1851, the anniversary of the

Battle of Austerlitz. One morning Paris awoke to find the whole city placarded with announcements by the President that he had dissolved the Assembly and had ordered the reëstablishment of universal suffrage in order to "save the country and the Republic from harm." The soldiers forcibly ejected the members of the Assembly, arresting all who opposed them. A list of republicans in all parts of France had been drawn up, and over twenty thousand Frenchmen were imprisoned or exiled. In spite of the great care that the conspirators exercised in preventing the erection of barricades, an uprising took place in the streets of Paris, but the soldiers were prepared, and the "massacre of the boulevards" followed, in which many were wounded and about one hundred and fifty killed. Louis Napoleon was now virtual master of France. A referendum, known as a "plebiscite," was then ordered, in which all citizens were asked whether they approved or disapproved of the President's action and of the new constitution which he proposed. By a vote of 7,481,000 to 647,000, France gave her seal of approval to the *coup d'état*.

The *coup d'état*

This new constitution provided that Louis Napoleon should serve as President for a new term of ten years. He was to have full executive power and the cabinet was to be responsible to him only. There were to be three legislative bodies: (1) a Council of State, appointed by the President to prepare all the laws; (2) a *Corps législatif*, elected by universal suffrage to discuss and to vote on bills; and (3) a Senate, appointed by the President for life, to which was given the somewhat vague function of being the "guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties." This scheme was merely a disguised dictatorship, and shortly afterwards (November 7, 1852) Louis Napoleon was openly proclaimed by the Senate Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. This action, too, was ratified by a plebiscite. There was now a second Restoration, this time of the Napoleonic dynasty and in the person of the fantastic adventurer and poverty-stricken exile on whom had been poured so much ridicule and contempt.

The new constitution

Reasons why France accepted Napoleon

It would be only too easy to ascribe the startling change from the democratic Republic of 1848 to the autocratic Empire of 1852 to the instability, or "frivolousness," of the French. But this would hardly do justice to a great people whose influence in the world has been most profound. There are more worthy explanations. In the first place, the great number of property-owners in France, the peasants and the middle classes, had become badly frightened at the growth of revolutionary socialism among the workingmen. The "June days" had inspired a fear that democracy would spell socialism, and that this might mean the confiscation of private property. "The agitation, set on foot by the Liberals," declared Jules Simon, the distinguished French statesman, "resulted in the Republic which they dreaded, and at the last moment universal suffrage, set on foot by certain Republicans, resulted in promoting the cause of socialism which they abhorred." Louis Napoleon appeared to many substantial persons as the "savior of society," the strong man who would sternly suppress the uprising of the socialists as his great uncle had suppressed the Jacobins, with a "whiff of grapeshot." In the second place, the workingmen themselves were more or less indifferent to the *coup d'état*. Since the "June days," they had come to regard a bourgeois republic with the same hatred as a bourgeois monarchy. And was not Louis Napoleon in favor of universal suffrage, which had been abolished by the Assembly? In the third place, the French people were not in a position to prevent the change to autocracy, even had they been willing to do so, because the plebiscite was a tricky form of referendum. Instead of asking the people whether they wished to make a change, Louis Napoleon first made the change and then asked for approval. It was, then, a choice between accepting the new government or nothing; hence there was no alternative but to vote approval. Over a million and a half electors stayed away from the polls rather than take part in this farcical referendum. The new Emperor combined with a dreamy and impulsively generous disposition a cunning that was almost unfathomable and an unscrupulousness that was almost unbelievable. Finally, Louis Napoleon with his romantic history and great tradition made a powerful appeal to the highly imaginative French. They believed that under his rule France would again assume a dominant position in European affairs; and, as we shall see, they were not mistaken.

ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN FRENCH LITERATURE

Reaction against the Classicists

French literature during the first half of the nineteenth century saw the rise and decline of the Romantic movement. The Restoration brought in its train a hatred for the writings of the eighteenth-century philosophers, who were regarded as responsible for the French Revolution. In contradistinction to the latter, who wrote in a clear, faultlessly "classic" style about "reason," the writers of the new period, influenced partly by Rousseau and partly by Chateaubriand, threw "reason" to the wind, and wrote in a style and on subjects in which emotion and imagination had free play. These Romanticists, as they were called, preached vehemently against the cold rationalism of their predecessors, and turned for inspiration to the fantastic tales and marvelous deeds of the Middle Ages. The Romantic movement has been well described as the "renaissance of wonder," for anything that was wonderful, strange, curious, and imaginative made a powerful appeal to the writers of this new school.

Romanticists *versus* Classicists

The movement in France began with a small group in Paris calling itself the *Cenacle*, of which Victor Hugo was the leading spirit. It was the production in 1830 of the latter's play, *Hernani*, a grandiloquent melodrama of a heroic brigand, which started a storm of applause and condemnation; so strong was the feeling that almost every performance was followed by lively scrimmages between the "Romanticists" and the "Classicists." The battle of the schools raged for almost a generation; books, pamphlets, and manifestoes were issued, defending or attacking Romanticism.

Victor Hugo

Victor Hugo (1802–85), the chief protagonist of Romanticism, became a sort of literary dictator to the rising generation of French men-of-letters, and his popularity has persisted down to this day, not only in France, but throughout the world. Gifted with an extraordinary imagination, he wove a magic web over everything that he wrote, whether poem, drama, novel, history, or essay. "He can conjure up the strangest vision of fancy; he can evoke the glamour and the mystery of the past; he can sing with exquisite lightness of the fugitive beauties of Nature; he can pour out, in tenderness or in passion, the melodies of love; he can fill his lines with the fire, the stress, the culminating fury, of prophetic denunciation; he can utter the sad and secret questionings of the human spirit and give voice to the solemnity of Fate."[1] Half-prophet, half-journalist, Hugo had both a wide and a deep influence on his generation, whose spokesman he regarded himself. His verbal facility was amazing. Words poured from his pen in a swift and steady stream, and he almost exhausted the resources of the French language of whose treasures he was master. Like many other French men-of-letters, Hugo was keenly interested in public affairs, and he became an eloquent champion of democratic principles. For denouncing the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon he was driven into exile, where he wrote bitter invectives against the Emperor whom he called "*Napoléon le petit.*"

His most famous novel is *Les Misérables*, a prose epic of modern society, which is an eloquent indictment of inhumane social conditions. The characters that appear in this book constitute a wonderful gallery of portraits of saints and sinners, whose characters and ideals are depicted in a style suffused with emotion and in a spirit of fervent humanitarianism.

Hugo's chief title to fame is, however, as a poet. The lyrical quality and vivid imagery of his verse is unexcelled in French poetry. The collection of poems called *Châtiments* is a lyrical outburst of love of humanity and hatred for tyranny. In his *Contemplations* other qualities are shown, symbolic and even mystic brooding over religion, love, and destiny.[1]

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[1] G. L. Strachey, *Landmarks in French Literature*, p. 215.

The Romantic poets and novelists

The chief followers of Hugo were the poets, Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863) and Alfred de Musset (1810–57) and the novelists, Théophile Gautier (1811–72) and Alexandre Dumas (1803–70). De Vigny's poetry is at times idealistic and full of delicate imagery; at other times, it is melancholy to the point of pessimism. It was said of him that he was like a beautiful angel who had drunk of vinegar. Brilliant, vivacious, and sentimental was Alfred de Musset, the "poet of love," whose poems and plays have a high place in French literature. His most famous work is *Les Nuits*, a series of philosophic poems in the form of dialogues. Théophile Gautier, novelist, essayist, and poet, was an ardent Romanticist, whose sensational appearance at the first performance of *Hernani*, with his long hair disheveled and his person adorned with a flaming red waistcoat, aroused much hilarity. Master of a style which was almost flawless in its perfection, his themes are often trivial and, according to some critics, his work is lacking in ideas. The best-known Romantic novelist of the day, next to Victor Hugo, was Alexandre Dumas, whose tales have been described as "cloak-and-sword" romances because they deal with daring adventures, wicked conspiracies, and romantic loves. Dumas is the great favorite among boys, few of whom have not read his famous novels, the *Three Musketeers* and the *Count of Monte Cristo*.

Romanticists become radicals

The chief contribution of the Romantic movement to French literature was a revival of lyric poetry, particularly in the work of Hugo, whose enduring fame rests on his greatness, not as a novelist, but as a lyric poet. It also created a new type of prose which profoundly influenced later French literature. In politics, unlike the German Romanticists, who became reactionaries, the French Romanticists became radical democrats, "contemners of kings and laws," despite their love for the Middle Ages. Hugo and his disciples were too close to the great Revolution, and too much inspired by its ideals, to welcome the return of medievalism; what they did was to fuse the themes of the Middle Ages with the spirit of the French Revolution.

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[1] For further account of Hugo, see p. 165.

Lamartine

Alphonse Prat de Lamartine (1790–1869) is the unique example of a poet turned statesman. Lamartine was a philosophic poet, and might be described as the French Wordsworth. His volume of *Méditations* consists of philosophic elegies written in a beautiful, melodious style on such themes as Religion, Love, and Nature. His famous *History of the Girondins* is less a history than an eloquent tribute to the ideas of the Girondins of the French Revolution, whom he greatly admired. Lamartine was a sincere lover of freedom, and he threw himself into the revolutionary movement of 1848 with ardor, hoping to establish true democracy on the ruins of the bourgeois monarchy. He proved himself a remarkable orator, and becoming a popular idol, he was elected a member of the Provisional Government. But his popularity was short-lived, as both socialists and monarchists opposed him and he was compelled to retire from politics.

George Sand

Aurore Dupin (1804–76), better known by her pseudonym, "George Sand," is the representative of the Idealist school in French literature. Her novels of country life, written in a clear, flowing style, have an idyllic charm which has endeared her to thousands of readers. She effected something like a revolution in literature by introducing peasants and common laborers as heroes. Later in life she became a warm advocate of the rights of women and of workingmen, and an ardent adherent of utopian socialism.

Balzac

In the novels of Honoré Balzac (1799–1850) the problems of the middle classes for the first time become the leading themes in literature. His famous *Comédie Humaine*, in which about five thousand characters pass and repass through a series of one hundred novels, constitutes a veritable storehouse of "human documents" illustrating the social life of France during the first half of the nineteenth century. The virtues and vices of the middle classes are analyzed and portrayed with wonderful power and insight in this bourgeois epic, in which money, not love or war, is the theme, the moral, and the tale. Balzac's attitude toward human beings is almost that of a naturalist toward animals; he analyzes them as objectively, classifies them as emotionlessly, and judges them as dispassionately. He loves to ferret out the hidden motives for human action, and to expose mercilessly the secret springs and hidden trapdoors of society. In the opinion of many literary critics Balzac is the greatest of all the French novelists.[1]

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[1] His chief novels are *Eugénie Grandet*, *Le Père Goriot*, *Le Cousin Pons*, *La Cousine Bette*, and *Grandeur et Décadence de César Birotteau*.

CHAPTER VII

CENTRAL EUROPE

1815–50

INTRODUCTION

Problem of nationalism solved by France and England

SINCE the dissolution of the ancient Roman Empire two great problems have constantly confronted the Western, European people, nationalism and democracy. Throughout the chaos of the feudal period a national consciousness was slowly developing in France and England which found expression in the growing power of the king; and by the end of the fifteenth century the feudal barons, who had been practically independent monarchs in their own domains, were forced to give up their political independence and become courtiers or servants of the king. Furthermore, as a result of the Protestant Revolution, the Church was shorn of most of her secular authority and was also reduced to a position of subservience to the king, who was thereupon acknowledged by all his subjects as their supreme ruler. By the seventeenth century France and England had solved one problem, nationalism, which grew stronger as the people became more homogeneous, the laws more uniform, and the language and culture more common.

Not solved by Germany

It was quite otherwise in Germany. By a curious irony of circumstances those forces which made for nationalism in France and England produced the opposite effect in Germany. During the Middle Ages the Holy Roman Emperor, who claimed absolute dominion, not only over Germany, but over Italy as well, was unable to enforce his authority over the feudal barons and the independent towns that often rebelled against him. The great struggle between the Papacy and the Empire resulted in the triumph of the former and in the consequent weakening of the latter. Moreover, the Imperial Crown was elective, not hereditary; hence those great lords known as the "Electors," who controlled the election of the Emperor, were in a position to bargain with prospective candidates for their own advantage at the expense of the monarchy and therefore of the nation. Instead of gradually increasing and consolidating his authority by reducing the feudal barons to submission, the Emperor gradually lost much of his power and became a figurehead, for the Holy Roman Empire was but a shadowy union, "neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire," in Voltaire's witty description. The Protestant Revolution had a disastrous effect on German national unity. As Germany was the battleground between the contending parties, she found herself in a state of almost complete ruin at the end of the Thirty Years' War. The result being a victory for the Protestants, the Emperor, who had championed the cause of Catholicism, lost whatever little power and prestige he had had, and Germany was now more disrupted than ever before.

The "Germanies"

A map of Germany during the eighteenth century had the appearance of a crazy-quilt. There were fully three hundred independent states, the "Germanies" as they were then called by the French, varying in size from a large kingdom like Prussia to a tiny territory of a knight of the Empire, each with its own flag, system of government, tariff, and army. More confusing still was the fact that some states lay wholly or partly within the boundaries of other states like scattered strips on a medieval farm. Among the Germans of that day love for the Fatherland did not exist; there was none to love. Those who emigrated from Germany to other lands readily became assimilated with other nationalities and quickly forgot their native language and customs. At home the Germans were apt to be narrow and provincial, cherishing a strongly developed spirit of "particularism," or love of their state, and an affectionate regard for their princes. This is humorously described by the poet, Heinrich Heine, in the following manner:

Heine's description of Germany

"Our Elector was a fine gentleman, a great lover of the arts, and himself very clever with his fingers. He founded the picture gallery at Düsseldorf, and in the Observatory in that city they still show a very artistic set of wooden boxes, one inside the other, made by himself in his leisure hours, of which he had twenty-four every day.

"In those days the princes were not overworked mortals as they are to-day. Their crowns sat very firmly on their heads, and at night they just drew their nightcaps over them, and slept in peace, while peacefully at their feet slept their peoples; and when these woke up in the morning they said, 'Good-morning, Father,' and the princes replied, 'Good-morning, dear children.'"

Napoleon's consolidation

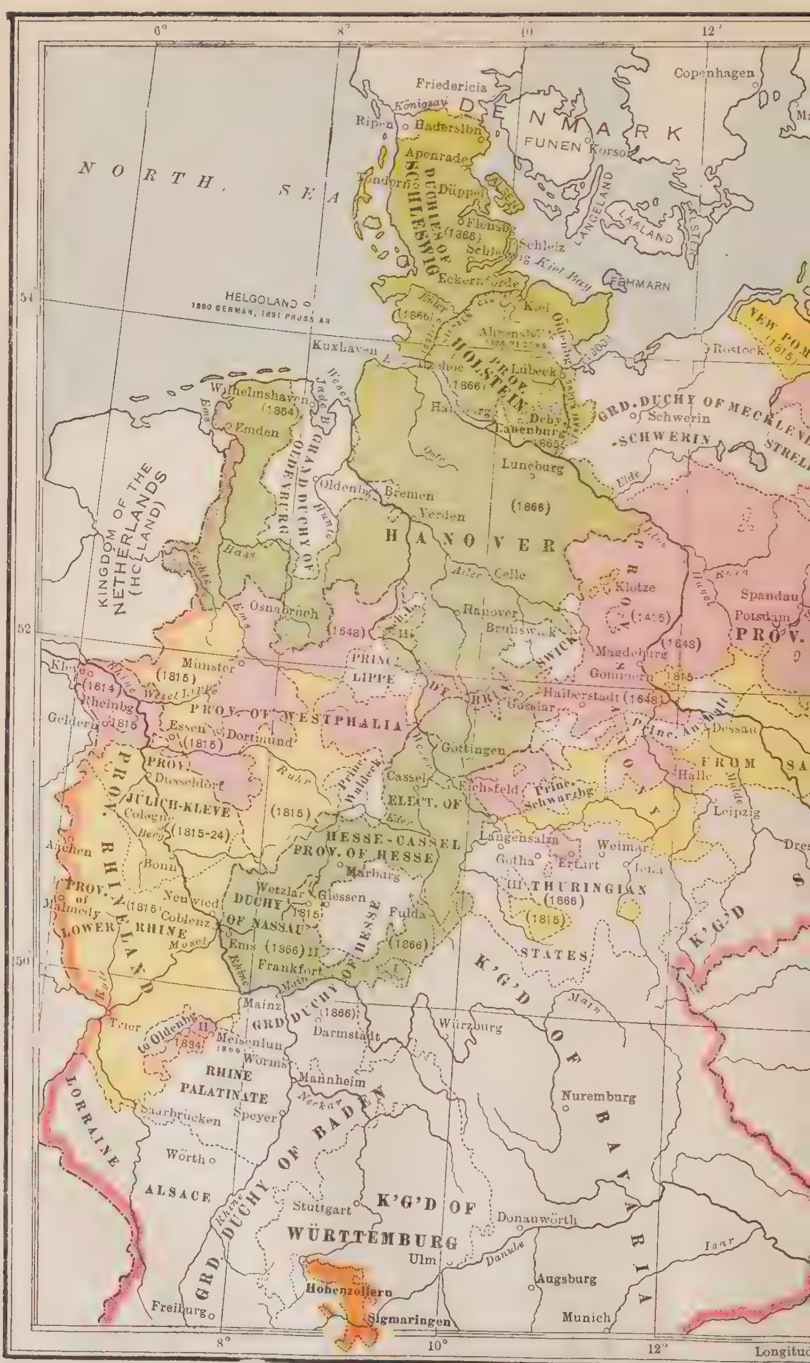
It was no wonder, then, that Napoleon found it easy to conquer a people who were so lacking in national sentiment and so divided among themselves. The great consolidation of the German states effected by the French Emperor in 1803–06 was a step of inestimable importance in the process of unifying Germany, as it gave the necessary basis for the work of Bismarck in 1870.

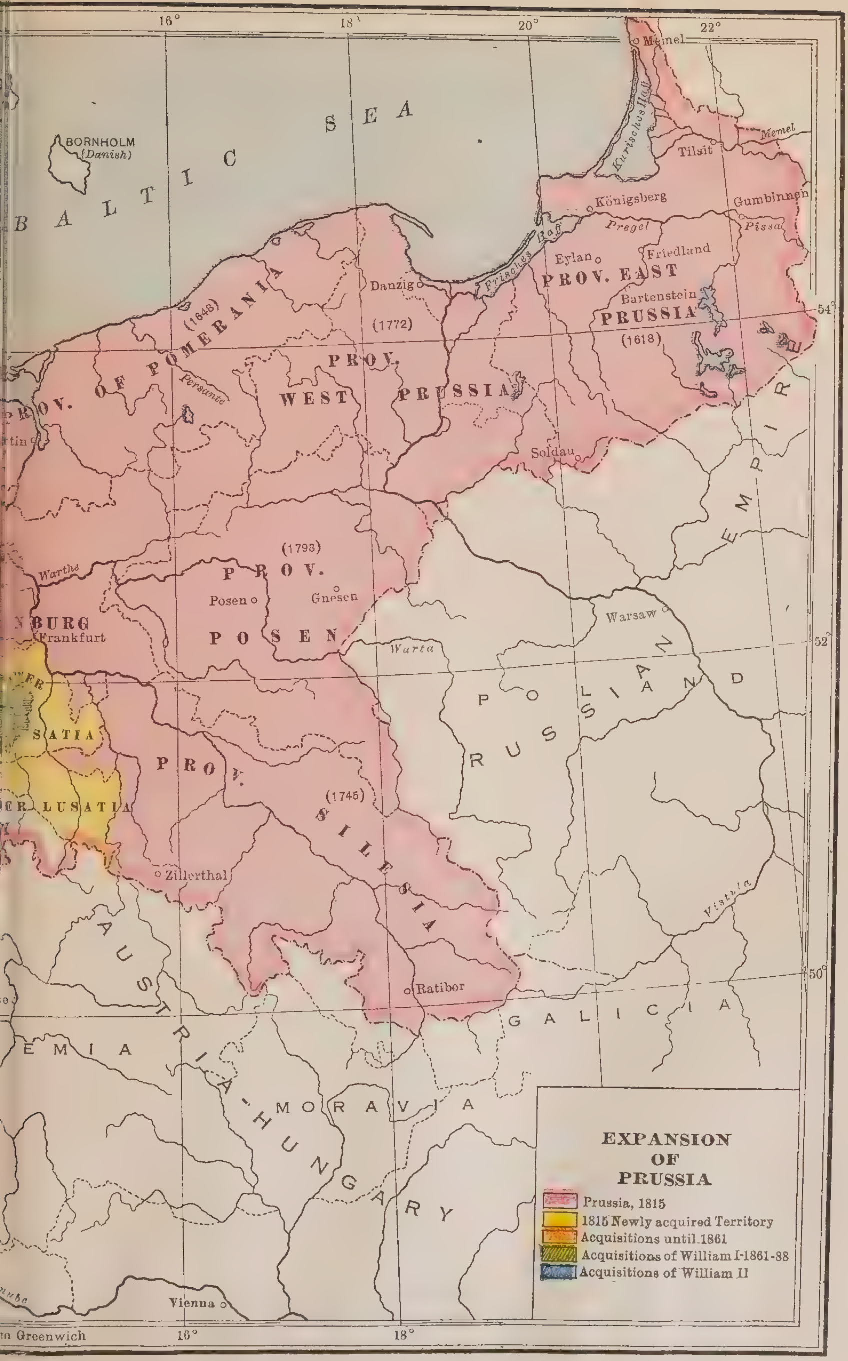
Problem of democracy solved by England and France

The other problem, democracy, was also solved, at least partially, by England and France. Parliaments were originally created by the kings in order to get more taxes from the burghers of the towns. But an institution created for one purpose was made to serve quite another in England, where Parliament, through possessing the power of the purse, was able to wring concessions from the king. The struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts, the Cromwellian Rebellion, and the Revolution of 1689 resulted in establishing the supremacy of the legislature in the government of England; later, even the executive functions of the king were taken over by the Cabinet, which was made responsible to Parliament. Consequently, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, England had the machinery of a democratic state; all that she needed in order to become a complete democracy was to reform and to broaden her electoral system. France, too, had partially solved the problem of democracy. Although she had remained an autocracy down to the end of the eighteenth century, the French Revolution accomplished in one decade what it had taken England centuries to achieve. The restoration of absolutism by Napoleon and later by the Bourbons lasted only till the Revolution of 1830, which established constitutional government. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, France was on her way toward becoming a democratic state.

Not solved by Germany

Germany, possessing neither the English tradition of liberty, "broadening down from precedent to precedent," nor the revolutionary impulses of France, entered the nineteenth century a naked absolutism, unchecked by representative institutions and unquestioned by the mass of the people. It has been the history of almost every country in Europe that the solidarity of the people has always preceded the sovereignty of the people, for modern democracy cannot take root except in the rich and fertile soil of nationalism. A people divided in their allegiance, as were the Germans, meant a people divided in their energies. They exhausted themselves in fratricidal strife and petty quarrels, with the result that they had no energy left to struggle for democracy. The narrow atmosphere of the little "Germanies" cramped their souls and starved their national spirit. In despair they took to philosophy. For in the wide realm of metaphysics the German spirit could soar freely and majestically, knowing neither the constraint of boundaries nor the repression of despots. It was then a common jest that whereas France ruled the land and England the sea, Germany ruled the clouds. Many Germans affected to despise the nationalism to which they could not attain, and they became cosmopolitans, calling themselves "citizens of the world." "The love of country," declared the dramatist, Lessing, "is a sentiment which I do not understand. It is, as it seems to me, at best a heroic infirmity which I am most happy in not sharing."


6°
8°
10
12°
54
52
50
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Friedericia
Königsau
Ripen
Hadersleben
FUNEN
Korsor
Apenrade
DUCHY OF SCHLESWIG
(1866)
Tondern
Düppel
ALSEN
Flensbg
Schleiz
Schleswig
Kiel Bay
LANGELAND
LAALAND
FALSTER
FEHMARN
Eckernförde
HELGOLAND
1890 GERMAN, 1891 PRUSSIAN
Kiel
Rostock
NEW POM.
(1815)
Kuxhaven
Itzehoe
(1866)
PROV. HOLSTEIN
Lübeck
Wilhelmshaven
(1854)
Jade B.
Weser
Ems
Emden
Hamburg
Lauenburg
1865
GRD. DUCHY OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN
Schwerin
STRELITZ
GRAND DUCHY OF OLDENBURG
Oldenbg
Bremen
Verden
Luneburg
(1866)
Elde
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND)
HANOVER
Celle
Aller
Hase
Klotze
(1415)
Spandau
Potsdam
PROV.
Osnabrück
(1648)
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
(1648)
Gommern
1815
Münster
(1815)
PRINC. LIPPE
Halberstadt (1648)
Goslar
Dessau
Princ. Anhalt
Kleve
(1614)
Wesel
Lippe
Rheinbg
Geldern
1815
PROV. OF WESTPHALIA
Essen
Dortmund
(1815)
Göttingen
PROV.
Düsseldorf
Ruhr
Princ. Waldeck
Cassel
ELECT. OF HESSE-CASSEL
Eichsfeld
Princ. Schwarzbg
FROM
SAXONY
Halle
Leipzig
JÜLICH-KLEVE
Cologne
(1815)
(1815-24)
Berg
PROV. OF HESSE
Langensalza
Weimar
Gotha
Erfurt
Jena
Aachen
PROV. RHINELAND
Bonn
Marburg
THURINGIAN
(1866)
(1815)
STATES
Wetzlar
Giessen
DUCHY OF NASSAU
1815
Fulda
PROV. of Malmedy
LOWER RHINE
Neuwied
(1815)
Coblenz
Mosel
Ems
(1866)
Frankfort
HESSE
(1866)
K'G'D
Main
Mainz
GRD DUCHY
(1866)
Darmstadt
Würzburg
Trier
Oldenbg
1834
Meisenheim
1866
Worms
RHINE PALATINATE
Mannheim
Neckar
LORRAINE
Saarbrücken
Speyer
Nuremburg
K'G'D OF BAVARIA
GRD DUCHY OF BADEN
Wörth
ALSACE
Rhine
Stuttgart
K'G'D OF WÜRTTEMBURG
Donauwörth
Danube
Ulm
Augsburg
Isar
Hohenzollern
Sigmaringen
Freiburg
Munich
8°
10°
12°
Longitude



EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA

Prussia

Expansion of Prussia

The rise of Prussia to the leadership of the German people is one of the most important events in the history of modern Europe. Early in the fifteenth century the Electorate of Brandenburg, one of the smaller states in the Empire, came under the rule of the Hohenzollern family, hitherto scarcely known in Germany. Ambition to extend their domains has been the most conspicuous trait of this dynasty; its proud boast is that a Hohenzollern always leaves his country larger than he finds it. The first great annexation was the Duchy of Prussia, which was acquired by the Elector of Brandenburg in 1618 through inheritance from a younger branch of the family that ruled there. By shrewd diplomacy the Great Elector, Frederick William, managed to secure large additions of territory at the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Brandenburg was soon important enough to be classed as a kingdom; and in 1701 the Elector Frederick III was created King of Prussia under the title of Frederick I. The most remarkable of the Hohenzollerns was Frederick II, the Great, who managed by his wonderful military and diplomatic abilities almost to double the size of his domains. He conquered Silesia from the Austrians and West Prussia from the Poles and obtained a part of Poland as a result of the first partition. His successor, Frederick William II, got large additions of territory as a result of the later partitions of Poland. By the end of the eighteenth century Prussia had risen to be one of the Great Powers of Europe and a rival to Austria for the leadership of the German people.

Prussia crushed by Napoleon

The steady growth of Prussia was interrupted by the Napoleonic wars. After the crushing defeat at Jena, in 1806, Prussia as an independent nation was almost annihilated. Half of her territory was taken away, and what remained was subject to French domination. Prussia would have been entirely dismembered by Napoleon had not the Tsar interfered in her behalf. After centuries of aggrandizement Prussia had reached the pinnacle of power only to collapse at the touch of Napoleon.

Regeneration of Prussia

There then began a great heart-searching among the ruling classes of the nation. What was the real cause of her great humiliation and defeat? They came to the conclusion that the Prussian armies were defeated because the Prussian people lacked a national consciousness, due to their being divided by caste and restricted by tyrannical laws. Under the leadership of two remarkable statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg, the regeneration of Prussia was begun. Serfdom was abolished and fully two thirds of the entire population were liberated. A great blow was struck at the feudal caste system by removing class and property distinctions in the legal code. The entire administration, both local and national, was reformed and made the basis of the wonderfully efficient German governmental system of to-day. The army was reorganized by Scharnhorst on the basis of universal military service. All these far-reaching reforms were accomplished, not as a result of revolution from below or even because of threats of rebellion, but by edicts of King Frederick William III. The regeneration of Prussia has been variously described as a "revolution from above" and as a "royal night of August 4."[1] The effect of these reforms was immediately seen in the enthusiastic national revival known as the Liberation Movement, which helped to overthrow Napoleon and brought about Prussia's recovery.

The German Confederation

Germany not united by the Confederation

As we have already seen,[2] the consolidations effected in Germany by Napoleon were left practically undisturbed by the Congress of Vienna. To the Holy Roman Empire succeeded the German Confederation, which was pledged to "the maintenance of external and internal security and the independence and integrity of the individual states." But this new union united Germany no more than did the old one, as it, too, was "bound together by a spider's web." The Confederation was an exceedingly loose union of sovereign states, which possessed no common executive and no common judiciary, but only a common legislature, the *Bundestag*, or Diet, which met at Frankfort-on-the-Main under the presidency of Austria. The Diet was really a congress of ambassadors, as the members were all appointed by the local sovereigns and were subject to their instructions on all matters before that body; hence its powers were limited by the wishes of the German princes. Moreover, no important measure could pass the Diet without a two thirds vote, and it was therefore almost impossible to get anything done. In many respects the German Confederation resembled the loose union of the thirteen American States under the Articles of Confederation just prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. All it accomplished was to stimulate the desire for a "more perfect union." The Frankfort Diet was ridiculed all over Germany as a "center of inertia," for the delegates spent most of their time debating inconsequential matters or quarreling over their relative dignity or rank.

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[1] This expression is used to denote the abolition of feudalism by royal edict as opposed to the revolutionary method employed by the French. See p. 9.

[2] See p. 18.

Government of the states

In nearly every state of the Confederation, the government was an absolute monarchy. The title of the monarch varied according to the size of his state: in the large ones, like Prussia and Bavaria, it was king; in the smaller ones, like Baden and Hesse, grand duke; in the still smaller ones, like Brunswick and Saxe-Meiningen, duke; and in the smallest, like Waldeck and Lippe, prince. In some of the states there existed aristocratic bodies known as the *Landstände*, or assemblies of the estates, in which were represented the various classes, nobles, burghers, and peasants, as in the Middle Ages. In some of the southern states, like Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg, the monarchs had granted moderate constitutions establishing parliaments elected on a property basis and having very limited powers. In general, constitutions and parliaments were regarded as revolutionary innovations to be resisted at all costs.

Relations between the states

The Confederation became the field for a kind of international German diplomacy. The "great Powers" were Austria and Prussia; in the second rank were Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg; the rest were the "minor Powers." The Germans exhausted their diplomatic genius on themselves, as the various states formed alliances and counter-alliances with one another and against one another; nothing delighted the German princes so much as this game of diplomatic intrigue which they practiced to their hearts' content.

Advantages of Prussia

Prussia in time challenged Austria for the leadership of the German people, and the Frankfort Diet often became the scene of rivalry between these two states. Prussia had the advantage of condition, Austria, of prestige. Excepting the Poles in the east, the population of Prussia was entirely German; her efficient bureaucracy, her strong army, her patriotic kings, and particularly her leadership of the German people in the struggle against Napoleon, convinced all those who were dreaming of unity that Prussia alone could become the effective leader of a united German people. All that was necessary was to persuade the Hohenzollerns to pursue a *German* rather than a distinctly *Prussian* policy.

Disadvantages of Austria

Austria was not a nation, but a "monarchical machine." The House of Hapsburg was the only bond of union among a conglomeration of nations, or surviving remnants of former nations, mainly Slavic and Hungarian, who regarded German nationalism with indifference if not with distrust. Only about one fifth of the population in the Hapsburg dominions were of German origin and speech; so in spite of the great prestige of Austria, whose supremacy in Germany had been recognized for centuries, it was felt that she was too non-German and too inefficient to become the leader in the movement for unity.

Evil effects of the Metternich system in Austria

The Austrian Government had just one policy, namely, to maintain the *status quo* at all costs. Even its apologists declared that the country was like a rickety old building which would fall to pieces the moment any attempts were made to repair it. The French Revolution, which had directly modernized Western Germany and which had indirectly led to the regeneration of Prussia, exerted little if any influence in Austria, where the old régime, with its absolutism in government, inequality in law, and intolerance in religion was still intact; the Austrian peasants were still semi-serfs, paying dues and service to the lords. There, Metternich reigned as undisputed master and infallible guide. Through his influence a system of intellectual repression was instituted which became notorious as the "Metternich system." A harsh censorship was established over journals, books, plays, and schools. Spies were introduced into the university classrooms, who took notes at the lectures delivered by the professors and reported any utterances unfavorable to the Government. Librarians had to report the kind of books borrowed by liberal minded persons. The sale of books expressing liberal views, even of the most moderate kind, was forbidden. Most of the schools were placed under the control of the Catholic clergy, and students were compelled to go to mass on pain of dismissal. Prevention was the sum total of the "Metternich system," which lay like a dead weight on the people for an entire generation.

YOUNG GERMANY

National and democratic currents

During the generation from 1815 to 1848 the political life of Germany was drawn into two powerful currents: one, toward democracy, or the establishment of constitutional government in each of the states; and the other, toward nationalism, or the more perfect union of the various states into a German nation. Sometimes these currents flowed parallel with each other and sometimes in opposite directions, but generally they united to form one mighty stream in the political life of the German people. Nationalism and democracy were twin spirits animating nineteenth-century Europe; one was incomplete without the other, for both were the deadly enemies of absolute monarchy, which aimed to keep the people divided into hostile groups in order to prevent its authority from being undermined. A united German people, passionately devoted to the Fatherland and not to the various princes, would inevitably mean a lessening of the latter's power; hence the rulers were as bitterly opposed to union as they were to liberty.

The princes oppose nationalism

For centuries the spirit of nationalism had hovered over the German people, but at no time did the dream of a united country seem harder of realization than at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The French Revolution was now over, and the restored despots, full of hatred for its principles, determined to crush any attempt to lessen their autocratic power and influence. However, the popular uprising in Germany against Napoleon had left an indelible memory of the might of an aroused people which boded ill for the princes, who were determined to do their utmost to suppress the popular sentiment which had been so useful to them when their thrones were in danger.

Rising generation longs for freedom

It was among the rising generation that the movement for liberty and union began. Young Germany was swayed less by ancient memories than by the events of the immediate past, the French Revolution and the Liberation Movement of 1813. These young men of the early nineteenth century felt their souls cramped and minds warped in the petty, autocratic "Germanies"; therefore, they most ardently longed for a freer government in order to have "space in which a free spirit might find room to soar."

The *Burschenschaften*

In the universities societies were organized by the students and teachers, which became known as the *Burschenschaften*, or brotherhoods of young men whose motto was "Honor, Liberty, Fatherland!" This movement originated at the University of Jena under the influence of Jahn and Arndt, who had been prominent in arousing Germany against Napoleon; and, in a short time, sixteen societies were established in various German universities. Any German student of whatever state was permitted to join the *Burschenschaften*, which were founded on a national basis in opposition to those student societies that were organized according to the states from which the members came. It was the object of this new student movement to agitate for German unity and freedom; and they adopted a flag of black, red, and gold, which were supposedly the colors of the volunteers during the War of Liberation. Now a new war of liberation was begun, this time against the tyrant princes at home.

The Wartburg Festival

The students determined to arouse the German people by holding a patriotic national festival. Accordingly, on October 18, 1817, the jubilee year of the Protestant Revolution and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, a great student celebration took place at the Castle of Wartburg, famous in the history of early Protestantism. Patriotic addresses were made, and the students partook of the Lord's Supper to solemnize their holy resolve to strive for a united Fatherland. The closing of the festival was marked by a hilarious meeting around a bonfire where, in imitation of Luther's burning of the Papal Bull, the young patriots consigned to the flames certain reactionary books, as well as a corporal's baton and an officer's wig and corset, the symbols of military tyranny.

Rage of the princes

The Wartburg Festival caused consternation among the princes, who feared that a revolution was brewing. They were thoroughly enraged when Kotzebue, a reactionary journalist known to be a spy in the secret pay of the Tsar of Russia, was assassinated by a student patriot. The universities were denounced as breeding-places of revolution, as schools that were educating the rising generation to hate authority and to commit deeds of violence. Metternich, as usual, took upon himself the guardianship of the established order. He called a conference of the princes at Carlsbad where, in 1819, they drew up the famous Carlsbad Decrees, which fettered the intellectual life of Germany for an entire generation.

The Carlsbad Decrees

These decrees, later adopted by the Diet of the Confederation, provided that special officials should be appointed in all the universities to supervise the conduct of the students and teachers. It was to be the duty of these officials to report any departure from conservative principles, and to give a "salutary direction" to the instruction of the youth. Any teacher who was known to "propagate harmful doctrines hostile to public order, or subversive of existing governmental institutions," was to be dismissed from his position and his appointment to any other university forbidden. The *Burschenschaften* were ordered dissolved, and a student expelled from a university for political activity was not to be admitted to any other German university. The display of the black, red, and gold flag was forbidden, and persons were prosecuted for even wearing a combination of these colors in their clothes, such as a yellow hat, black coat, and red waistcoat. A rigid press censorship was established, which made it almost impossible to have any sort of free expression of opinion on things political.

Persecution of patriots

Prussia had at first been the hope of the liberals, but King Frederick William III elected to follow Metternich's lead. Even the heroes of the Liberation Movement were now persecuted as demagogues. "Father" Jahn, whose patriotic gymnastic societies had once roused the youth of Prussia against the French invaders, was imprisoned. Ernst Moritz Arndt, whose patriotic poems were on every one's lips, was removed from his position in the university. Fichte's famous *Address to the German Nation*, which had stirred all Germany against Napoleon, was forbidden republication.

THE ZOLLVEREIN

The barriers between the German states were economic as well as political. Each member of the Confederation had a protective tariff against the goods of every other member; furthermore, nearly every one of the states had internal, or provincial, tariffs. Prussia had no fewer than sixty-seven of these provincial tariffs. The object of these numerous tariffs was to raise revenue for the Government by laying a tax on goods as they passed through different parts of the country. Hence the transit of goods from one part of Prussia to another, and from one German state to another, was enmeshed in a network of tariff duties which greatly hindered the development of German commerce and industry, and emphasized the division of the German people. Smuggling and dishonest valuations of goods were greatly encouraged by this system, for it was well-nigh impossible to enforce so many tariffs, which varied from city to city and from district to district.

Internal tariffs hinder trade

A school of economists, who saw the intimate connection between economic and political unity appeared in Germany, the most distinguished among whom was Frederick List. List was a convinced and enthusiastic advocate of what he called a "national system of political economy," according to which there was to be free trade within Germany with high protective duties on all foreign products. This system, in his opinion, would tend to bind all Germany into one economic whole and so inevitably lead to closer political union. He denounced the thirty-eight different tariffs as a hindrance to Germany's economic growth, because they had "much the same result as if one decided to bind up the various members of the human body in order to prevent the blood from circulating from one to the other." List's influence in Germany was as great as that of Adam Smith in England.

Frederick List

A sweeping change was made by Prussia when she abolished all her internal duties in 1818. She then invited the other German states to join a Zollverein, or customs union, with the object of establishing free trade among the members. Although there was some hesitation at first about joining the union, the commercial

The Zollverein

advantages were so obvious that, by 1842, all the states of the German Confederation, except Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Austria, came under the operation of the Zollverein. The inclusion of Prussia and the exclusion of Austria in this economic alliance was of great political significance, for it gave to the former a far larger influence in Germany than she had ever enjoyed before. Later this new alignment was to be a decisive factor in the unification of Germany.

The Revolution of 1848 in Prussia

The King of Prussia, Frederick William III, died in 1840. He was succeeded by Frederick William IV, a man of vehement, romantic temperament, a lover and patron of learning, and an orator who was exceedingly fond of making speeches. The new King's reign opened auspiciously for liberalism. Jahn and Arndt were pardoned and the latter was restored to his professorship. The brothers Grimm, the well-known scholars, returned from exile and were welcomed in Berlin.[1] But it was not at all the intention of the King to grant a constitution, as he was a strong believer in absolute monarchy based on divine right. "No sheet of written paper," he once declared, "shall ever thrust itself like a second Providence between God in Heaven and this land." A constitutional régime was a "government by paragraphs," which, to his mind, would never supplant the spontaneous loyalty of the people to a God-fearing king.

Frederick William IV

When the Revolution of February, 1848, took place in Paris, it was the signal for a general uprising against absolute monarchy throughout Europe. The revolutionary year 1848 is famous in European annals, as it marks the end of the Restoration period and the collapse of the "Metternich system." Throne after throne was overturned as the revolutionary tide rolled on from Paris to Warsaw; parliamentary governments were established in almost every country in Western Europe;

Revolution of 1848

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[1] As a protest against the abrogation of the constitution of Hanover they had gone into voluntary exile.

and constitutions were granted guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of religion, and equality of all classes before the law.[1]

Uprisings in Germany

In nearly all the German states parliaments were called by the frightened monarchs, who hoped thereby to save their thrones if not their prerogatives. The Diet of Frankfort was in a panic; it made haste to repeal the Carlsbad Decrees and went so far as to adopt the once forbidden black, red, and gold flag as the emblem of the Confederation. In both Prussia and Austria the democratic movement encountered serious opposition. King Frederick William IV tried to avert revolution by calling together a United Diet composed of delegates from the local assemblies; but this body refused to grant the loan demanded by the King and it was summarily dismissed. Matters became serious when a great mob appeared in the courtyard of the royal castle, shouting for a constitution and threatening open rebellion in case it was not granted. The King was compelled to appear on the balcony and he promised a written constitution and the summoning of a parliament. Inadvertently a fight broke out between the mob and the military in which several people were killed by the soldiers. Almost immediately Berlin was in a state of insurrection. Barricades went up and the streets became impassable; for several days street fighting raged between the citizens and the troops. The King endeavored in vain to appease "his dear Berliners" by assuring them of his good intentions, but the only thing which would satisfy the rioters was a withdrawal of the military, which was accordingly ordered; whereupon the tumultuous "March days" came to an end.

Humiliation of the Prussian King

A funeral service for those who had fallen in the barricade war was arranged in the courtyard of the royal castle. The bodies of the dead were wreathed in laurel, and their gaping wounds exposed. Cries went up from the crowd below that the King come out and see his handiwork. As he appeared, the mob shouted,

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[1] For a detailed description of the Revolution of 1848, see pp. 102, 205, 486.

"Take off your hat!" The proud Hohenzollern obeyed and bowed low before the bodies of the dead citizens. He was now fearful that the monarchy would be entirely abolished; so, in order to curry favor with the people, he ordered the black, red, and gold flag hoisted from the castle, and fervently announced that his only wish was for German freedom and unity.

A radical constitution proposed

A convention was then assembled at Berlin, which set about drafting a constitution. A radical document was produced which made the King such in name only, abolished the nobility, and provided for a parliament to be elected by universal suffrage. Freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, and of religion were also guaranteed.

The King recovers his power

But there was one power yet to be reckoned with, namely, the Prussian army, which remained loyal to the King. The latter recovered his courage as it became evident that most of the Prussian people, particularly the peasants, had no sympathy whatever with revolution, for they were still quite strongly attached to the Hohenzollern dynasty. Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and the army took charge of the situation. The convention was ordered dissolved and its proceedings declared illegal. Many of the leaders of the revolution were arrested, and thousands fled to America to escape punishment. Some of these "Men of '48," like Carl Schurz, General Franz Sigel, and Dr. Abraham Jacobi, became prominent citizens in their adopted country. Reaction took full swing, and all popular manifestations were sternly suppressed. On January 31, 1850, the King promulgated a constitution which left to him almost as much power as he had enjoyed before. It provided for a parliament whose influence in the Government was greatly circumscribed by its limited powers and by the undemocratic three-class system of election.[1]

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[1] See p. 280.

THE UPRISING IN AUSTRIA

The storm center of the Revolution of 1848 was Vienna, the citadel of despotism. The democratic revolution against the "Metternich system" in the Hapsburg dominions was complicated by a national uprising of the subject races against Austrian domination. The leading figure of the uprising was Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot. Kossuth was a typical radical of the era of 1848; for, although humanitarian in his sympathies and outlook, and a stanch believer in intellectual, political, and religious freedom, he was, nevertheless, strongly nationalistic in his political opinions. Kossuth first became known as the militant editor of a democratic journal, and because of his radical views he was sent to prison for three years, where he employed his time studying the English language. Later, when visiting England and the United States on a speaking tour, he astonished his audiences by his extraordinary command of the English tongue. Kossuth was one of the great orators of the nineteenth century; his fine voice, dignified presence, and superb eloquence always aroused his countrymen to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

Louis Kossuth

Hungary was then governed by a diet composed of two Tables, or Houses. The Table of Magnates was composed of great landed aristocrats who held their seats by hereditary right; the Table of Estates was composed of representatives of the lower nobility, with a few from the middle and lower classes. The powers of the Diet were greatly limited, being subject to the control of the Emperor of Austria, who was also King of Hungary. The majority of the inhabitants of Hungary, Croatians, Serbs, and Rumanians, were largely Slavic in race; they were peasants in a semi-feudal relation to their lords, who belonged to the dominant race called the Magyars.

Government of Hungary

Kossuth and his fellow-radical, Francis Deák, favored the abolition of the dues and services of the peasants, the equality before the law of noble and non-noble, and the substitution of a democratically elected parliament for the aristocratic Diet. They also strongly advocated the complete autonomy, if not the independence, of Hungary. On March 3, 1848, Kossuth delivered a stirring speech before the Hungarian Diet which electrified the entire Hapsburg dominions. He denounced the Austrian Government as a political charnel house whence came stifling odors and pestilential winds which deadened freedom and the national spirit. This speech, widely read and publicly declaimed, was the immediate cause of the revolt in Vienna. Barricades were erected in the streets, and revolution was soon in full swing under the leadership of students who organized themselves into an "Academic Legion." A mob surrounded the Imperial Palace, crying, "Down with Metternich!" The once powerful statesman was compelled to flee in disguise to England, and the mob took its revenge by burning his house amid shouts of joy. With the flight of Metternich the whole system of repression, so laboriously constructed since the Congress of Vienna, went crashing to destruction. Emperor Ferdinand was compelled to grant a liberal constitution establishing a democratic parliament, to abolish the dues and services of the peasants, and to guarantee freedom of speech and of the press.

Kossuth advocates nationalism and democracy

In Hungary the march of revolution was even swifter. Under the influence of Kossuth the Diet passed the famous "March laws," which completely transformed Hungary from a feudal to a modern state. A new constitution was adopted according to which the government of the country was to be in the hands of a Diet elected by the people. The privileges of the nobility and the dues and services of the peasants were abolished. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion were guaranteed. Radical changes were made in the relations between Hungary and Austria. Henceforth the former was to have its own army, its own national flag, its own system of taxes, and even the control of its own foreign relations. The capital was moved from Pressburg, near the Austrian frontier, to Buda-Pesth, in the heart of Hungary, which was

Democracy and nationalism in Hungary

now united to Austria only by the slender tie of a personal union through the Emperor. Pressed by the revolution in Vienna, the latter was forced to consent to these revolutionary changes.

The Pan-Slavic Congress

In Lombardy-Venetia, the Italian provinces of Austria, rebellion was also rife, and the Imperial troops were expelled from several cities. Bohemia, too, raised the flag of revolt and was likewise granted liberal concessions. A movement was also begun to unite all the Slavic peoples against the hated domination of the Germanic Austrians. On June 2, 1848, was convened a Pan-Slavic Congress in the Bohemian city of Prague, to which came representatives from nearly all the Slavonic nations in Europe, although the majority of the members were the Czechs of Bohemia. As no one Slavic tongue was understood by all the delegates, they were forced to have recourse to the hated German language in conducting the Congress.

Division among the revolutionists

The ancient House of Hapsburg, which had dominated Germany for five centuries and which had so markedly influenced the policies of Europe, was on the brink of ruin. Emperor Ferdinand fled from Vienna and the capital fell completely into the hands of his rebellious subjects. The Hapsburg dominions were rapidly disintegrating and, for a time, it seemed as though the Empire would dissolve into many nations and possibly into anarchy and chaos. Yet there were several elements in the situation, serious as it was, favorable to the dynasty. When it came to dividing the fruits of victory, the heterogeneous character of the population of the Empire was bound to produce discord among those who had just triumphed. To play off one race against the other and thereby divide the victors into hostile factions was the astute policy of the Government. Furthermore, in Radetzky and Windischgraetz two able generals were found, who were determined to suppress the rebellion at all costs.

In Bohemia a bitter race feud arose between the Czechs and the Germans. The Government naturally supported the Germans; and an army under Windischgraetz besieged and took the city of Prague. The Pan-Slavic Congress was expelled, and the concessions granted to Bohemia were withdrawn. The victorious Windischgraetz now laid siege to Vienna, which surrendered after a bombardment of five days. The army entered the city determined to put a stop to the "parliamentary game." Many of the revolutionists were imprisoned, exiled, or executed; Parliament was dissolved, and the Constitution declared null and void. An army under Radetzky was sent to reduce the rebellious provinces in Italy, which it did most effectively, and Lombardy-Venetia once more came under Hapsburg rule.

Suppression of the uprising

Hungary presented the most serious problem to the Government; but the Hungarians played into its hands by their refusal to share the newly won liberties with their Slavic fellow citizens. The arrogant Magyars determined to suppress the nationality of the Croats, Serbs, and Rumanians by making Hungarian the only official language in the country. A fierce race war now broke out between the Magyars and Slavs; and Austria, eager to drive the wedge of discord deep into the ranks of her enemies, promptly came to the aid of the Slavs. The Imperial Government declared the Hungarian Diet dissolved, and a Croat named Jellachich, who was bitterly hated by the Magyars, was given command of the Austrian army in Hungary. On December 2, 1848, Emperor Ferdinand was forced to abdicate; he was succeeded by his nephew, Francis Joseph I, then a youth of eighteen. The purpose of this change was to have a pretext for abrogating the "March laws" which Ferdinand had sworn to uphold, as the Government declared that Ferdinand's oath was not binding upon his successor.

Division in Hungary

This action aroused the Hungarians to fury. Under the enthusiastic leadership of Kossuth, the Diet denounced the House of Hapsburg as perfidious and perjured; and on April 14, 1849, Hungary declared its independence of Austria. The Hungarians were now contending bravely against the Slavs in their midst, and against the

Conquest of Hungary

invading Austrian armies. But whatever doubt there was as to the outcome of the struggle was settled by the entrance of Russia on the side of Austria. Tsar Nicholas I regarded the uprising of the Hungarians with great misgiving; he feared lest an independent Hungarian Republic on his borders would be an incentive to rebellion among the subject nationalities of Russia. Moreover, he was a fervent believer in absolutism, and he was therefore eager to come to the rescue of a fellow autocrat in distress. Russian armies poured over the Carpathian Mountains, and the Hungarian revolt was soon quelled. All the reforms granted to Hungary were abrogated, and she was reduced to the position of a province in the Empire. The leaders of the uprising were executed, but Kossuth managed to escape to Turkey.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Die Wacht am Rhein

The democratic outburst of 1848 in Germany was accompanied by a corresponding movement for national unity. To weaken the princes meant to weaken the barriers which divided the German people, who would have been glad to unite into one nation had they been given an opportunity to do so. A wave of national sentiment had swept over Germany in 1840, when the French chauvinists began to agitate for the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. It was then that the famous national anthem of Germany, *Die Wacht am Rhein*, was written; and a year later, another famous patriotic song, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*, appeared.

The Frankfort Assembly

The national momentum rose to a great height in 1848. A self-constituted body of liberals drew up a plan for a national assembly to be elected by universal suffrage throughout the Confederation with the object of framing a constitution to unite the German people. This body was chosen and met in Frankfort on May 18, 1848, amid great enthusiasm, for it was universally believed that the outcome would be a united Fatherland. The leaders of the Frankfort Assembly were not practical statesmen but scholars and poets, like the historians Dahlman and Droysen, the literary historian Gervinus, the philologist Jacob Grimm, and the poet Arndt. Unfortunately, much time was wasted in long and weary discussions of abstract questions such as "fundamental rights" and the "liberty of the individual," with the result that many of the delegates, disgusted with the doctrinaires, began to leave.

Division in the Assembly in regard to Austria

The two most important questions before the Assembly were the inclusion or exclusion of Austria and the form of government of the proposed union. On the first, the Assembly was sharply divided into two parties, the *Grossdeutschen*, or Great Germans, who wished to include Austria, and the *Kleindeutschen*, or Little Germans, who favored the exclusion of Austria on the ground that her population was largely non-German. This division of opinion soon developed into a rivalry between Austria and Prussia for the leadership of Germany. It was finally decided to admit only the German-speaking provinces of the Hapsburg dominions. On no condition would Austria consent to this plan, which she declared was an attempt to destroy her national unity. "Austria will know how to maintain her position in the projected German body politic," was the Hapsburg threat.

The Assembly draws up a constitution

On the question of the form of government there was a violent debate, a considerable number desiring a republic or, at least, a constitutional monarchy. Finally, it was agreed that the union should be a federal empire, presided over by a hereditary monarch; and the Assembly voted to offer the position of Emperor to the King of Prussia. A liberal constitution was adopted for the proposed union providing for a legislature of two houses, a Senate representing the states and a Chamber representing the people, with a Cabinet responsible to Parliament.

A deputation from the Frankfort Assembly was then sent to Berlin to offer the imperial crown to King Frederick William IV. But that monarch had a horror of revolution, and regarded the deliberations of constitutional assemblies as an infringement of his favorite doctrine of divine right.

"Do not forget that there are still princes in Germany, and that I am one of them!" he had once admonished a popular audience. It was against his principles, against his temperament, to "pick up a crown from the gutter," as he termed the offer of the Frankfort Assembly. The deputation was coolly, even insultingly, received by the King, who informed them that he could not accept the imperial crown without the consent of his fellow princes.

King William refuses the crown offered by the Assembly

The refusal of the Prussian King to be the leader of a unified democratic Germany meant that the work of the Assembly was fruitless, and many of the states now withdrew their delegations. Those who were left decided on a radical step, namely, to disregard the princes altogether and to call upon the German people to rise. But this rump Assembly was soon dispersed by soldiers with drawn swords.

Suppression of the Assembly

Deep was the disappointment in Germany when this democratic attempt to unite the country failed so miserably, as great expectations had been aroused by the Frankfort Assembly when it first convened. Had that body contained men of daring and foresight, such as were found in the French National Assembly of 1789, it might have seized the opportune moment in 1848, when princes were either yielding to popular demands or fleeing from popular wrath, to make itself supreme in Germany. But the Assembly was too timid at first when it was strong, and too reckless at the end when it was weak. Moreover, the wordiness and incapacity of the delegates aroused disgust and ridicule and so cast discredit on democratic bodies generally. Ardent patriots were now compelled to look to sources other than popular conventions and to seek methods other than peaceful agitation to realize their long-deferred hope of a united Fatherland.

Why the Assembly failed

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Although popular assemblies were established in nearly all the German states, these bodies were so restricted in their powers and so undemocratically organized that the monarchs still continued to exercise supreme power. Absolutism had given way to semi-absolutism, not to democracy. The chief cause of this failure was that the uprising was largely the work of idealists among the middle class, professional men, students, merchants, and craftsmen, who were neither numerous nor strong enough to challenge an intrenched aristocracy backed by the armies of the princes. As the Industrial Revolution had hardly begun in Germany, there did not as yet exist a large working class and a powerful group of capitalists, the two elements which, together, would have been able to cope successfully with the system represented by absolute monarchy.

Why the Revolution failed

Reaction was in full swing in Austria. The administration of the Empire was centralized in Vienna as it had never been before, and the various national units were treated as conquered provinces. German was decreed to be the only official language. Any demand for self-government, on either democratic or national lines, was speedily and severely suppressed. For a decade the Hapsburg dominions were under a provisional government and in a state of semi-martial law. However, one gain was made, as the revolutionary laws abolishing the dues and services of the peasants were not repealed.

Reaction in Austria

In Prussia the reaction was not so extreme as in Austria, for representative government was introduced by the revised constitution of 1850. But the Prussian monarchy and bureaucracy now attained fresh and vigorous life just because they were now on a semi-democratic basis, and therefore in a position to command popular support. In 1850 the King of Prussia made an attempt to unify Germany by negotiations with the other princes. He was peremptorily ordered by Austria to abandon his plans, which might have led to war had not Prussia yielded at a conference in Olmütz. This "humiliation of Olmütz," as it was called, served to infuriate the Prussian people as well as the Prussian King against Austria.

Reaction in Prussia

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Intellectual progress of Germany

Although the history of Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century was sterile politically, it was yet most fruitful intellectually. As the German people were prevented from expressing themselves in public life, their genius turned to philosophy, scholarship, and science, to which they made notable contributions. Philosophy, particularly, had always claimed Germany's attention. "History shows us," declared Hegel, "that when all but the name of philosophy was lost in other lands, it had maintained itself as the peculiar possession of the German nation, who have received from nature the high calling to be the guardians of this sacred fire."

Hegel

Next to Immanuel Kant, the greatest figure in German philosophy is Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), the philosophic dictator of his day, whose influence upon philosophic thought has been profound. To students of history, Hegel is especially interesting for the reason that he was one of the first to work out a systematic philosophy of history. In his book, *The Philosophy of History*, he propounds the idea that each period is characterized by the predominance of a "world people," who are possessed of a "universal idea" which must be given to mankind. Once this has been accomplished, the "world people" has fulfilled its mission; it then sinks into decadence and yields the scepter to its successor. Conquest is, therefore, the victory of a superior idea; hence, might and right coincide. "*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*" ("World history is world justice," according to Schiller). The Oriental, Greek, and Roman nations had once played this rôle in history; now a new "world people" had arisen, the Germans, who were to give their "universal idea" to mankind. He declared that although the need of German unity was deeply felt, the achievement of this result would be the fruit, not of deliberation, but of force; the divided Germans must, therefore, "be gathered into one by the violence of a conqueror." In another great work, *The Philosophy of Law*, Hegel glorifies the State as the very essence of freedom and reason. Its laws are the "footsteps of God upon earth"; through the State alone can the individual attain his highest development and social organization its supreme expression. The office of the State is not primarily to further individual interest or protect private property; but, as the organic expression of the people, its primary function is to embody the public weal of all classes and in all ways. He became so ardent a champion of the Prussian monarchy and so bitter an opponent of revolution that he was regarded as the King's "official philosopher." The spirit of the people, he declared, does not speak through parliaments, but through the continuous life of the State as represented by the king. In his opinion aristocracy and democracy were primitive forms of government, both of which were superseded by monarchy, the highest form yet devised.

The *Monumenta*

The great national revival which took place in Prussia after the Battle of Jena found expression in a renewed study of German history. A gigantic historical enterprise was planned by a group of historians who proposed to reprint and edit all the sources relating to German history. The first volume of this series, which is known as the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, was issued in 1826. Many volumes of the *Monumenta* have since appeared, and this documentary history of the German people has made for itself an enduring place in the world of scholarship.

Ranke

The first of the modern scientific historians was Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), through whose influence German historical scholarship became supreme in Europe. Ranke emphasized, above all things, the value of studying original sources, which, to him, were the very wells of historical truth. He ransacked the libraries and archives of Europe, and unveiled large masses of historical documents long unknown or forgotten, which are very valuable to students of history. He was one of those to institute the "seminar method" of training students to become professional historians by organizing small groups of scholars to make a systematic study of original documents. Ranke's great aim was to rewrite the history of the world according to this rigorous, scientific method. He never completed the task, although his collected works number fifty-four volumes, the most important of which are the *History of the Popes*, the *History of Germany during the Reformation*, and the *History of England during the Seventeenth Century*. Ranke's ideal of historical composition was a dispassionate presentation of facts "as they really were," unbiased by party, opinion, or nationality. The views and acts of important monarchs and statesmen, rather than the condition of the mass of the people, were for him the essence of history; hence, his books are cold and dry recitals of facts based largely on diplomatic correspondence and on the state papers of kings and ministers. A cosmopolitan, not a patriot, was Ranke in his point of view as a historian; hardly a trace is to be found in his writings of that fervid patriotism which was to be so distinguishing a feature of the works of his famous successor, Heinrich von Treitschke.[1]

Mommsen

German historical writing has produced no greater master than Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), whose famous *History of Rome* continues to be the standard work on the subject. Although as great and as thorough a scholar as Ranke, Mommsen possessed, in addition, a brilliant historical imagination which enabled him to reproduce the past in a most vivid and fascinating way. He was not only a narrator of facts, carefully gathered and scientifically classified, but also an interpreter of most original power. Mommsen's *History*, which appeared during the years 1854–56, treats of the life history of the Roman Republic. It is a condensation, in three volumes, of a vast period in human history without, however, omitting any important facts, a luminous and exact résumé of all the available knowledge on the subject. His judgment on the overthrow of the Roman Republic is this: "When a government cannot govern, it ceases to be legitimate and he who has the power to overthrow it has also the right." Julius Cæsar is the historian's hero. Him he regards as the true founder of Roman democracy which displaced a corrupt oligarchy masquerading as a republic. Mommsen's history is mainly along political and constitutional lines, although it contains some excellent chapters on the social and economic life of the Romans.

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[1] See p. 171.

Grimm

Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) was the founder of the science of German philology. His monumental work, *German Grammar*, is a history of the development of the German language and a comparative study of Teutonic dialects. He formulated the famous "Grimm's law," according to which the mute consonants have corresponding forms in all the Teutonic languages and have undergone certain definitely ascertained changes. Grimm combined great learning with bold generalization, which has given him a leading place among the philologists of the world. He was also interested in folklore and, with his brother William, wrote the well-known fairy tales which have delighted generations of children.

Young Germany in Literature

Heine

As we have already seen, the strongest opposition to the "Metternich system" of repression was voiced by the rising generation. In literature Young Germany found a most eloquent champion in Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), whose keen intelligence and brilliant wit sent many a barbed shaft straight to the heart of despotism. It was the aim of this school of writers to enlist literature in the service of political reform. The result was that a new literary species was created, half-journalism half-literature, which, in the accomplished hands of Heine, became a most powerful weapon with which to fight the entrenched forces of reaction. Heine spent almost his entire life in political agitation, waging relentless warfare against despotic government and intellectual repression, so that he could with truth declare, "Lay on my coffin a sword, for I was a brave soldier in the Liberation War of humanity."

Character of Heine's work

It is easier to read Heine's works than to describe them. Brimful of airy wit, poetic imagination, delicate sentiment, acid irony, and blasphemous scoffing; by turns, grave and gay; overflowing with pathos and stabbing with cruel irony — that is Heine. His comments on political and philosophic ideas have a piquancy seldom to be found in the discussion of such serious subjects. Such, for example, is his explanation of how liberty is loved by the various nations. "An Englishman loves liberty like his lawfully wedded wife. She is a possession. He may not treat her with much tenderness, but he knows how to defend her. A Frenchman loves liberty like his sweetheart, and he will do a thousand follies for her sake. A German loves liberty like his old grandmother. And yet, after all, no one can tell how things will turn out. The grumpy Englishman, in an ill-temper with his wife, is capable of dragging her by a rope to Smithfield. The inconstant Frenchman may become unfaithful to his adored and be off flirting around the Palais Royal with another. But the German will never quite desert his old grandmother; he will always keep for her a nook near the chimney-corner, where she can tell fairy tales to the listening children."

Heine's prose

Under Heine's magic touch German prose became simple, easy, fluent, and plastic, almost like that of the great masters of French prose. His widely read *Reisebilder* (*Pictures of Travel*) is a unique work containing descriptions of places and scenes, criticism of current ideas, confessions, satirical comments on his contemporaries, and poetical outbursts. This "German Aristophanes," as Heine called himself, was especially fond of directing the shafts of his brilliant wit against contemporary men, manners, and morals, which made him many bitter enemies.

If Heine's pen was satirical, it was also lyrical; no man was more truly the poet born than this scoffer. His poems, collected in the famous *Buch der Lieder* (*Book of Songs*), have a lyric beauty unsurpassed in German literature; their haunting charm and delicate, strange imagery, their simplicity and artlessness, their melody and sweetness, have made them known wherever the German tongue is spoken. Some, like *The Lorelei* and *The Two Grenadiers*, were set to music by famous composers and are sung over all the world.

Heine's poetry

Heine regarded Prussia as the evil spirit of Germany, and he dreaded the possibility of the German people being united under the ægis of the Hohenzollerns. "I viewed this Prussian eagle with much concern," he wrote, "and the more others boasted how boldly he looked into the sun, the more I felt impelled to look sharply at his talons. I do not trust these Prussians, these long, pietistic heroes of the spick and span uniform, with their wide stomachs, big mouths, and corporal's clubs dipped into holy water preparatory to striking. . . . This Prussia, this stiff, dissimulating, hypocritical Prussia, this Tartuffe among nations, is repellent, intensely abhorrent, to me." Partly because of Heine's anti-Prussian attitude, partly because of his Jewish origin, his writings were neglected and even boycotted in official Germany after the unification.

Heine, an anti-Prussian

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

Period of Absolute Rule

Napoleon's government a "veiled absolutism"

Napoleon III was far too clever a man to establish a naked absolutism in France on the model of the *ancien régime* or even on that of his great uncle. Parliamentary government, although it had not yet become an integral element in the political life of the French people, was nevertheless connected with the undying traditions of the great Revolution, and so some concessions had to be made to it. The newly created Emperor resolved to inaugurate a system which would give the shadow but not the substance of self-government, in the belief that the French would be satisfied with such an arrangement, provided their attention was distracted by other activities.

How Napoleon controlled the elections

As we have already seen, the constitution adopted by the plebiscite[1] provided for a popularly elected parliament having considerable legislative authority. This body must be made innocuous. A system of nominating candidates was instituted with the object of electing members to the *Corps législatif*, or lower House, favorable to the Emperor. In every constituency a strong political machine was organized, backed by the power and prestige of the Government, which nominated candidates for the *Corps*. Every form of pressure was brought to bear on the electors to vote for these "official candidates" as they were termed; patronage was distributed to their supporters only and public money was used to further their election. The Republican candidates were hampered in every way: they were frequently forbidden to hold meetings and to form associations; threats of government persecution drove many of their followers from the polls; moreover, the election machinery was in the hands of Imperial officials who used their power in favor of the "official candidates." In order to insure the election of the latter, the Government resorted to an outrageous system of "gerrymandering" with the purpose of making the Republicans a minority in every district. The powerful and highly centralized bureaucracy, always obedient and faithful to those in power at Paris, became the willing tool of the Emperor-boss whose hand was felt in all stages of political life, from the nomination of a candidate for parliament to the passing of laws, from the appointment of a petty local official to that of prime minister. Although universal suffrage was maintained, very few of the opponents of the Emperor were elected to the House. In the election of 1857 nearly all the "official candidates" were chosen. Only five candidates opposed to the Empire were elected. "The Five," as they were called, consisted of distinguished Republicans and included Émile Ollivier and Jules Favre, who voiced the sentiments of opposition to absolutism.

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[1] See p. 108.

How he controlled Parliament

Napoleon was bound to make sure of the loyal support of even this "official" parliament by controlling its internal organization. The President of the House was appointed by the Emperor; no publication of its debates was permitted; and all important committees were appointed through the Emperor's influence. As the powers of this body were negative, the Council of State became the center of legislation; there bills were drawn up by the appointees of the Emperor and then submitted for ratification to the House. According to the Constitution, the Second Empire was a parliamentary monarchy; in reality it was an autocracy.

The French press

No more important organ of public opinion exists in France than the press. There obtains among the French people a passion for ideas and for discussion unequaled anywhere else in the world; freedom of thought is, therefore, prized above all other liberties handed down by the Revolution. Often scurrilous and sensational, the Paris journals are brilliantly edited and generally independent in their views. To establish a newspaper in France costs comparatively little, as a French journal usually consists of about eight pages or less, and is generally badly printed on paper of a poor quality. Any one with a gift for writing and ideas to express easily establishes a paper which is read, not for its news, for it contains little, but for the leading articles by the editor. Many journals are born in Paris every year, some to live but for a short time; they serve to give expression to the rich and varied intellectual life of France, ever buoyant and fruitful. Political caricature is the great weapon of the Parisian journalist; and French cartoons are apt to be sharp, cruel, and biting, and drawn with unusual skill.

Radicalism of the French press

As a rule the Paris press is critical of every régime in power, but it has generally remained faithful to the spirit of the Revolution and has been the sworn enemy of all absolutism, naked or masked. Napoleon knew perfectly well the great power of this press, which had had an abundant share in sending Charles X and Louis Philippe into exile, so he determined to suppress it. As usual, he did it in a roundabout way. He declared himself fervently for the principle of freedom of thought, and then proceeded to make regulations to strangle it. No new journal could be established without government permission, which was refused to those suspected of being republican. Those that received permission had to deposit a large sum with the Government as security for good behavior, which was forfeited in case the journal became hostile to the Emperor. A system of press warnings was established; after two warnings to the editor to stop his criticism, the paper was suspended or suppressed. Press offenses were tried in the police court, without a jury, and were summarily dealt with. Fine, imprisonment, or exile was often the lot of republican journalists who dared to attack the Government.

The Emperor next laid a heavy hand on the universities. French intellectuals, writers, teachers, and artists, are seldom content to remain so absorbed in their own specialties as to become oblivious to the problems of their day. They frequently take a vigorous part in public affairs, and more than once they have become the spokesmen of the nation. The poet-statesman, Lamartine; the historian-statesmen, Guizot and Thiers; the poet-agitator, Victor Hugo; the philosopher-statesman, Jules Simon; the novelist-agitators, Émile Zola and Anatole France; all have walked in the footsteps of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, who established a tradition in France that it is the special duty of a man of culture to champion the highest ideals of his nation and of humanity. The French intellectuals were almost a unit in opposing the "crowned conspirator," Napoleon III. The day after the *coup d'état* of December 2, Jules Simon, Professor of Philosophy, when meeting his class at the Sorbonne, made the following statement which rang throughout France: "Gentlemen, it is my duty here to teach you philosophy. To-day, I owe you not a lesson, but an example. France is to be convoked to-morrow to approve or disapprove of what has just taken place. If there is going to be recorded one vote of disapproval, I wish to say to you now, openly, that it will be mine." He was immediately dismissed from his position. The historians, Michelet and Quinet, were likewise ousted from their academic chairs for opposing the Empire. The courses in philosophy and religion given by the famous Renan were suppressed. Victor Hugo was driven into exile. Two subjects, history and philosophy, were regarded with suspicion by the Government. Teaching in these fields was discouraged; and courses in modern history were entirely suppressed.

Suppression of the intellectuals

Napoleon, like his uncle, was desirous of founding a dynasty. He sought to marry into the royal families of Europe, but without success, as no dynasty had sufficient confidence in his future. Failing in this, he married a beautiful Spanish lady, Eugénie de Montijo, for love and not for her antecedents. Under the Second Empire the court became a center of fashion and of gayety which attracted many people from all parts of the world.

Napoleon's court

Innumerable banquets and fancy-dress balls were organized to which almost any one having money could gain entrance, as the Emperor wished to encourage the idea of a democratic court. Thither came all sorts of people, penniless adventurers, newly rich bankers, stock-jobbers, political schemers, gamblers, "bohemians," as well as men of letters and of science. Napoleon III, who was a conspirator by temperament, naturally surrounded himself with a group of advisers better known for their crafty, unscrupulous methods than for their solid statesmanship. Chief of these was the illegitimate half-brother of the Emperor, the Duke de Morny, a cool, elegant, cynical man of fashion, who was master of the undercurrents of Parisian politics, business, and society. The Duke de Morny was appointed President of the House, which he managed with great ability in the service of absolutism.

Napoleon's régime tolerated, not supported

At no time did this government by adventurers receive the enthusiastic support of the French people. The royalists regarded the Second Empire with contempt and the Emperor as a charlatan, and scrupulously kept away from his gaudy, democratic court. The Republicans were banished from public life; their leaders either were in prison or in hiding, or had exiled themselves. Napoleon was not so much upheld as he was tolerated by the large number of property-owners, peasants and bourgeoisie, who looked upon him as the "savior of society" because the revolutionary socialists were kept in check by a strong military government. Under the great Napoleon these two elements, the peasants and the bourgeoisie, had combined against the old nobility; under his nephew they combined against the working class.

Social and Economic Progress

Napoleon's care for the lower classes

In spite of many serious defects of character, the Emperor had a kindly sympathy for the unfortunate classes and for unfortunate nations. He sincerely believed that the Napoleonic idea meant the welfare of all the people, and he criticized the royalists for being the champions of the aristocrats only; he also charged that parliamentary government, whether royal or republican, represented the interests of the middle classes; the Empire was to advance the interests of all classes, including the hitherto neglected proletariat. In 1844 he wrote a pamphlet, "On the Extinction of Pauperism," which showed the influence of the Utopian socialist, Saint-Simon.[1] In this essay he declared his willingness to ameliorate the lot "of the class which was most numerous and most poor" by establishing agricultural colonies along coöperative lines. Marked activity was shown by the Government in favor of the poor. Many charitable foundations, such as hospitals, asylums, and public pawnshops, were established. Sanitary dwellings for workingmen were built at public expense. Arbitration of disputes between employer and employee was greatly encouraged by the establishment of industrial bodies, *Conseils de Prud'hommes*, representing both sides and presided over by government officials. A beginning was also made in establishing systems of old-age pensions and sickness and accident insurance by the grant of subsidies to societies having these objects in view. "Saint-Simon on horseback," his admirers called the Emperor.

Rebuilding of Paris

As Napoleon had a wholesome fear of the unemployed Parisian laborer, the building of public works which gave employment to many was greatly encouraged by him; at the same time it served to improve and beautify the cities and give renown to his reign. The Emperor's greatest achievement in this field was the creation of the new Paris. Under the direction of the great civic architect, Baron Haussmann, the capital was almost completely remodeled. From a semi-medieval town, with narrow, crooked streets, paved, if at all, with cobblestones, there appeared the most beautiful city in the world, the present Paris, with its magnificent boulevards, smoothly paved streets, and superb squares. Street revolutions were now impossible, as barricades could not so easily be improvised as in 1830 and 1848; and a mob charging along a broad avenue would be exposed to artillery fire and to the cavalry. Thousands from all over the world crowded to see the beautiful city which became the pleasure capital of the world. Places of amusement of all types, from the highest to the lowest, were encouraged by the authorities, and Paris began to acquire an unenviable reputation as the modern Babylon. Parisian shopkeepers reaped a golden harvest from the many visitors who spent their money freely in order to enjoy "Parisian life."

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[1] See p. 574.

Encouragement of business enterprise

The Second Empire is the great period of the expansion of French industry. France was now in a fever of business enterprise, and able men forsook politics for commerce. Napoleon III, greatly desiring the support of a wealthy class that would owe its prosperity to his policies, did everything in his power to encourage business undertakings and to avoid war. "The Empire means peace because France desires it; and when France is satisfied, the world is at peace," he had announced at the beginning of his reign. He declared his preference for "moral and material conquests" to those on the field of battle. Factories were built and machine production made rapid headway.[1] Foreign commerce increased five-fold during the period of the Second Empire.[2] There was also a marked development in the metallurgical industries through the introduction of the Bessemer process and through the consolidation of many small steel plants into a few large ones.[3]

Improvement of transportation

Most notable progress of all was in the improvement of the means of transportation. In 1850 there were in all France about eighteen hundred miles of railway operated by many small companies. Rates were high, service bad, and management wasteful. A law was passed in that year which completely transformed the railway system. The railways were given ninety-nine-year leases in order to assure them stability; the Government guaranteed four per cent interest on capital invested in new lines; and all the railways were consolidated into six trunk lines under the management of as many companies. By 1869 the railway mileage had increased to about ninety-five hundred. Marine transportation was also improved through the substitution of large iron ships for small wooden ones.[1] In 1861 was organized the noted transatlantic steamship line, that of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, which established through the aid of government subsidies a direct route from France to America. The improvement in the means of transportation greatly advanced internal commerce, particularly in agricultural products, which could now find a profitable market in the growing cities.

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[1] The total horse-power of machines used in industry in 1855 was 66,642; in 1869 it had risen to 320,447.

[2] In 1850 the total foreign commerce of France, excluding precious metals, amounted to about $371,800,000; in 1870 it was $1,134,000,000.

[3] In 1869 France produced 110,200 tons of steel, which was almost ten times as much as the quantity produced in 1848. The production of coal also greatly increased; in 1850 France produced 4,434,000 tons; in 1870, 13,330,000 tons.

Financial establishments

A spirit of speculation seized the French. There came a period of rising prices, rising profits, and rising wages, and many became rich quickly, though many others were ruined through over-speculation. Notable financial institutions were founded through government aid, like the Crédit foncier and the Crédit mobilier, which loaned money at liberal rates, and Paris began to rival London as a banking center.

Revision of the tariff

An important change in the tariff policy of France took place under the Second Empire. The French economist, Michel Chevalier, was a friend of Richard Cobden and, like him, an ardent free-trader; he persuaded Napoleon to abandon protection in favor of free trade. During 1853–55, imperial decrees considerably lowered the tariff on oil, iron, steel, and wool, although free trade was not established. The Emperor secretly negotiated a reciprocity agreement with England in a treaty agreed upon by Chevalier and Cobden. This commercial treaty of 1860 bound each nation to establish low duties on the products of the other. In 1861 a uniformly low duty was put on agricultural products. The tariff on foreign-built ships was entirely removed. A law was passed which did away with the old colonial system by making the tariff policy of the French colonies uniform with that of the mother country. Napoleon's low-tariff policies aroused bitter opposition in Parliament, and his secret treaty with England was denounced by the protectionists as an "economic *coup d'état*."

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[1] In 1870 the French merchant marine was second to that of Great Britain. It had a tonnage of about 1,000,000, of which 200,000 was under steam.

The Paris Exposition

In 1855 there took place the first Paris Exposition. Thousands of persons from all over the world came to see the products of French industry and art and to admire the beautiful capital. The Emperor's renown spread far and wide. He was now universally admired as a far-sighted statesman who had brought order, peace, and prosperity to his country. Even the royal families of Europe, whose attitude toward him had hitherto been disdainful, now began to cultivate friendly relations with him.

The Empire and the Church

The Emperor cultivates good relations with the Church

Like Napoleon I, Napoleon III regarded the Catholic Church as the bulwark of social and political conservatism and he therefore sought its support. When President, he had won the hearts of the Catholics by sending a French army to Rome to restore Pope Pius IX to his authority as temporal ruler of the Papal States.[1] This Roman expedition was vehemently denounced by the anti-clericals in France, but it received the enthusiastic support of the Catholics, who acclaimed Napoleon as the defender of the Church. While Emperor, he was assiduous in showing deference to the clergy, who were given control of public education and charity. Religious exercises were associated with all public acts, and religious societies were greatly encouraged by the Government.

The Liberal Catholics

There was a division among the Catholics with regard to what attitude the Church was to take toward modern society. Those known as "Ultramontanes" favored a policy of no compromise with modern social, political, and cultural ideas, and insisted that good Catholics should favor the principle of authority which then meant royalism. Others, known as "Liberal Catholics," although in full accord with the Ultramontanes in religious doctrines, differed from them in regard to secular matters; they favored a reconciliation of the Church with modern democracy, and therefore advocated a parliamentary system of government. The Liberal Catholics were a small group of remarkable men who exercised a deep influence on their contemporaries in spite of the fact that they never had a large following. They numbered, among others, the scholar and statesman, Montalembert, the great pulpit orator, Lacordaire, and the zealous and eloquent Bishop Doupanloup.

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[1] See p. 207.

Lamennais

A most interesting figure was Abbé Lamennais, the forerunner of the Liberal Catholics, who gained prominence throughout Europe by his famous book, *Essay on Indifference* (1817). In most eloquent language he declared his loyalty to the Catholic faith which, he asserted, was being stifled by its connection with the State; separation of Church and State, he argued, would leave the Church free to pursue its divine mission. Lamennais also became an ardent believer in democracy, and he gathered about him a brilliant group of young Catholics, among them Montalembert and Lacordaire, who became his ardent disciples. To give expression to his views he founded a paper, *L'Avenir* (*The Future*), with "God and Liberty" as its motto, whose mission was to Christianize French democracy, which, he declared, was under the influence of Voltaire. It demanded of the Church that it sever its allegiance from the royalist parties, and of the Republicans that they grant to the Catholics "liberty of teaching," or the equality of the Church with the State in all educational matters.

Lamennais and his group encountered strong opposition within the Church. Pope Gregory XVI condemned their views as "absurd and erroneous," and their paper was suspended. This was the breaking point, and Lamennais began to turn away from the Church, although his followers submitted. In 1834 appeared his little volume, *Words of a Believer*, which was widely read throughout Europe. It is a poetic and passionate eulogy of liberty, and almost mystical in its love of democracy. This "apostle of the people," as Lamennais was called, became more and more radical in his politics and more and more heretical in his theology. He finally left the Church and ended his days as a preacher of Christian socialism.

Lamennais leaves the Church

Both Ultramontanes and Liberal Catholics had endorsed the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, who had won the latter by his advocacy of the Falloux Law,[1] which recognized the principle of "liberty of teaching" so dear to them. The spokesman of the Ultramontanes was Louis Veuillot, the brilliant editor of the Catholic journal, *L'Univers*, who hailed the destruction of the Second Republic as a victory of order and religion over the "Reds," or Socialists. The Liberal Catholics were less enthusiastic. Montalembert declared that "to vote for Louis Napoleon does not mean to endorse all that he did; it means to choose between him and the total ruin of France."

Catholics endorse *coup d'état*

The Italian War of 1859[2] marked the beginning of strained relations between the Church and the Empire. The clericals denounced the Italian expedition as strongly as the anti-clericals had at one time denounced the Roman; they realized that through French aid Italy would be united, and that this would inevitably lead to the loss of the Pope's temporal power. They openly denounced Napoleon as an enemy and traitor

Strained relations between Napoleon and the Church to the Church, and organized a powerful opposition to him in Parliament. The anti-clericals, on the contrary, hailed the Emperor's alliance with the Italian democrats as a good augury for liberalism at home as well as abroad. Catholic journals that attacked the Government were suppressed, and collections of money in France for the Pope were forbidden.

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[1] This was an education act, passed in 1850, which gave to the Catholic Church the control of education. The schools conducted by the Church were to receive public support. Priests and nuns having a "letter of obedience" from their bishop could be engaged to teach in public schools; lay teachers were required to have a certificate from the State. To the parish priest was given the power to supervise the instruction given in the elementary schools. An important provision in this law gave to Catholic colleges equal right with the University of France to grant degrees; hitherto the latter had enjoyed a monopoly of this right.

[2] See p. 213.

THE LIBERAL EMPIRE

Growing opposition to the Empire

In his great desire to win the favor of every class and of every party, Napoleon succeeded in winning the enmity of all. His strongest supporters hitherto, the Catholics, were now in opposition; the powerful manufacturing interests were incensed at his low-tariff policies; the Liberals denounced the Empire for deserting Cavour;[1] and nothing that he would do could, of course, satisfy the Republicans. He felt that liberalism might bring new strength to the dynasty, so he resolved on a policy of concessions. In 1859 a general amnesty was granted to those who had been driven out of France for their political views. During the following year Parliament was allowed more freedom; it was now permitted to frame an address criticizing the Government, and its debates were allowed to be published. The press laws were also generally relaxed. These concessions resulted in increasing instead of decreasing the attacks of the opposition. A Liberal union was formed consisting of Republicans, royalists, and clericals, and it managed to elect thirty-five members to the House in the elections of 1863, in spite of the system of "official candidates," which was still maintained. This frightened the Emperor into more concessions. An anti-clerical, the historian Victor Duruy, was appointed Minister of Education, and he used his power to combat the influence of the Church in public education.

Napoleon's rising unpopularity was enhanced by his ill-starred Mexican expedition.[2] Taking advantage of the

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[1] See p. 213.

[2] A Swiss banker named Jecker had loaned money to the Mexican Revolutionary Government which he was unable to collect. Through a corrupt bar-

The Mexican expedition

Civil War in the United States, he intervened in Mexico on the alleged ground that sufficient protection was not given to foreign citizens; his real aim, however, was to play a grand rôle in American affairs in order to revive his waning popularity. In 1862 a French army was landed in Mexico which overthrew the Republic and established an empire under the protection of France. Archduke Maximilian, brother of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, was chosen Emperor. This course aroused great opposition among the Mexican people, who rose in rebellion against Emperor Maximilian and the French troops supporting him. At the close of the American Civil War the Washington Government demanded the immediate withdrawal of the French army on the ground that their presence was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon now deserted Maximilian as he had once deserted Cavour; the unfortunate Emperor was seized by the Mexicans and shot, and the Mexican Republic was reëstablished.

The Liberal Empire

The disastrous outcome of the Mexican expedition reacted seriously on the fortunes of the Emperor, as it had been expensive, humiliating, and utterly useless. The opposition to him became bolder and sharper than ever before. Thiers made a great speech demanding the "necessary liberties." A group was formed, calling itself the Third Party, composed of Liberals who desired a régime that would steer a middle course between an autocratic empire and a democratic republic. They demanded freedom of elections, of speech, and of association, and the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament. Their leader was Émile Ollivier, a former Republican, who desired to play the rôle of the reconciler of the Empire with liberty. He was denounced as a traitor by the Republicans, but was welcomed by Napoleon as the statesman of the Liberal Empire which was about to be inaugurated. During 1867–69 the way was being prepared for the new political edifice, "the Empire

gain with the Duke de Morny, who was promised a portion of this money, Jecker was made a French citizen by an Imperial decree. The French Government then took up his claim, which furnished Napoleon a pretext for intervention in Mexico.

crowned with liberty . . . equally removed from reaction and from revolutionary theories." Parliament was given the full right of interpellation, censorship of the press was greatly moderated, and public meetings were more freely permitted.

Henri Rochefort

These concessions satisfied many, but they merely strengthened the opposition of the irreconcilable Republicans, who wanted nothing less than the abolition of the Empire and the establishment of a democratic republic. During the last days of the Empire there emerged two remarkable men, Gambetta and Rochefort, who declared war *à outrance* against the Government and all its works, good and bad. Henri Rochefort was a brilliant journalist wielding a rapier-like pen, who, in 1868, founded a weekly paper, *La Lanterne* (*The Lamp-Post*), which began a merciless attack upon the Emperor and his Government. This paper, which quickly won an enormous circulation, was suppressed many times and its editor driven into exile; but as often as it was suppressed it reappeared under a different name and in a different place.

Léon Gambetta

During the same year a trial took place in France which attracted considerable attention. It was that of a journalist who was being prosecuted by the Government for starting a subscription to raise a monument to a Republican named Baudin, one of the victims of the *coup d'état* of 1851. A young lawyer, hitherto unknown, named Léon Gambetta, was chosen to defend him. Instead of confining himself to the defense of his client, Gambetta delivered a terrific indictment of the Second Empire, denouncing its origin as criminal, its conduct as tyrannical, and prophesying its speedy downfall. "On the Second of December," he declared, "there grouped themselves around a pretender men whom France had never before known, men without talent, without honor, without rank, without position; men of the type who in all times have been the organizers of conspiracies. . . . And these men had the audacity to pretend that they were the saviors of France." He went on to denounce the character of the government founded by these conspirators, and ended with a peroration which resounded throughout the country: "Listen, you, who for seventeen years have been the absolute masters of France. . . . The proof of your remorse is that you have never dared to say: 'Let us consecrate the Second of December as a solemn national holiday as the men of 1789, 1830, and 1848 celebrated the days of their triumph.' . . . This anniversary which you have refused to signalize, we will take for ourselves. We shall celebrate each year, regularly and without fail, the memory of those who fell on that day, until the time will come when the country, having regained her freedom, shall impose upon you a great national expiation in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

Gambetta program

Never had the Empire been denounced with such invective and with such thrilling eloquence; the speech sounded like the coming doom of the Napoleonic régime. This speech made Gambetta famous. He immediately sprang to the forefront of the opposition and became the rising hope of the irreconcilable republicans, who hailed him as their leader. His program demanded the establishment of a parliamentary republic based on universal suffrage, separation of Church and State, public secular education, and complete freedom of speech and of association. "The dominant idea in my political activity," he declared, "is the sovereignty of the people, completely and thoroughly organized. I am a radical democrat, passionately devoted to the principles of liberty and fraternity, and I shall tirelessly aim to show that Cæsarian democracy is incompatible with the ideals and methods of true democracy."

The Empire becomes a constitutional monarchy

In the elections of 1869 the opposition had grown to ninety members, among the elected being Gambetta and Rochefort. In the face of the advance of republicanism, which was daily becoming more threatening and defiant, the Emperor turned to the counsels of moderation offered by the Third Party. A series of decrees, the most notable being that of April 20, 1870, deprived the Senate of its power to amend the Constitution and gave the House full control over all legislation. The Empire was now fully a constitutional monarchy, and the ex-Republican Ollivier was appointed Prime Minister, with a cabinet composed of men of all parties except the Republican. Napoleon was anxious to get popular approval for the Liberal Empire, as he was half sincere in his constant assertion that the Empire was based on a democratic ideal. He determined, therefore, to submit his reforms to a plebiscite, which, he thought, would give him the popular backing that he needed to face the bitter attacks of the Republicans, who denounced the Ollivier Ministry as "sentinels who mounted guard" over despotism. On May 8, 1870, the electors were asked to vote on the following proposition: "The French nation approves the liberal reforms made in the Constitution since 1860 and ratifies the decrees of 1870." The result showed an overwhelming approval of the Emperor's course, as about seven and a half millions voted "yes" and only one and a half, "no." This was a great disappointment to the Republicans, who seemed discredited. To all appearances the new régime was now firmly established, and Napoleon was congratulated by his Ministers, who assured him of "a happy old age" as Emperor and of the undisputed succession of his son, the Prince Imperial.

FOREIGN POLICY

War a necessity for Napoleon

Napoleon's declaration that the Empire meant peace was sincerely meant. But he well knew that his name had aroused the imagination of the French people, and that he owed his success to the popular belief that a Napoleonic régime would establish France once more as *la grande nation* of Europe. To pursue a peace policy would, therefore, invite disaster to the Empire, as it had to the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe. In the tortuous maze of the Emperor's constantly shifting foreign policy there stands out one dominant purpose, namely, nationalism. France, if she went to war, was to do so, not to conquer territory for herself, but to conquer liberty for oppressed nationalities. "When she draws her sword," declared the Emperor, "it is not to dominate, but to liberate." Such a course would prove his loyalty to the principles of the French Revolution, which he so warmly professed, and gain renown for the French arms.

Evil conditions in the French army

Unlike his great uncle, Napoleon was no soldier, although he carefully cultivated the appearance of one. It was his custom to ride in resplendent uniform on a black charger, and his detractors insinuated that he rouged his cheeks and wore a corset in order to make a fine appearance on parade. The army was composed mainly of professional soldiers, though, in theory, all citizens were required to serve. Exemption could easily be obtained by paying a sum of money to the Government or by hiring a substitute; those who could not do so were obliged to serve seven years. Proposals for universal military service were made several times in Parliament, but were never enacted into law, as the idea was very unpopular among the middle classes; consequently the standing army was small, its total war footing in 1860 being about six hundred thousand men. Although the French army, with its gaudy new uniforms and dashing appearance, made a fine impression on parade, it was badly organized and inefficiently officered. Napoleon had filled it with political generals who were at best incompetent and at worst, corrupt; the defeats of 1870 were largely due to the Emperor's demoralizing influence. Lacking true efficiency, a spirit of braggadocio was encouraged among the soldiers, who were given to boasting of their warlike qualities and of their superiority over all other soldiers.

The wars of the Second Empire

Napoleon's policy in war was to associate himself with allies; in case of victory, he could claim the credit, and in case of defeat, he could put the blame on the others. What he dreaded most of all was an unsuccessful war; a Napoleon that could not win would be ridiculous, and would be quickly driven from power. In 1854 France joined England and Turkey in making war upon Russia. The motives for Napoleon's entrance into the Crimean War[1] were mixed, like all his motives: he saw an opportunity for great personal popularity, as the Allies were bound to be successful; he was unfriendly to Tsar Nicholas I because the latter had not fully recognized him as a fellow sovereign; and he hoped also to avenge the First Empire by humiliating Russia, which had been instrumental in its downfall. In 1859 he joined Sardinia in attacking Austria. Here again his motives were mixed. He sincerely and warmly sympathized with Italian unity and wished to help attain it; he desired to awaken the great military memories of the First Empire by driving Austrians out of Italy; but he also wanted territory, Nice and Savoy. The successful outcome of these two wars put France once more at the pinnacle of international power. For a time Napoleon played the rôle of dictator in Europe; no treaty could be entered into, no territorial changes could be made, and no diplomatic policy inaugurated without his being consulted. This greatly inflated the pride of *la grande nation* and added to the popularity of the Emperor, who was beginning to feel that he, too, had a "star." But it was a pinchbeck imperialism that Napoleon gave to the French people. Behind the resplendent Court, subservient bureaucracy, and magnificently attired army, there was incompetence, corruption, discontent, and short-sightedness which, in case of a real trial of strength with a powerful foe, would send France headlong to disaster.

Napoleon's failure to understand Prussia

Napoleon's misunderstanding of Prussia's ambition, his total lack of appreciation of the strength of the national sentiment in Germany, his absurd misjudgment of the character of Bismarck, and his fatal inconsistency in opposing the national unity of Germany were to end in his undoing. In 1865 there took place a famous interview at Biarritz between Bismarck and Napoleon III about the Schleswig-Holstein question. Bismarck was eager to obtain the neutrality of France in his coming conflict with Austria, in order to free Prussia from anxiety on account of her western frontier. Napoleon consented, and France committed the fatal error of remaining neutral during the Seven Weeks' War.[1] He had no idea of the real strength of Prussia, and therefore felt sure that she would be defeated; or, if she were not, that both nations would exhaust themselves in a long-drawn-out war, which would give him the opportunity of interfering to gain something for France, possibly the left bank of the Rhine. Even Sadowa failed to undeceive him. Had he intervened even then, as Austria was urging him to do, Prussia might have been compelled to yield, for what she greatly feared was an attack in the rear. But the propitious moment passed. Napoleon's blindness, his fatal fatuity, his vacillation may, in part, be attributed to a racking illness from which he was then suffering and which may have dulled his otherwise acute mind. Only when Prussia was completely victorious did he come forward with his irritating demand that the southern states be left out of the German union. Prussia yielded, but she resolved that France should pay dearly for trying to block the road to German unity.

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[1] See p. 629.

The military party in France

"Revenge for Sadowa" now became the cry in France. The drift of events beyond the Rhine was now understood, as it seemed perfectly evident that all Germany would soon unite in a powerful single state. The feeling between the French and the Germans was constantly growing more bitter; and the newspapers of both nations frequently fanned the flames of national hatred through the publication of articles abounding in taunts, insults, and recriminations. The chauvinists in France insisted that Prussia must be humiliated and they joined the republicans, clericals, and protectionists in criticizing the Emperor, who began to consider the possibility of a war with Prussia as a means of reëstablishing his popularity. Although the war party under the leadership of the Duke de Gramont was constantly preaching war, it did nothing to prepare the country for it. In 1868 the Emperor urged that the French army be reorganized on the Prussian model, but Parliament refused to enact the necessary legislation. He was loath to enter into a contest with the latter, whose power he was now augmenting, lest it should add to his unpopularity. What he cared most about was not the safety of his country, but the safety of his throne.

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[1] See p. 181.

Mob proclaims France a republic

The story of the events leading up to the Franco-Prussian War and of the war itself is described elsewhere.[1] Sedan sounded the doom of the Second Empire, whose end was as inglorious as its beginning. On September 4, 1870, a mob broke into the Parliament building shouting, "Down with the Empire!" "Long live the Republic!" The members were dispersed, and the mob, led by Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and Jules Favre, went to the Hôtel de Ville where they proclaimed a republic. Empress Eugénie fled. The Emperor, on being released by the Germans, sought refuge in England, where he died in 1873.

The new resistance under Gambetta

A Government of National Defense was hastily organized with General Trochu at its head, but with Gambetta as its leading spirit. It resolved "not to yield an inch of our soil, not a stone of our fortresses," and proceeded to organize a *levée en masse*, or armed uprising, as in the great days of '93. Gambetta, who was the soul of this new phase of the war, had escaped in a balloon from besieged Paris and had established the Provisional Government at Bordeaux. Though holding the office of Minister of the Interior, he became virtually dictator of France. His extraordinary energy and daring resourcefulness aroused his fellow countrymen to a new resistance which astounded the Germans. But the capitulation of Metz rendered further resistance useless.

Abolition of the Empire

In order to establish a responsible government with power to negotiate a treaty of peace, an armistice was signed between the French and German forces. Elections were then held throughout France, and a National Assembly was chosen which convened at Bordeaux on February 12, 1871, and assumed full authority over France. The Government of National Defense was then dissolved. On March 1 the National Assembly almost unanimously voted the abolition of the Empire, which it declared was "responsible for the ruin, the invasion, and the dismemberment of France."

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[1] See p. 184.

LITERATURE DURING THE EMPIRE

Victor Hugo

By the middle of the nineteenth century Romanticism was a spent force in French literature. Alone of the Romanticists, Victor Hugo, who bestrode the entire century like a literary Colossus, continued in unabated strength. He reached a poetic height unattained by any other French poet in his *La Légende des Siècles* (*Legend of the Ages*), a kind of lyrical history of man, in which he sings the pæan of human progress in a series of epical and philosophical poems.

Sainte-Beuve

Modern literary criticism can boast of no greater name than that of Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–69), who became the European arbiter of literary good taste. Sainte-Beuve's conception of criticism was that its main function is to reveal "the natural history of the human intellect"; hence he had no set formula and no philosophic system. His method was that of "universal curiosity": to inquire into the antecedents, life, character, and temperament of the author and to show how these were reflected in his work. Above all, the critic was not to obtrude his own views on the reader; his function was "to be and to remain outside everything," and to exhibit the author as he would a picture or a statue, indicating both good and bad points; the reader would then be able to pass judgment for himself more intelligently. Few critics were so well endowed as Sainte-Beuve, who possessed a wide and profound knowledge, not only of literature, but also of history, philosophy, art, and religion; he wrote, therefore, with great sympathy and understanding of many types of authors. He was, above all else, an intense admirer of the classic French style and, for that reason, he failed to appreciate fully so great a novelist as Balzac, who lacked it. Sainte-Beuve's greatest work, *Histoire de Port-Royal*, is a description of the Jansenist mystics of the seventeenth century and, in addition, a historical and philosophical study of the entire period. His most famous book of criticism is *Causeries du lundi* (*Monday Chats*) which consists of short but pregnant estimates of writers and other famous persons.

Taine

Quite the opposite of Sainte-Beuve in ideals and methods was Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), the philosophic critic and historian. The latter was an excellent example of the dogmatic thinker who has a passion for classifying all human phenomena into formulas and systems. In Taine's opinion, three factors, race, heredity, and environment, determine all human development; the individual is merely the product of these forces which fashion his ideals and character. It is important to study, therefore, not this great man or that, but the social, political, and physical conditions which produced him. He applied this formula even to literature and to art. Taine's most important work is a series of histories entitled *Origines de la France contemporaine*, a highly original philosophic study of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. It is, however, defective in scholarship and colored by partisanship, as he was strongly opposed to the ideas and methods of the Jacobins.

Renan

By far the most perfect type of French *savant* was Ernest Renan (1823–92), whose great learning was combined with a literary style of the highest order. Although educated for the priesthood, he became the master skeptic of the age, and as such he exercised a profound influence on his contemporaries. The one unpardonable sin, according to Renanism, which became a cult among the intellectual *élite* of France, is dogmatism; the greatest virtue is a refined sympathy for all ideas, even for those which you believe false, so long as they are of value to mankind; the true saint is the skeptic who gives up the good of this world without expecting anything in return. Renan was denounced by his opponents as a dilettante, a man who deliciously fingered great ideas for sensuous enjoyment and whose interest in art was greater than his interest in anything else. His exquisite style, elegant, suave, and fluid, and his romantic imagination gave fascination to his scholarly work, which was mainly in the field of religious history. Renan's most important book, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, is an attempt to rationalize the Old Testament and to explain its origin by the environment and race characteristics of the ancient Jews. His *Vie de Jésus* caused a sensation in Europe, and he was denounced by his opponents as a blasphemer, because he pictured Christ as a lovable human being and not as a divinity.

Realism

In fiction a new school, Realism, displaced Romanticism. Unlike the latter, Realism found its themes and scenes in the present and not in the Middle Ages; it dealt with the actual and the probable in human life, and avoided what smacked of the fantastic and of the extravagant. According to the Realists the writer must be objective, merely a medium through which nature and society find expression; he must efface his own personality completely from his work in order to reproduce life truthfully. "An artist ought no more appear in his work, than God does in nature," was the dictum of the greatest master of the school, Gustave Flaubert.

Flaubert

By far the best example of a Realistic novel is Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, which is considered by many competent critics to be the greatest novel in French literature. It tells the tragic story of a simple woman, the unhappy wife of a country surgeon, whose quest of true love leads her to degradation and finally to suicide. The evolution of the character of the heroine, Emma Bovary, as she falls lower and lower in the moral scale, is described with such penetrating insight into human weakness and such cold aloofness that he makes the tragic end seem the natural outcome of the commonplace beginning. Flaubert was an artist, first, last, and all the time. He hated the vulgar and the mediocre, "the bourgeois," and loved "art for art's sake." His is the perfect French style; every sentence which he wrote was polished with the greatest care. To this "patient gold-beater of words and phrases" the correct expression was an eternal search, and he never rested till he found it.

Dumas *fils*

The most important dramatist of the Second Empire was Alexandre Dumas *fils* (1824–95), the son of the famous novelist. He was the originator of the kind of drama called the "problem play," in which the moral difficulties arising out of the marriage tie are the main theme. Dumas's plays, the most famous of which is *La Dame aux Camélias* (*Camille*), frequently deal with a type of woman who lives in what he called the *demi-monde*, or the outskirts of respectable society. He constantly denounces the system of laws and customs which sacrifices the welfare of children to the vices of parents.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

REACTION IN PRUSSIA

IF democracy gained little as a result of the Revolution of 1848, nationalism gained still less. The latter was badly discredited by the Frankfort Assembly with its unpractical members, its long-winded discussions, and its contemptible exit. The common feeling in Germany now was that union could not be achieved by means of a constitutional assembly, or, for that matter, by any other means. Nationalism, having been discredited by democracy, was doubly odious to the triumphant autocrats of Prussia and Austria.

Nationalism discredited

The King of Prussia soon turned his undivided attention to devitalizing the meager constitution which he had granted. What was inconvenient to the Government became a dead letter or was "interpreted" to suit its desires. Freedom of speech was granted only to those who favored the King; it was denied to those who opposed him. Liberal meetings were dissolved and Liberal newspapers suppressed on the slightest pretext. The methods employed by Napoleon III to circumvent constitutional guarantees were much admired and copied by the reactionaries of Prussia. The publication of newspapers was allowed, but their sale forbidden. Editors had to deposit large sums of money as a guarantee of "good behavior"; criticism of the Government was followed by the confiscation of this money and frequently by a prison sentence for the editor. This threat, always present, had a deterrent effect upon the freedom of the press. During elections the Government used intimidation, patronage, and bribery to have candidates returned who were favorable to its policies. Even in private life did the liberals feel the heavy hand of reaction. Letters were opened and read by the postal authorities, and

Suppression of liberalism

spies were everywhere. Liberals found it very difficult to be appointed as teachers in the schools and universities, and the public service was absolutely barred to them. Physicians and lawyers opposed to the Government were hindered in their practice by vexatious regulations and official boycotting.

Prussia, a semi-autocratic state

Prussia was now a semi-autocratic, semi-parliamentary state. The king was still sovereign with full control of the Government; there was also a parliament, the Landtag, but its powers were narrowly limited. It had the right to pass laws which the king might veto, to make suggestions which he might ignore, and to vote censures which he might flout. It is true that all new taxes had to have the consent of the Landtag, but if no tax was voted, it might be "interpreted" by the king to mean that the old taxes continued.

THE PATRIOTIC HISTORIANS

The Prussian historical school

In the great movement for unification, the writings of historians played a prominent part. Ink as well as "blood and iron" was to be a factor in the making of United Germany. During the middle of the nineteenth century there arose a Prussian school of historians whose main purpose was to teach the German people that it was Prussia's historic mission to unite the Fatherland, primarily because she had been the leader in the Liberation Movement against Napoleon, which was regarded by them as the true beginning of modern Germany. These historians strongly believed in a doctrine which they called "historic necessity," by which they meant that the evolution of nations compels them to adopt a certain course of action irrespective of kings, parliaments, laws, or morals. War, then, may become, to use the language of the Prussian General Clausewitz, the "continuation of politics only with other means." In the hands of the Prussian historians, who combined great learning with fervent patriotism, history became a form of political propaganda, and the historian, a learned pamphleteer of the most partisan type.

These men were popular professors in the various German universities, where they were able to influence deeply the minds of the rising generation.

The Prussian historians

Frederick Dahlman, who lived in the early part of the nineteenth century, was a forerunner of this school. He was better known as a lecturer than as a writer, and many were inspired by his teaching, which was only mildly Prussian, for he remained a liberal to the end of his life. Ludwig Häusser gained prominence as a teacher, politician, and historian. His *History of Germany from the Death of Frederick the Great to the German Confederation* is a pæan to the Prussian soldiers and statesmen of the Liberation era. Gustav Droysen may be considered to be the real founder of the Prussian School. The thesis of his *History of Prussian Policy*, on which he spent thirty years of labor, was that German unity was the lodestar of Prussian policy throughout the centuries, and that the Hohenzollerns alone had always been unswervingly faithful to German interests; therefore it was to them that the people must look for a united Fatherland. In the hands of Heinrich von Sybel, history becomes a powerful weapon with which to attack opposing views and ideals. His *History of the French Revolution* is a great work which brings out for the first time the international character of that movement and its deeper implications; but the book is badly marred by prejudice against the French, whose ideals and heroes he constantly belittles. Sybel's *Foundations of the German Empire* is a learned but bitterly partisan history, as it is disfigured by hatred of Austria and France.

Treitschke

By far the most famous of the Prussian School is Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96), whose influence in Germany has been so great that he has been called the "national historian." Nature had intended him to be a poet, but patriotism made him a historian. Almost all his life Treitschke was a professor of history in various German universities, where his lectures attracted wide attention because of their eloquence, learning, and intense patriotism. "We have no German Fatherland; the Hohenzollerns alone can give us one," was Treitschke's constant refrain before 1870. Great crowds were thrilled by this patriotic professor, whose lectures on history were in the nature of passionate declamations. The Germans, according to him, were the best of all peoples, and the Prussians, the best of all Germans; Prussia had performed every great deed in German history since the Treaty of Westphalia; she alone had realized the true ideal of national greatness, for the nation was an army, and the army, a nation. Treitschke's ideal state was one in which parliament played a subordinate rôle in the government; the latter should have supreme control over all its agencies, and should devote itself mainly to the task of training virile citizens. England was the special object of this historian's wrath. He would bitterly denounce and mock the English as vulgar utilitarians and hypocrites, as a decadent race holding a position in the world which by right belonged to the idealistic, virile Germans. Besides seventeen volumes of essays on politics and kindred subjects, Treitschke wrote a *History of Germany* which is a brilliantly written eulogy of the German people, especially of Prussia.

BISMARCK

William I

Toward the end of his life, Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, became insane. In 1858 his brother, William, was appointed Regent to represent the King in the Government; and, on the death of the latter in 1861, the Regent, at the advanced age of sixty-four, ascended the throne as William I.

The new monarch was not a brilliant orator like his brother; he was a man of few words, slow, conscientious, industrious, and a Prussian soldier to the core. Although not especially gifted intellectually, he had the rare virtue of recognizing the abilities of those around him and of trusting them absolutely. He was sincerely convinced that the best possible kind of a government was a benevolent despotism, and throughout his reign he consistently adhered to this ideal. William chose Albrecht von Roon, an able military organizer, as Minister of War, and Helmuth von Moltke, who was later to achieve renown as a military genius of the highest order, as chief of the army.

Inadequacy of the military law

The Government had resolved on a scheme of army reform which was to have momentous consequences for Prussia, for Germany, and for the world. During the Liberation Movement the principle of universal military service had been adopted, but it was not generally applied. Many were permitted to enter the active service for a short period only, and many others were excused altogether from performing this duty; so that in time of peace the Prussian army was about 130,000, and its maximum war strength only 215,000.

The new army bill

The King determined to change the law so as to compel all citizens to serve their full time, which would bring the army to a peace footing of 190,000 and to a war footing of 450,000. This proposal embodied a new idea, that of a "nation in arms"; whereas the old idea of an army was that of a special military force organized to defend the country. What could be the object of the Government in desiring so large an army? "To stifle democracy," said the Liberals; and they determined to oppose the plans of the army reformers with might and main.

Parliament defeats the army bill

As a result of a misunderstanding, the Landtag had provisionally voted money for the enlarged army, and new regiments had been formed. A new Landtag, elected in 1862, contained two hundred and fifty-three Liberals and only sixteen Conservatives. The army budget presented to this Landtag was overwhelmingly defeated, which meant that the new regiments were to be disbanded and the officers dismissed. Bitter feeling now existed between King and Parliament. The failure of the latter to vote the army appropriations appeared to William as an act of insubordination. If he was not to be supreme in military matters, he was no longer willing to be king, and he actually wrote out and signed his abdication. The King refused to violate his oath of office by abolishing the Landtag, as he was advised to do by his ardent supporters; nor would he abandon his plan of strengthening Prussia's army, for the humiliation at Olmütz had convinced him that only through force could Prussia wrest from Austria the leadership of the German people.

Bismarck

At this juncture "the man of the hour" arrived on the scene in the person of Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck, who was appointed Prime Minister of Prussia on September 23, 1862. Henceforth, for a generation, the history of Germany and of Europe is largely the biography of this extraordinary man. Bismarck came of a noble family that had dwelt for centuries in the Mark of Brandenburg, where he was born in 1815 on the family estate of Schönhausen. Brought up in the narrow but intensely German environment of a Prussian landowner, he was early imbued with all the aristocratic feelings of his class. He was sent to the University of Göttingen, where he spent a year and where he acquired the reputation of being a roystering student, more devoted to beer-drinking and dueling than to the law which he was supposed to be studying. Yet he managed to do a great deal of reading in history, literature, and philosophy, as his knowledge in these fields later surprised his contemporaries. For a time he occupied a position in the Prussian administrative service; but the plodding atmosphere of the bureaucracy ill suited his lively and boisterous temperament and he soon returned to his estate. Bismarck greatly enjoyed the life of a country gentleman, and he was very popular among his neighbors in spite of the wild pranks which he often played upon them. He was also at home in fashionable Berlin society, where his wit and good nature won him many friends. Always very emotional, he came under the influence of religion, which made him think seriously of life and of life's problems. His belief in absolute monarchy as the only legitimate and rational form of government was strengthened by the conception of divine right formulated under religious influences.

Bismarck's entrance into political life was as a member of the United Diet, to which he was chosen in 1847. There he became somewhat notorious through his bitter opposition to parliamentary government, which he contemptuously denounced as "government by phrases," leading inevitably to chaos, corruption, and incompetency. A constitution, "a sheet of paper," should not be permitted to intervene between the royal will and state action. Liberals were unpractical people who mistook doctrines for realities, and whose schemes would surely bring the country to ruin. Parliamentary government, he declared, was all right for Englishmen, who were practiced in the art, but would never suit Prussians, who had no aptitude for such methods.

Opposes democracy

Bismarck was a typical Teuton in appearance. He was a powerfully built man over six feet tall, with fair hair, blue eyes, and a rough, jovial face. He possessed but few of the natural gifts of an orator, as his voice was somewhat shrill and his gestures awkward. But this blond giant had a sharp tongue and cool insolence which often infuriated his opponents. Once, while he was speaking, the House broke into an uproar at his denunciation of democratic principles; but Bismarck coolly turned his back to the assembly and began reading a newspaper, and the tumult quickly subsided. During the Revolution of 1848 he raised a company of peasants on his estate with the object of marching on Berlin to rescue the King from the mob. More royalist than the King, he was one of a minority of two in the Diet who voted against a resolution of thanks to the King for granting a constitution.

Characteristics of Bismarck

To Bismarck, German nationalism was as abhorrent as democracy. He poured withering scorn on the efforts of the Frankfort Assembly to unite Germany. At that time he greatly admired Austria as the extinguisher of revolution and as the "inheritor of ancient German might which has so often gloriously wielded the German sword." He even rejoiced at the humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz because she had risked a war for the sake of Germany. For a state to fight for anything which did not concern its own interest was to Bismarck

His opposition to German unity

"romanticism" and deserving of humiliation. "Prussians we are and Prussians we shall remain," was then his verdict.

Appointed delegate to the Diet of the Confederation

During the reaction which followed the Revolution of 1848, Bismarck was continually advising the authorities to deal harshly with the revolutionists; and he frequently made rabid speeches against democracy, so that he came to be regarded by the Liberals as "a political rowdy." Greatly to their chagrin the King appointed him, in 1851, to the important position of Prussian delegate to the Diet of the German Confederation at Frankfort.

His conversion to German nationalism

It was in the Diet that Bismarck first got a close view and thorough understanding of the problems which confronted Germany. There he saw the deep-seated hatred of Austria for Prussia and the continuous efforts of the former to block the union of the German people, to which he was now becoming a convert. He also clearly foresaw the inevitable conflict between these two powerful states for leadership in Germany. Lively altercations continually took place between the cool and insolent Bismarck and the Austrian envoys, whose "cautious dishonesty" exasperated him and whose domineering control of the Diet he resented. It was as a result of his experiences in this body that Bismarck became a convert to the cause of German nationalism; he now ceased to be merely a Prussian and became a German.

Ambassador to Russia and to France

In 1859 the King appointed him Ambassador to Russia, where he became exceedingly popular on account of his great desire to establish good relations between Prussia and Russia. Bismarck's mission to the latter country is of prime importance in the diplomatic history of Europe. He keenly realized the value of Russian friendship to Prussia, and later to Germany, as an offset to France; an alliance or, at least, a friendly understanding with Russia became the corner-stone of his foreign policies to the end of his political career. In 1862 he became Ambassador to France, where he met Napoleon III, whose shallow character and limited abilities he quickly divined.

"A great unrecognized incapacity," was his judgment of Napoleon. The Prussian's exuberant frankness and his blunt discussion of great questions convinced the French Emperor that he was "not a person to be taken seriously."

Bismarck's character and methods

As a result of these experiences Bismarck changed greatly. He was now no longer the narrow Prussian Junker, but a man of the world; his mental horizon had widened and his character had deepened. He developed an extraordinary keenness in his judgment of men and an unerring insight into the real nature of the politics of Europe. When it was a question of advancing the interests of his country and king, Bismarck was utterly unscrupulous, using cunning, deceit, or brute force as best suited the occasion at hand. What was most deceptive in him was a kind of adroit frankness that completely confounded the master diplomats of the day. As lying and deception were the very soul of diplomacy, Bismarck sometimes told the truth in order better to deceive his opponents. Combined with his recently acquired diplomatic abilities were his old daring, boldness, and iron will. The moment Bismarck appeared on the European scene, he was master, and he remained so till the day of his retirement.

Determined to defy Parliament

Bismarck's appointment as Prime Minister aroused the greatest indignation in Prussia, as it was an open challenge to public opinion which he had so often derisively flouted. He advised the King to tear up his letter of abdication and to govern in defiance of the Landtag. It was the Prime Minister's iron determination to collect taxes and spend them on the army without the consent of the people's representatives; in short, to violate the constitution without repealing it or abolishing Parliament. "As to what is the law," he declared, "when no budget is voted, many theories are advanced, the justification of which I will not consider here. The necessity for the State to exist is enough for me; necessity alone is authoritative."

It was a bold and daring move, as widespread indignation was aroused by his open violation of the constitution, and it might have led to his impeachment and execution. Bismarck was often threatened with the fate of the Earl of Strafford, who had performed a similar service for his monarch, Charles I. Petitions from municipal councils and other public bodies began to pour in asking the King to remove "the rude and insolent Minister." Demonstrations against the despotic action of the Government took place throughout the country. Even at the Court, Bismarck had to face the bitter opposition of the Queen, the Crown Prince, and the English wife of the latter, all of whom felt that he was endangering the throne by inviting a revolution. Sometimes the King himself wavered, but Bismarck heartened him with the words, "Death on the scaffold under certain circumstances is as honorable as death on the field of battle."

Widespread indignation at his action

For four years the Landtag was annually summoned to vote the budget, but each time it refused to do so. "If you do not vote the money we shall take it where we can get it," was Bismarck's defiant rejoinder. Taxes were thereupon levied, collected, and spent by the Government without its presenting a budget or an accounting. A system of terrorism was instituted against the Liberals; their meetings were forbidden and their papers gagged by the censors. The worst days of the Carlsbad Decrees had now returned.

Governs without Parliament

Bismarck's defense was that Parliament stood in the way of the country's destiny. "Prussia's kingship has not yet fulfilled its mission," he boldly declared. "It is not yet ripe enough to form a purely ornamental trimming for your constitutional structure, not yet ready to be inserted as a dead piece of machinery in the mechanism of parliamentary rule." By this time Bismarck clearly had in view the unification of Germany and how it was to be accomplished, and he determined, cost what it might, to carry through the army reform. On a memorable occasion he gave utterance to a sentiment which rang throughout the world. "Germany," he declared, "does not look to Prussia's liberalism, but to her power. . . . The great ques-

Bismarck's defense

tions of the day are not to be decided by speeches and majority resolutions — therein lay the weakness of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron!" Bismarck's very boldness carried the day, as all opposition to him proved to be vain. A military machine fashioned by the masterly hands of Moltke and Roon soon came into existence, which was to give a great account of itself on the battlefields of Europe.

Good and evil results of Bismarck's action

Bismarck's course was arbitrary, brutal, reactionary, and illegal. But in his defense it must be said that, if he used ignoble means, he had in view a noble, patriotic end, the unification of Germany, for which he was willing at any moment to lay down his life. It has, therefore, been the judgment of historians that, in the quarrel between the Landtag and Bismarck, history has justified the latter. But in flouting the Constitution he set an evil example to the ruling classes of Prussia who now had contempt as well as abhorrence for democratic government.

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR

The weapon was now forged with which to strike those who stood in the way of German unity. Three wars were to be fought before this great task was accomplished: with Denmark in 1864; with Austria in 1866; and with France in 1870.

The Schleswig-Holstein question

The Danish war grew out of the question of disposing of the two duchies, Schleswig-Holstein. The population of the former was partly Danish and partly German, that of the latter, entirely German; but both had been united to Denmark by a personal union through the king. In 1863 the Danish King, Frederick VII, died, and his successor, Christian IX, wished to incorporate the two duchies with the rest of his dominions. To this project great objection was raised by the inhabitants of the duchies and by the people and governments of Germany. Had the Danish King a right to do so, or had he not? The question bristled with so many complications that Lord Palmerston once declared that only two men besides himself had ever understood it; one was dead and the second was crazy and he had forgotten it. Bismarck became intensely interested in the Schleswig-Holstein controversy, because he saw in it, on the one hand, a possibility of annexing the entire region with its fine harbor at Kiel, and, on the other, an excellent opportunity for getting into a war with Austria. "Our relations with Austria," he had once declared, "must be better or worse. We desire the first, but we must prepare for the second." He proposed that Austria join Prussia in a war on Denmark, with the object of securing the duchies and dividing the spoils. To this Austria gladly assented.

War on Denmark

These two great powers declared war against little Denmark in 1864. A line of Danish fortresses, which it was thought could hold an army at bay for two years, was carried in five days by an army of sixty thousand Prussians and Austrians. Denmark was compelled to sign a treaty renouncing all rights to Schleswig-Holstein and also to the Duchy of Lauenburg, a little neighbor of the latter. The Danish difficulty was now over, but another one arose about the division of the spoils. According to the Treaty of Gastein, signed on August 14, 1865, Holstein was to be administered by Austria and Schleswig by Prussia. Lauenburg was sold outright to the latter by Austria. Prussia obtained also the right to construct a canal which would join the North Sea, at Kiel, with the Baltic.

A new claimant to the duchies

This treaty, however, was by no means the final settlement of the perplexing Schleswig-Holstein question. A claimant for both duchies appeared in the person of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, who wished to form them into a new German state with himself as ruler. This appealed greatly to German popular sentiment; moreover, Austria championed his cause and encouraged a propaganda in his favor. But Bismarck was totally averse to this plan, for, by increasing the number of German states, of which there were already too many, and by giving another supporter to Austria, it would make it more difficult for him to unite Germany. He therefore determined to oppose the Prince of Augustenburg to the extent of war with Austria.

If Bismarck was bold, he was also prudent. In the diplomatic moves that now began, he displayed a masterly if unscrupulous handling of the situation, which ended in the total discomfiture of Austria. His main object was to isolate Prussia's rival. With this end in view he entered into a treaty of alliance with the newly formed Kingdom of Italy, promising her Venetia for assistance to Prussia in a war against Austria. Napoleon III was lulled into inactivity by vague promises of allowing France to annex Belgium. On Russian friendship Bismarck could securely count, for the reason that, in 1863, he had signed a convention with the Tsar promising Prussia's help in suppressing the Polish uprising.[1] This treaty with Russia was one of the causes of his great unpopularity at home, as the Polish patriots had the sympathy of the German people in their brave stand against Russian tyranny.

Bismarck plans Austria's humiliation

Bismarck then began leading Austria on, now feigning a willingness to yield, now urging arbitration, now goading her to fury, till all was prepared for a blow. First, careful planning, then audacious execution, was the Bismarckian method. When everything was ready he suddenly proposed a new plan for reorganizing the German Confederation, which included a provision for universal suffrage in the elections to the Diet. Great was the astonishment at the sudden conversion to democracy of this "Parliament-tamer," and many doubted his sincerity. His object was undoubtedly to win the German Liberals to the side of Prussia in the coming conflict. Austria, confident of the support of the Confederation, brought the Schleswig-Holstein matter before the Diet, with the object of once more humiliating Prussia, as at Olmütz. Prussia declared that this action of Austria was in violation of the Treaty of Gastein, and that it would refuse

The Schleswig-Holstein question before the Diet to be bound by any action of the Diet in the matter. On June 14, 1866, the Diet, under the influence of Austria, ordered the mobilization of the federal troops against Prussia; and in so doing it decreed its own death. Prussia immediately declared the Treaty of Gastein null and void and the German Confederation dissolved.

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[1] See p. 514.

The Seven Weeks' War

Civil war followed, most of the states siding with Austria and only a few in the North supporting Prussia. The careful and minute preparations that the latter had made for the conflict now stood her in good stead. The Prussian soldiers were armed with the new "needle gun," which could fire three shots to one by the old-fashioned "muzzle loaders" used by the Austrians. At the head of the Prussian armies was "the battle thinker," General von Moltke, the first of the modern race of scientific warriors. There was nothing dashing or heroic about the manner or speech of this famous commander; he was a calm, rather dry person, with a wonderful capacity for scientifically planning the road to victory. Moltke was the first to make military use on a large scale of the modern means of communication, the railway and the telegraph. The Austrians, on the contrary, were disorganized, poorly led, and badly armed.

Sadowa

The war which followed is one of the shortest on record, as it lasted only seven weeks. Prussian armies were dispatched with incredible rapidity against Austria and her supporters. Hanover, Hesse, Saxony, and other states adhering to Austria were quickly overrun and conquered. Several Prussian armies invaded Bohemia, where they encountered a large Austrian force. On July 3, 1866, was fought the famous Battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, in which two hundred thousand men were engaged on each side. The issue, at first, was doubtful, but the arrival of reinforcements decided the day for the Prussians; what promised to be a defeat was turned into a brilliant victory, as the Austrians were overwhelmingly routed. The South German states, which had supported Austria in the conflict, were conquered and forced to sue for peace.

Bismarck favors leniency toward Austria

At last the "humiliation of Olmütz" was avenged. It was the intention of King William to make Austria pay dearly for her arrogance in the past by marching into Vienna and compelling her to pay a heavy indemnity and to cede part of her territory to Prussia. But it was no part of Bismarck's plan so to humiliate Austria as to drive her into permanent opposition to Prussia. "The question at issue is now decided; what remains is to regain the old friendship of Austria," he had declared on the battlefield of Sadowa. Almost with prophetic eyes he saw that the future Germany had nothing to gain from a weakened Austria, which might break up into Slavic and Hungarian nationalities permanently hostile to everything German. In Bismarck's mind the idea had already arisen of a future alliance between Germany and Austria, and he was willing to make peace at this time on Austria's terms in order to mollify her wounded pride.

The Treaty of Prague

A bitter controversy arose between the military party headed by the King on one side and Bismarck on the other over the question of the treatment of Austria. Bismarck threatened to resign; and he went so far as to contemplate suicide, so keenly did he feel the situation. Finally, the King yielded and consented "to bite the sour apple," as he called it, of a moderate peace. On August 23, 1866, the Treaty of Prague was signed by Prussia and Austria, the terms of which were (1) that the German Confederation should be dissolved and a new union formed of which Austria was not to be a member; (2) that Schleswig-Holstein should be incorporated with Prussia; and (3) that Venetia should be annexed to Italy. Austria was not forced to cede any of her territory to Prussia, and she paid only a small indemnity. The moderation shown by Prussia on this occasion was to have important consequences in the future, namely, in 1870 and again in 1914.

The results of the Seven Weeks' War amply justified the years of toil and preparation. By putting an end to the century-old domination of Germany by the Hapsburgs, it cleared the way of the chief obstruction to the union of the

German people. Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort were annexed to Prussia as a punishment for taking Austria's side in the war. The Frankfort Diet was abolished, and a new union was formed, the North German Confederation, consisting of the twenty-two states north of the River Main. The four South German states, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, were not forced into the Confederation by Bismarck; it was his policy to persuade these states to follow Prussia's lead, hence he secretly entered into an alliance with them. The constitution of the North German Confederation was written for the most part by Bismarck, and it was accepted by the princes of the various states; later, it was ratified by a convention chosen for this purpose by universal suffrage. This constitution is identical with the one adopted by the German Empire in 1871; its provisions will, therefore, be discussed in another chapter.[1] Prussia was now at the head of a powerful federal state numbering thirty millions of people that could put an army of a million men in the field. Bismarck, once the most unpopular, now found himself the most popular man in Germany. At last was seen the true purpose of the great army which he provided in defiance of the Constitution. The triumphant Prime Minister was eager, nevertheless, to have his acts in defiance of the Constitution legalized. He therefore requested the Landtag to pass an act legalizing his recent actions in governing without a budget, which it did by an overwhelming majority.

The North German Confederation

The Franco-Prussian War

If the road to German unity was cleared of Austria, another obstruction, and a far more serious one, appeared in the hostile attitude of France. To the latter a divided Germany, and therefore a weak Germany, was a far more desirable neighbor than the united nation which was now emerging from the chaos of former days. Time and again had Germany served as

Hostility of France to German unity

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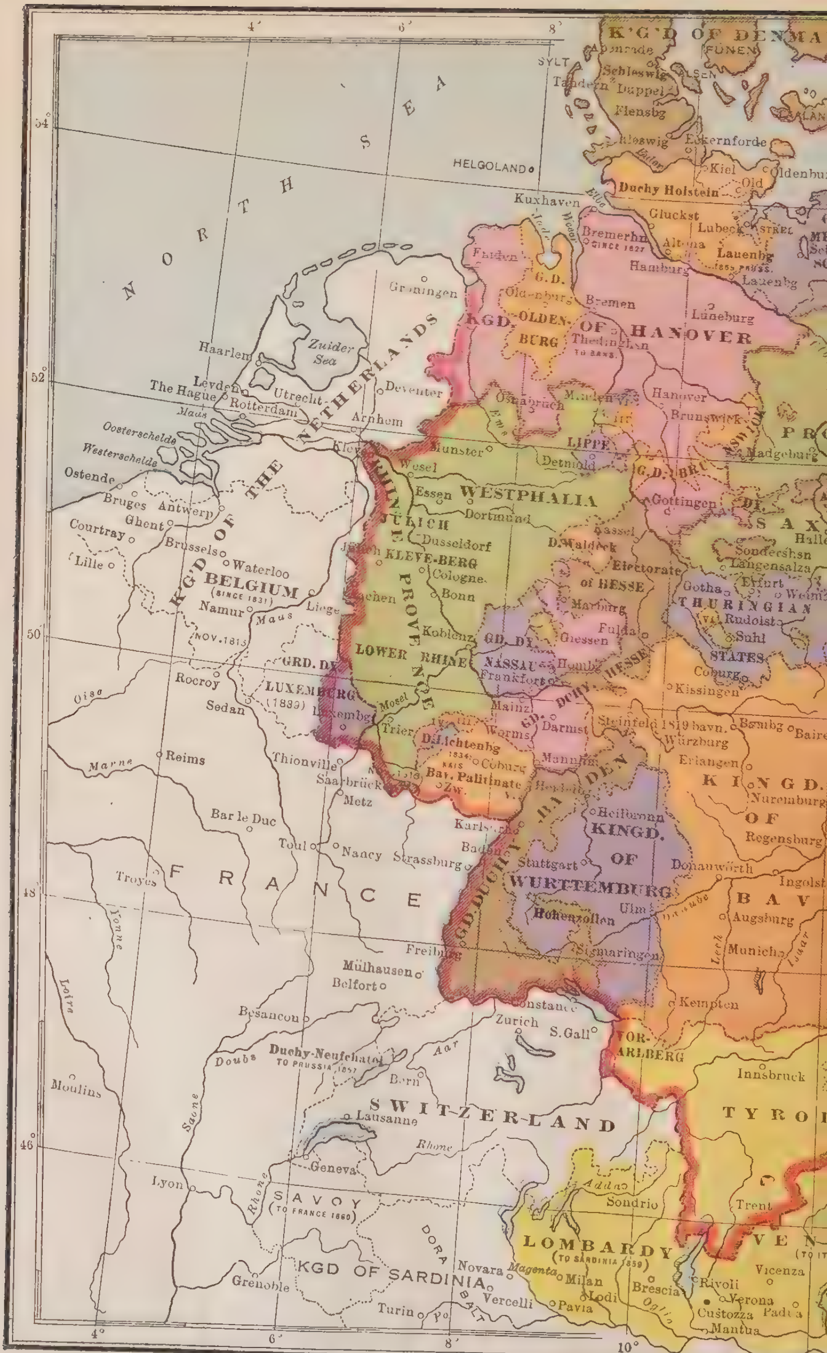
[1] See p. 277 ff.


4°
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K'G'D OF DENMA
FUNEN
SYLT
ALSEN
Tandern
Schleswig
Duppel
Flensbg
Schleswig
Eckernforde
Kiel
Oldenbu
Duchy Holstein
Old
Gluckst
Lubeck
STREL
Altona
Lauenbg
1865 PRUSS.
Lauenbg
Hamburg
Bremerhn
SINCE 1827
Kuxhaven
Elbe
Weser
Jade
HELGOLAND
NORTH SEA
Groningen
Zuider Sea
Haarlem
Leyden
The Hague
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Deventer
Arnhem
Kleve
Maas
Oosterschelde
Westerschelde
Ostende
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Courtray
Lille
Brussels
Waterloo
KG'D OF THE NETHERLANDS
KG'D BELGIUM
(SINCE 1831)
Namur
Maas
Liege
NOV. 1815
GRD. DY
LUXEMBURG
(1839)
Luxembg
Rocroy
Sedan
Oise
Marne
Reims
Thionville
Saarbrück
Metz
Bar le Duc
Toul
Nancy
Strassburg
Troyes
FRANCE
Yonne
Loire
Mülhausen
Belfort
Besancon
Doubs
Duchy Neufchatel
TO PRUSSIA 1857
Aar
Bern
Moulins
Saone
SWITZERLAND
Lausanne
Rhone
Geneva
Lyon
Rhone
SAVOY
(TO FRANCE 1860)
DORA
KGD OF SARDINIA
Grenoble
Turin
Po
Novara
Vercelli
BALT
Emden
G.D.
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
KGD. OF HANOVER
Bremen
Thedinghsn
TO BRNS.
Lüneburg
Osnabrück
Ems
Minden
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
PR
LIPPE
Detmold
Munster
Wesel
Essen
WESTPHALIA
Dortmund
G.D. BRU
Gottingen
DY.
SAX
Halle
RHINE PROVINCE
JULICH
KLEVE-BERG
Dusseldorf
Jülich
Cologne
Bonn
Aachen
Koblenz
LOWER RHINE
Mosel
Trier
Kassel
D. Waldeck
Electorate of HESSE
Marburg
Fulda
Giessen
GD. DY.
NASSAU
Homburg
Frankfort
DUCHY HESSE
Mainz
GD.
Darmst
Worms
D. Lichtenbg
1834 KAIS
Coburg
Bav. Palitinate
Zw.
1815
Mannhm
Heidelb
BADEN
Karlsruhe
Baden
GD. DUCHY
Sondershsn
Langensalza
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
THURINGIAN STATES
Rudoist
Suhl
Coburg
Kissingen
Steinfeld 1819 bavn.
Bambg
Baireuth
Würzburg
Erlangen
KINGD. OF BAV
Nuremburg
Regensburg
Heilbronn
KINGD. OF WURTTEMBURG
Stuttgart
Donauwörth
Ingolst
Ulm
Danube
Hohenzollen
Augsburg
Sigmaringen
Lech
Munich
Isaar
Freiburg
Constance
Zurich
S. Gall
Kempten
VOR-ARLBERG
Innsbruck
TYROL
Adda
Sondrio
Trent
LOMBARDY
(TO SARDINIA 1859)
VEN
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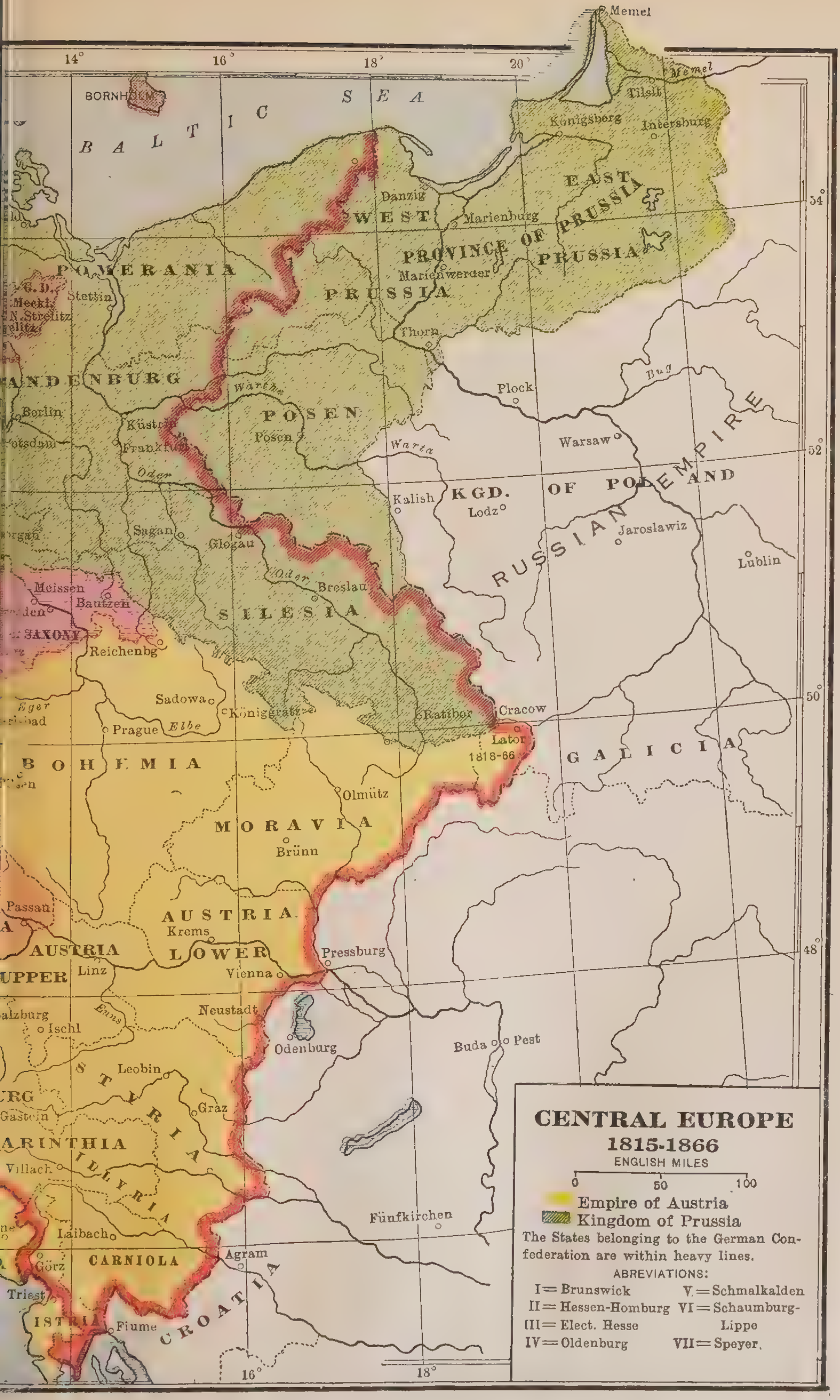
Magenta
Milan
Lodi
Pavia
Brescia
Oglio
Rivoli
Verona
Vicenza
Custozza
Padua
Mantua



CENTRAL EUROPE
1815-1866

ENGLISH MILES

0 50 100

▨ Empire of Austria
▨ Kingdom of Prussia

The States belonging to the German Confederation are within heavy lines.

ABREVIATIONS:

I = Brunswick
II = Hessen-Homburg
III = Elect. Hesse
IV = Oldenburg
V = Schmalkalden
VI = Schaumburg-Lippe
VII = Speyer.

an outlet for the ambitions of France and as a convenient battleground for her wars. A powerful united nation on the other side of the Rhine might, indeed, prove a thorn in the side of France and eventually lessen the prestige of *la grande nation.* It was soon evident that Emperor Napoleon III would do all in his power to hinder the completion of German unity, even to the point of making war to prevent it.

Comparison of France with Prussia

In the trial of strength between France and Prussia which was about to ensue, the advantage was really with the latter, though appearances favored the former. Prussia had the best army in the world, the best general, Moltke, the best diplomat, Bismarck, and the better cause, nationality. France, on the contrary, was to be badly served by a poorly organized though valiant army, by incompetent generals, Bazaine and MacMahon, by a weak and vacillating statesman, Napoleon III, and, worst of all, by a bad cause, namely, insolent interference in the internal affairs of a neighboring people. When, in 1870, the French tried to prevent their neighbors from becoming a nation, they were untrue to the very principle which they themselves had so passionately proclaimed during the French Revolution. and for which they had so often bravely and generously fought, namely, nationalism. And most dearly did they pay for it! In justice to the French people, it must be said that the war of 1870 was not of their making and that Napoleon entered into it in the hope that a victory would resuscitate his dying empire.

The war of 1870 unnecessary

Unfortunately, it had been the policy of the older nations to regard newcomers as intruders, and to try to prevent their entrance into the European family. Had a wiser and more generous policy been followed, the Franco-Prussian War, which humiliated and mutilated a proud nation, France, and which compelled the German people to stand guard over their newly born Fatherland with drawn sword, would not have taken place. Perhaps the great World War of 1914 might also have been avoided! But the lessons of history have seldom been learned, even by statesmen, until it was too late for the world to profit by them. One generation repeats the mistakes of another and calls it conservatism; or it advances through bloodshed and hate and calls it progress. Rarely has even enlightened self-interest guided the policies of the nations of the world.

Bismarck had come to believe that a war with France was inevitable, that "it lay in the logic of history." He even deemed such a conflict desirable, for the effect of arousing the patriotism of all the Germans against a common enemy would be to strengthen the newly formed bonds of union. Particularism, that age-old German characteristic, would vanish on the battlefield when Prussians, Saxons, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Württembergers fought side by side for their common Fatherland. There would then be generated a common heroic memory which would do more to unite Germany than constitutions and zollvereins.

Bismarck's masterful diplomacy

The problem was how to manage the situation so that France would appear in the light of aggressor. From 1866 to 1870 a diplomatic web was craftily being spun by that master-weaver of diplomacy, Bismarck, with the object of sheltering Prussia and entangling her enemies. Bismarck's finesse, his unscrupulous disregard for the means which he used, his daring boldness, seem at no other time to have been so effectively used as during these momentous years, because at no time was he confronted with so delicate a situation. He knew just the arguments that would persuade his opponents, and showed himself remarkably apt in subtly suggesting favorable terms, yet never committing himself definitely to anything. Bismarck was one of the first to make extensive use of the press for purposes of diplomatic intrigue. A number of journalists, both German and foreign, were in his secret pay: a special fund, popularly known as "the reptile fund," had been created for this purpose. "Inspired" articles, sometimes written in Bismarck's own office, would appear in prominent European newspapers attacking certain men, suggesting certain plans, or threatening certain acts. In this way he was able to hide his own plans and, at the same time, frequently to compel his opponents to reveal theirs.

Isolation of France

Bismarck's main object was a simple one, to complete the unification of Germany. But this, by bringing into existence a great power, would, he knew, upset the balance of power in Europe; therefore, he had to tread warily, lest he give offense by flouting the practices and prejudices of the other nations. To sting France to action at the right moment, and yet to make her appear as the disturber of the peace of Europe, was Bismarck's aim. He began the process of isolating France, so that all the nations would look on calmly while Prussia was delivering her master-stroke. Italy was still an ally; besides, in case of a war between Prussia and France, Italy would distract attention by attacking Rome. The friendship with Russia, which he had so carefully nurtured since the time when he was Ambassador to that country, could be counted upon. Austria, if not friendly, was at least not hostile as a consequence of the policy of mollification after Sadowa; besides, Austria's fear of Russia, whom she had offended during the Crimean War, would keep her from interfering. England, Bismarck well knew, would be actively interested in Continental affairs only in case her interests should be directly affected by a violation of the neutrality of Belgium, and he determined to avoid doing this at all costs. The South German states, which were presumably under the influence of France, had signed a secret treaty with Prussia, promising to put their troops at her disposal in case of war.

Moltke's preparedness

In the meantime, General von Moltke set himself the task of preparing the German armies for war with France. There began a systematic preparation for that purpose which was almost uncanny in its perfection. Every possible difficulty was foreseen and provided for. France was carefully mapped and the Prussian officers came to know the topography of the land of their enemy far better than did the French themselves. Strategic railways were built for the purpose of transporting troops quickly to important points on the frontier. The equipment of the army was of the latest and best pattern, the commissariat was perfectly arranged, and everything was prepared for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers, from the rifles on their shoulders to the handkerchiefs in their pockets. Preparedness for war had never before been so thorough and so comprehensive; all that was now necessary was to give the word of command, and the terrible military machine would be immediately launched in all its completeness against the unwary enemy.

German leaders old men

The leading figures in the great drama of 1870 were all old men. King William was seventy-three years of age; Moltke was seventy; Roon, sixty-seven; the youngest was Bismarck, and he was fifty-five. Yet age had neither impaired their mental powers nor softened their iron will, and the new and mighty Germany that was soon to arise was largely of their making.

The Hohenzollern candidacy for the Spanish throne

In 1868 a revolution occurred in Spain and the Queen, Isabella II, was exiled.[1] The throne being vacant, a search for a new ruler was made; and the choice at one time fell upon Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the King of Prussia. Just why the Spaniards wanted a Hohenzollern was then not understood, but it is now known that the Prince's candidacy was encouraged, and possibly even suggested, by the paid emissaries of Bismarck in Spain. France regarded the candidacy of a Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne in an unfavorable light, fearing that a possible "family compact" might result to her disadvantage. The new French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duke de Gramont, openly declared that a Hohenzollern as King of Spain would be against "the interest and honor of France." Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador to Berlin, was instructed to beg of King William, who was then at a watering-place called Ems, that he command the Prince to refuse the Spanish offer. The King, unaware of Bismarck's part in the matter, and having no special desire to see his relative King of Spain, readily granted the request, and the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn.

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[1] See p. 463.

The Ems dispatch

Bismarck was at first bitterly disappointed at this outcome; but, to his great satisfaction, the reckless attitude of the French chauvinists revived the question. Denunciatory articles against Prussia appeared in the Parisian journals, and a war party was formed headed by the reckless and incompetent Duke de Gramont and the Empress Eugénie, herself a Spaniard. They prevailed upon the Emperor and his Prime Minister, Émile Ollivier, to make a new demand upon King William, namely, that he should not at any future time and under any circumstances permit a Hohenzollern to occupy the throne of Spain. Once more did Benedetti journey to Ems to present this new and unnecessary demand which had the character of an ultimatum. Although he was astonished at the insolence of the French Government, King William received the French Ambassador courteously, but he refused the demand. He then sent a dispatch containing the refusal to Bismarck with instructions that he make whatever changes he might think necessary and then publish it.

Bismarck "edits" the dispatch

Bismarck was in Berlin at a private conference with Moltke and Roon when the message came. On being assured by his associates that all was in readiness and that they were confident of victory, he proceeded to "edit" the dispatch with the object of converting it into "a red flag for the Gallic bull." Bismarck so changed the wording that it read as though there had been a heated interview between the King and Benedetti, that the former had refused the French demand sharply, and that he had dismissed the French Ambassador without ceremony. "Now it has a different ring," said Moltke. "In its original form it sounded like a parley; now it is like a flourish of trumpets in answer to a challenge."

On July 14, 1870, the famous "Ems dispatch" was published. The effect was exactly what Bismarck had intended. Frenzied crowds paraded up and down the boulevards of

Paris demanding war with Prussia and shouting, "*À Berlin!*" "*À Berlin!*" The Government was swept off its feet by the excited mobs. The Minister of War assured the Emperor that all was in readiness "down to the last button on the last gaiter of the last soldier." On July 19 the French Parliament declared war upon Prussia and entered the momentous conflict, as Prime Minister Ollivier said, "with a light heart."

France declares war against Prussia

If the "Ems dispatch" roused the French, it also profoundly stirred the Germans. A wave of indignation swept over all Germany at what was believed to be the insolent conduct of the French Ambassador, and the South Germans enthusiastically joined their northern brethren in the common war against their hereditary foe. Men fell into their places promptly and were transported with amazing rapidity to the frontier. What the French Minister of War had said of the readiness of the French armies was, in reality, true only of the German, as about a million men were mobilized in Germany within two weeks without the slightest disorder. This period of mobilization, Moltke said, was the most tranquil of his life.

Orderly mobilization of the Germans

On the other side of the Rhine all was disorder and confusion: soldiers could not find their officers; cannon were without ammunition; horses were without harness; means of transport were lacking; the food supply was insufficient; officers were not provided with the necessary maps. So badly disorganized was the French War Office that those called to the colors were frequently obliged to travel across the country in order to get their uniforms. Instead of everything being ready "to the last button," chaos reigned in the French armies.

Chaos in the French armies

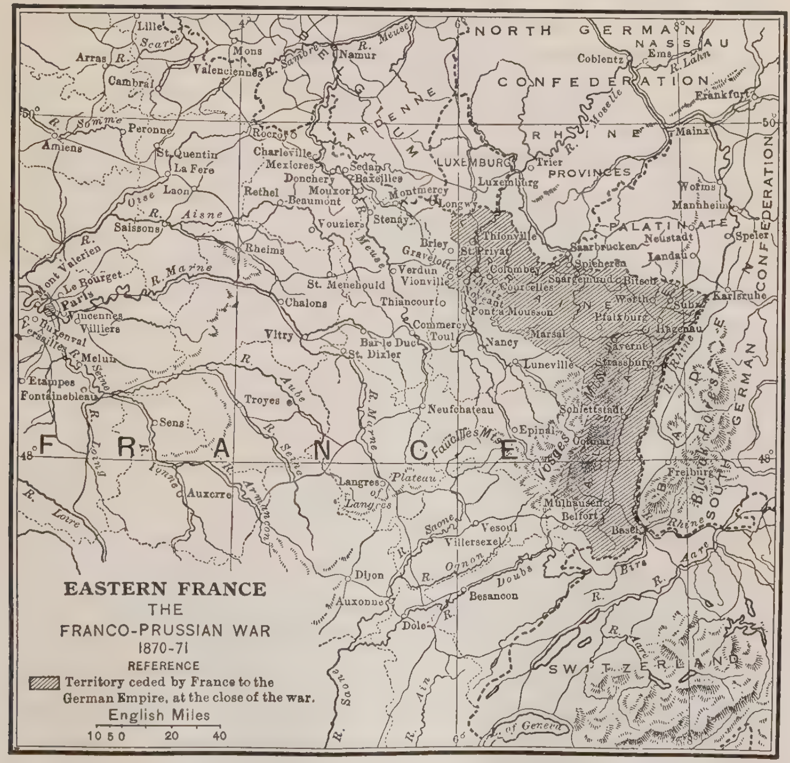
To the amazement and chagrin of France, she found herself completely isolated, as all the other nations immediately declared their neutrality. Popular opinion, too, the world over, favored the Germans as defenders of their country against French aggression. To gain England's sympathy Bismarck published an unsigned treaty with Napoleon III showing how the latter was contemplating

Isolation of France

the annexation of Belgium, the neutrality of which Prussia was scrupulously respecting.

Plan of campaign

The two gateways to Germany were the strongly fortified French cities, Metz and Strassburg. Two French armies, one of two hundred thousand men under Marshal Bazaine in Metz, and another of one hundred thousand under Marshal MacMahon in Strassburg, were preparing to invade Germany. The German plan of campaign was to defeat the French armies and to capture Paris, and it was felt that if both these objects were accomplished, organized resistance would be at an end. Three German armies, under the supreme command of General von Moltke, invaded France: one of sixty thousand men under General Steinmetz; the second, of one hundred



and thirty-four thousand, under Prince Frederick Charles; and the third, of one hundred and thirty thousand, under the Crown Prince Frederick William.

German successes

The first important battle was that of Wörth, the result being a defeat for the French which lost them lower Alsace. A series of desperate engagements around the heights of Spichern resulted in another victory for the Germans which gave them Eastern Lorraine. MacMahon was now in full retreat, and the Germans endeavored to prevent Bazaine from coming to his aid, as it was their prime object to surround the latter at Metz, toward which three great German armies were concentrating. Another series of bloody battles, Borny, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte, followed, in which the French fought bravely, but the Germans were completely victorious and finally succeeded in surrounding Metz, thereby bottling up the French army under Bazaine. MacMahon, having received reinforcements, attempted to come to the relief of Metz. But he was intercepted and forced to turn north to Sedan, where his army was surrounded. The battle of Sedan, which followed on September 2, 1870, was the greatest of the war. A French army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was completely routed; seventeen thousand were killed or wounded, and the rest taken prisoners. Among the captives was the Emperor Napoleon himself.

The second phase of the war

The defeat at Sedan was a stunning blow to the French people, who blamed the Emperor for all of their misfortunes. The Empire was abolished and a Government of National Defense was spontaneously organized, which consisted of prominent Republicans headed by Léon Gambetta. This led to the second phase of the war. There were no more French armies in the field, and the Government of National Defense proclaimed a *levée en masse*, or general uprising against the enemy. What followed was a spirited and desperate but futile struggle on the part of the French masses against the German armies.

In the meantime the Germans were putting an "iron girdle" around Paris by surrounding it with an army of two hundred thousand men. One of the most famous sieges in all history now began, in which the heroic citizens, militia, and remnants of former armies made an extraordinarily courageous defense of the city. When starvation was staring them in the face, they slaughtered for food the animals in the zoölogical gardens and even the cats, dogs, and rats. Members of the Government of National Defense, led by Gambetta, escaped from Paris in a balloon and established a new government at Bordeaux. Gambetta, by his extraordinary energy and eloquence, managed to arouse the provinces to a heroic resistance, but all in vain.

Siege of Paris

Disaster followed disaster in that "*année terrible*," as the French call the year 1870. On September 28, one of the "gates," Strassburg, surrendered to the Germans with nineteen thousand soldiers. On October 27 came the fall of the other "gate," Metz. Marshal Bazaine surrendered this city to the Germans with an army of one hundred and seventy-three thousand men and immense stores of war supplies. The fall of these two cities was greeted by an outburst of joy in Germany; henceforth these "gates" were to be in German hands and were to be entrances opening into France instead of into Germany.

Fall of Metz and Strassburg

On January 28, 1871, after a heroic siege lasting one hundred and twenty-seven days, Paris at last capitulated. An armistice was signed in order to enable the French to organize a government which would have legal power to negotiate a treaty of peace. A National Assembly was elected which met at Bordeaux on February 12, 1871. It was overwhelmingly in favor of peace; and Adolphe Thiers was chosen Chief of the Executive Power, with authority to conclude peace with Germany. After preliminary agreements and much bargaining both parties agreed to the terms, which were later incorporated in the Treaty of Frankfort, signed on May 10, 1871. According to this treaty France was to cede to Germany Alsace and the part of Lorraine containing Metz; in addition, an indemnity

Treaty of Frankfort

of one billion dollars was to be paid by France, who was also compelled to support a German army of occupation till the entire amount was paid. Never was a victory so complete as that of Germany, and never a defeat so humiliating as that of France.

Proclamation of the German Empire

On January 18, 1871, while the siege of Paris was still in progress, a historic ceremony took place in the great Hall of Mirrors in the royal palace at Versailles, once the residence of French kings. King William, surrounded by the princes, generals, and statesmen of Germany, was offered the imperial crown by his fellow princes. He accepted, and was proclaimed William I, German Emperor; and the new union, now including the southern states, was named the German Empire. At last united Germany was an accomplished fact.

CHAPTER X

UNION AND DEMOCRACY IN ITALY

Causes of Disunion

Italy, a prey for stronger nations

ITALY, proudly acclaimed the "eldest daughter of civilization" by her children, had to wait till the latter part of the nineteenth century before she became a nation. For centuries she was divided into small, weak states, and was consequently an easy prey for the strong nations of Europe who frequently invaded the peninsula seeking to satisfy their territorial ambitions. Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Austrians had each in turn either annexed portions of Italy or else had governed the petty states indirectly through dynastic influences, for nearly all the rulers of the so-called independent Italian states were foreign princes, most often Austrian or Spanish.

Rivalries of the Italian states.

During the nation-forming period in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italy did not produce a prince powerful enough to conquer the whole peninsula and to unite all of the Italians under one rule. The great political thinker, Machiavelli, had dreamed of a united Italy, and had hoped to see it realized under a powerful monarch. But the various states, notably the Republics of Venice and Florence and the Kingdom of Naples, were too powerful to be absorbed in this way. A most intense local patriotism developed, which led to bitter rivalries, to internecine quarrels, and to frequent wars. Union was then regarded merely as something that would benefit one state at the expense of all the others; as a consequence, the national ideal faded from the Italian mind.

One element in the Italian political situation, the Papacy, had no parallel in any other country. Ever since the days of Pippin and Charlemagne, the Popes had been the rulers of the region known as the Papal States and were therefore princes in their own right. The Popes well knew that the unification of Italy would spell the extinction of the Papal States and the disappearance of their temporal power. They maintained that their spiritual power would suffer in dignity were their domains subject to any temporal ruler; in consequence, impartiality toward Catholics of all nations, which it is incumbent upon them to exercise, would be impossible. The "Babylonian Captivity of the Church"[1] had never been forgotten by the Popes, who determined that under no circumstances would they become "captives" in Italy. They therefore consistently opposed and, for a time effectively prevented, the unification of Italy.

Opposition of the Papacy to unification

In spite of division, misrule, and internecine strife, Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reached the very heights of civilization and prosperity. The whole world flocked to Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Rome that they might sit at the feet of the great masters of art, scholarship, and science, who were the glory of the Italian Renaissance. But a great change was wrought in the destiny of Italy by the discovery of America and the Cape route to India. During the seventeenth century the Atlantic displaced the Mediterranean as the world's highway of commerce, and trade shifted from Southern to Northern Europe. Slowly but surely the prosperity of Italy declined and, by the eighteenth century, cities like Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Milan, once great commercial centers, were stricken with economic death; their once busy marts, where the merchants of Europe and of Asia used to congregate, were now silent and empty; their influence in international affairs disappeared; their culture decayed and became degenerate. What remained were political division, tyranny of the petty despots, and a great and glorious memory. The history of Italy during the eighteenth century is almost a blank. During this period the great mass of the population was sunk in poverty, ignorance,

Decay of Italy during the eighteenth century

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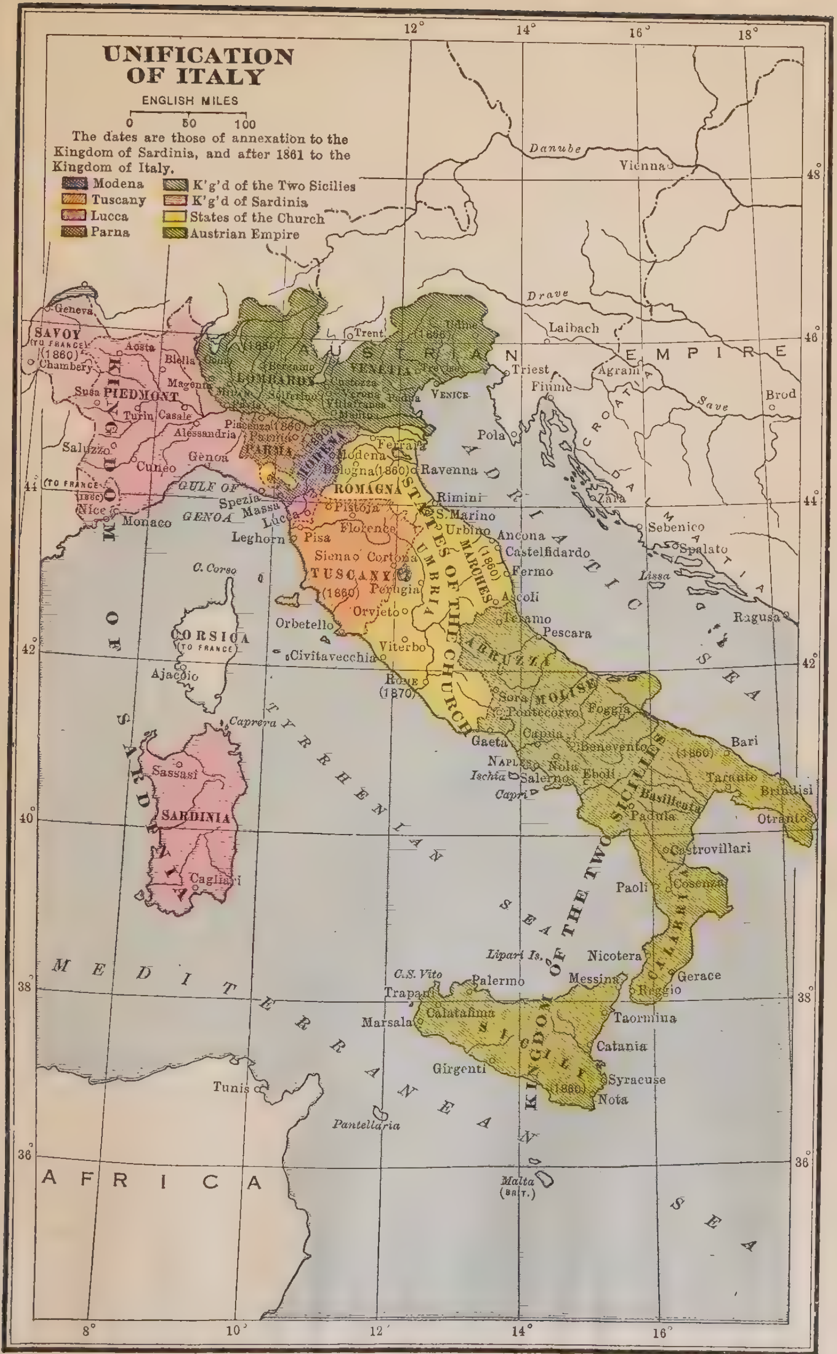
[1] This term is used to describe the period in Church history (1309–77) when the Popes lived in Avignon, in France, where their policies were dominated by the French kings.



UNIFICATION OF ITALY

The dates are those of annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and after 1861 to the Kingdom of Italy.

and superstition. The Italians were dreadfully in fear of their petty monarchs, who ruled over them with a brutal tyranny that is generally characteristic of petty monarchs. The upper classes contented themselves with contemplating the grandeur of the past and with imitating its language and manners. Italy seemed to have fallen into a deathlike sleep from which she would never waken.

The principles of the French Revolution introduced

She was, however, rudely awakened by the resounding trumpet call of the French Revolution. The revolutionary armies of France poured over the Alps and the petty Italian princes fled in terror, greatly to the astonishment of their subjects, who, in their ignorance, had always regarded them as great and powerful monarchs. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were proclaimed, and the French set energetically to work abolishing the old order and inaugurating the new. The various states were organized as republics. The remnants of medievalism, semi-serfdom, inequality before the law, and religious intolerance were abolished, and enlightened legal and administrative systems were established. Far-reaching social, political, and economic reforms were also introduced, so that in one decade of French rule Italy made centuries of progress. The Italians were dazed; liberty instead of tyranny had now suddenly descended upon them from beyond the Alps.

Unification of Italy by Napoleon

During the Napoleonic régime, the country was practically unified; the northwestern part was annexed to France; the northern part, Lombardy-Venetia, was erected into the Kingdom of Italy with Napoleon as King; the southern part was erected into the Kingdom of Naples with Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, as King. A uniform system of administration and law was established throughout the peninsula, which really became a protectorate of France. Italy was now under the control of a foreign despot, but it was united for the first time since the ancient days of Rome. Liberty and union were the two miracles performed by the French for the Italians.

THE RESTORATION

Return of division and tyranny

As we have already seen,[1] the Congress of Vienna redivided the country into ten states. The restored monarchs returned full of hatred for the changes introduced by the French and determined to revive the old tyrannies, inequalities, and intolerances. Freedom of speech and of association were banned, and the slightest manifestation of political liberty was mercilessly suppressed. The Church was restored to its former power, and non-Catholics were again denied religious freedom. Education was placed almost entirely in the hands of the clergy: the universities were put under the control of the Jesuits, and both students and teachers were subjected to their oversight. In the Papal States the Inquisition was reëstablished to suppress intellectual freedom which was regarded as a dangerous disease by the clergy, who aimed to close the minds of the inhabitants to all except Catholic influences. The "class called thinkers" was especially watched and harassed, for their influence was looked upon as dangerous to the Restoration. Everything of French origin was suspected as revolutionary. Victor Emmanuel I, King of Sardinia, had a botanical garden destroyed because it had been built by the French; the Pope abolished vaccination and street lighting as revolutionary innovations of the French; excavations at Pompeii, begun by French scientists, were discontinued by the order of the Government. In the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, King Ferdinand I kept the administrative system established by the French, but the Government was all the more reactionary in practice; hunting liberals became an art and a pastime in Naples. Not only were the Governments reactionary, they were also corrupt and inefficient. Brigands roamed over Southern Italy, committing outrages and openly defying the authorities; finances were mismanaged and money was frequently misappropriated; taxes were high and bore most heavily on the poor; and the public service was disorganized by favoritism and corruption.

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[1] See p. 19.

By far the most powerful influence in the peninsula was Austria. Two of the best parts, Lombardy-Venetia, were directly under Austrian rule and governed by officials sent from Vienna; and the rulers of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany were related to the Hapsburg dynasty. King Ferdinand of Naples, though a Spanish Bourbon, was in close alliance with Austria and pledged to direct his foreign and domestic policies in accordance with the wishes of the Hapsburgs. Although the administration of Lombardy-Venetia was far more efficient and honest than that of the other states of Italy, it was nevertheless more bitterly detested, for Austria represented to the Italians everything that they wanted to be rid of — foreign domination, absolutism, invasion, and division. Though divided into many states and factions, and though differing from one another in traditions, customs, and race, the Italians were nevertheless united in a common hate for the *Tedeschi* (Germans), or Austrians.

Austria in Italy

THE CARBONARI

As in Germany, the political history of Italy from 1815 to 1870 flows in two main currents, liberty and union, or the establishment of constitutional government in the various states and the union of all into a common nationality. In the attainment of these objects the Italians encountered the same obstacle as the Germans, namely, Austria; in addition, they had to face the bitter opposition of the Papacy, whose great power in Italy and enormous influence in the world would be marshaled against any movement looking toward unification. Nearly all the Italians are Catholics, and they were very proud of the Papacy, which they regarded as an Italian institution that influenced the entire world. To favor unity meant to many devout Italian Catholics a possible break with their faith, something which they viewed with dismay; and it was a cruel dilemma for sincere men and women who were thus obliged to choose between their country and their religion. Curious as it may seem, in Italy the Papacy actually constituted a bond of disunion.

Opposition to unification by Austria and the Papacy

Activities of the Carbonari

Although the petty monarchs restored much of the *ancien régime*, there was one thing that they could not restore, the old spirit of subserviency and fear. French rule had given the Italians a taste of liberty and union, and the tyranny of the despots soon met with vigorous opposition. As peaceful means of agitation, freedom of speech and of association, were not permitted, Italians of necessity resorted to violent methods, such as conspiracy and assassination. There came into existence in the twenties a powerful secret society called the Carbonari, whose aim was to unify Italy under a constitutional government. As the society had no definite plan of realizing this aim, it resorted to conspiracy, assassination, and insurrection, hoping that the removal of the obstacles would result in bringing forth a plan of union. Outrages, such as the assassination of officials and the destruction of property, were committed by the Carbonari, making it appear as much a criminal as a patriotic organization.

Revolution of 1820

Inspired by the success of the Spanish revolution of 1820, the people of Naples, led by the Carbonari, rose in revolt during the same year. King Ferdinand I, badly frightened by the strong support which the uprising received from the army, readily promised to grant concessions. A democratic constitution was drawn up based on the one granted by the Spanish King,[1] which Ferdinand accepted and most solemnly swore to observe. This revolution, although in a small state, was considered sufficiently important to justify international action, as it was feared that its success would encourage the revolutionary elements in all other countries. To the international congresses of Troppau and Laibach came Ferdinand to seek the intervention of Europe in the affairs of his kingdom in order to overthrow the constitution which he himself had just granted. An Austrian army was sent into Naples, which ousted the recently established democratic government and reseated Ferdinand as absolute monarch. A terrible repression followed. To satisfy the vengeance of the faithless monarch, thousands were imprisoned, exiled, or executed.

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[1] See p. 460.

Suppression of the uprising by Austria

But no sooner was one revolution suppressed than another was begun. In 1821 an uprising took place in Piedmont, where the revolutionists adopted a tricolor flag of green, white, and red, and demanded not only a constitution, but also war with Austria as the enemy of the Italian people. Fearful of a civil war in case he refused these demands, and unwilling to seek foreign intervention like Ferdinand, King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated his throne in favor of his brother, Charles Felix. The latter was opposed to constitutional government, and he obtained the aid of Austrian and Russian armies to suppress the uprising. In 1830 uprisings in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States were likewise put down through the aid of Austrian armies. The hatred of Austria among Italian patriots rose to a white heat of fury; they felt that this "fire department of Italy," that was always rushing in to quench the flames of revolution, was the chief prop of despotism and division.

YOUNG ITALY

Failure of the Carbonari

Far from being discouraged by the failure of the attempts to win political freedom, the Italian patriots set to work more energetically than ever before. The cause for the failures so far lay in the fact that the revolutionary movement was rooted in conspiracy and therefore lacked a broad popular basis. The uprisings in the several states having been local had received little support among Italians generally. What was easily gained through a sudden insurrection of small groups was as easily lost through the Austrian bayonets that were ever at the beck and call of the Italian despots. Heroic work had been done by the Carbonari in keeping alive the revolutionary spirit, but its propaganda had never touched the mass of Italian people, who seemed apathetic to the agitation for liberty and union.

In the thirties there appeared a new movement in Italy which goes by the general name of the *Risorgimento* (the Resurrection), and which was destined to realize the dream of an Italian Fatherland. This movement is unique in the history of nineteenth-century Europe. It was largely the work of highly educated young men, whose intense earnestness, glowing enthusiasm, and self-sacrificing devotion to their country aroused the admiration of the world.

The *Risorgimento*

Foremost among these young patriots was Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72), the prophet of Italian unity. Mazzini came of a well-to-do family of Genoa, and received a legal education at the university of his native city. But his natural bent was for literature, and for a time he was a contributor to a literary journal in which he wrote articles on Dante, of whom he was a devoted admirer. Dante exercised a deep influence on the rising generation of Italians, who beheld in him their spiritual father. "They talk Dante, write Dante, and think and dream Dante to an extent that would be ridiculous but that he deserves it," wrote Byron in one of his letters from Italy. So, in a sense, Dante may be called one of the founders of United Italy.

Mazzini

While a student Mazzini had become interested in the condition of his country. He had read much of her history, and he was greatly saddened at the fate that had befallen the once great Italy, now mutilated, insignificant, and under the heel of foreigners. So deeply did he grieve for his native land that he was wont to dress himself in black, as if in mourning for her. Young Mazzini was convinced that he had no moral right to follow his profession as a lawyer or his inclination as a literary man so long as his country was divided and enslaved. At the age of twenty-five he joined the Carbonari and was arrested for participating in an uprising; and it was while in prison, where he had plenty of time to think, that he evolved the plan for resurrecting Italy. Soon after his release in 1831 he left the Carbonari, which he disliked as a mere conspira-

Young Italy

tors' movement, and founded a new society called *La Giovine Italia* (Young Italy). It was composed of men under forty, intellectuals, who dedicated themselves to the task of liberating their country from foreign and domestic tyrants and to the establishment of a unified Italian republic on a completely democratic basis. "God and the People" was the motto of Young Italy, for Mazzini was as ardent a democrat and moralist as he was a nationalist. The plan of the new society was to conduct an incessant campaign of agitation among all classes of Italians, who were to rise under the leadership of the young intellectuals, expel the tyrants, and call a national convention to inaugurate the Italian Republic. "Place the youth of the nation at the head of the insurgent masses," he declared; "you do not realize the strength that is latent in these young men or what magic influence the voice of youth has on crowds. You will find in them a host of apostles for the new religion." Mazzini dedicated himself to his "apostolate," as he called his patriotic activity. He had a religious, almost a mystic, enthusiasm for his work, for he loved Italy "above all earthly things." In spite of his country's degradation, he believed that "a nation which has been enslaved for centuries can regenerate itself through virtue and through self-sacrifice." Italy had a third life to lead. Once she had ruled the world through the Roman Empire; later she had ruled the world through the Papacy; and now the Third Italy, the "Rome of the People," "radiant, purified by suffering, would move as an angel of light among the nations that thought her dead."

Mazzini's nationalism

Although an intense nationalist, Mazzini was not at all a chauvinist. His conception of patriotism was to love one's country most devotedly and, at the same time, to admire and respect every other country, because each one had something precious to give to civilization. He believed that if every nation were permitted to exist undisturbed, the chief cause for war would disappear. Italy's mission was to teach mankind to love and to cherish as an ideal the brotherhood of nations. He became an active champion of oppressed nationalities, Hungarians, Poles, and Irish, and organized an international society called Young Europe, whose object was to form a Holy Alliance of the peoples as a counterweight to the Holy Alliance of the despots.

Activities of Young Italy

Mazzini's magic voice aroused the Italian youth as nothing else had ever done before. In a short time there were over sixty thousand members in Young Italy. A new spirit, that of moral enthusiasm for a holy cause, was breathed into a political movement by the fervent eloquence of this prophet of Italian freedom, who asserted that Italians had not only Austrians to fight but also "the dissension, the vices, the impotence, and the hopelessness that come of servitude." Although gentle and pure-hearted, Mazzini sometimes resorted to conspiracies as bad and as hopeless as those that once disgraced the Carbonari. He lived most of his life in exile, mainly in England and in France, where he was incessantly organizing insurrections and even assassinations, all of which ended in failure. Hundreds of the noblest youths of Italy paid with their lives for their futile efforts to free their country. Mazzini was not a statesman or an organizer; he had little if any practical ability; his real contribution was in awakening the Italian people to patriotic enthusiasm, without which the great plans of the statesman, Cavour, could not have succeeded.

Gioberti

Another interesting personality in the *Risorgimento* was the priest, Gioberti, whose book, *The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italian People*, had a wide influence. Gioberti believed that God had chosen Italy to be the leader of humanity, because she had shown herself to be "the home of creative genius," having given birth to the greatest thinker, Dante, and to the greatest doer, Napoleon. He was opposed to the use of force in the endeavor to bring about the unification of Italy; his solution was that the various states join in a voluntary federal union under the presidency of the Pope.

A new Pope, Pius IX, was elected in 1846, who for a time was very popular throughout Italy because of his liberal policies. He granted an amnesty to political offenders and appointed an able and enlightened minister, Rossi, to administer the Papal States. He also showed himself hostile to Austrian influences, greatly to the delight of the Italian patriots, who hailed Pio Nono as the coming redeemer of Italy. "They want to make a Napoleon of me who am only a poor country parson," the Pope once declared.

Pius IX

The Revolution of 1848

The year 1848 was significant in Italy, as in Germany,[1] in the fact that there was a confluence of the two currents, nationalism and democracy. Rebellions broke out against the petty despots throughout the peninsula, which at first proved successful, as constitutions were granted in many states. King Charles Albert of Sardinia, a man of liberal ideas, who had ascended the throne in 1831, now took the opportunity of granting a constitution to his subjects. Milan, the leading city of Lombardy, rose and expelled the Austrian troops; and the entire region then voted to join Piedmont. Under the heroic leadership of Daniele Manin, Venice also rose against the Austrians and reëstablished herself as a republic. Florence followed the example of Venice. In Naples, King Ferdinand II was compelled, like his father before him, to grant a constitution. An uprising took place in Rome; the Pope was forced to flee, and the city was organized as the Roman Republic, with Mazzini and Garibaldi as the leading spirits. The national movement received a great impetus when King Charles Albert declared war against Austria in order to free Italy from the hated *Tedeschi*. "*Italia farà da sè*" (Italy will do it herself), he proudly declared. The Austrian Government, hard pressed by the uprising in Vienna, was not in a position to spare many soldiers to fight the Italians: everything seemed propitious for realizing liberty and union, long awaited and now at hand.

Constitutions granted; war against Austria

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[1] See p. 128.

But bitter disappointment was in store for the Italian patriots, for Austria was not so weak as it was thought. Her enemies were divided and she proceeded to conquer them piecemeal. Sardinia's bold challenge received no organized support from the other states, who were intent on overthrowing their local tyrants. Enthusiastic volunteers from all over Italy did flock to the banner of Charles Albert, but the latter's armies were no match for the large force that Austria was able to send into Italy under the command of Marshal Radetzky, one of the foremost generals of the day. The Sardinian armies were badly defeated by the Austrians at the Battle of Custozza in 1848, and again at Novara in 1849. Charles Albert was so despondent over the outcome that he deliberately sought death on the battlefield; but even death had cast him off, he bitterly complained. In disgust, he abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, and went into voluntary exile.

Defeat of Sardinia

Austria offered advantageous terms of peace to the new King provided he would repeal the constitution granted by his father. But Victor Emmanuel stoutly refused to accept these terms and his proud reply to Austria was, "What my father has sworn to, I will maintain. If you wish a war to death, so be it. . . . If I must fall, it will be without shame; my House knows the road to exile, but not to dishonor." The Sardinian King's loyalty to the constitution won for him the admiration of the Italian patriots, who hailed him as *Il Re galantuomo* (The Honest King).

Loyalty of Victor Emmanuel to the constitution

A wave of reaction swept over Italy. The revolutionary governments set up in the various parts of the peninsula were all overthrown. In Naples the suppression was particularly severe, as no mercy was shown by King "Bomba,"[1] whose ferocity excited great indignation in Europe, and Gladstone denounced the Neapolitan Government as the very "negation of God created into a

Reaction

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[1] The name given to Ferdinand because he had ordered the bombardment of several cities that had revolted against him.

system." Thousands of liberals were executed or tortured in prison with inhuman cruelty. The Roman Republic was overthrown and the Pope restored through the aid of a French army sent by the Prince-President, Louis Napoleon, who wished to gain the favor of the French Catholics in order to further his ambitions.

The Pope becomes reactionary

The results of the uprising of 1848 were most depressing to those who had consecrated their lives to the liberation of Italy. Reaction was triumphant everywhere, and there was now another foreign army, the French, encamped on Italian soil. Pope Pius IX repented of his liberalism, which he now believed had encouraged and not allayed revolution; and he became an unflinching opponent of Italian nationalism and democracy. As a consequence, the movement for unification became strongly tinged with anti-clericalism, for the Italian patriots saw in the Pope and in the French army stationed in Rome to protect him additional obstacles to their plans.

Sardinia the hope of the patriots

There was one crumb of comfort for the revolutionists. Sardinia had emerged defeated but morally victorious. Henceforth, Italian hopes centered about the House of Savoy that had fought the common enemy, Austria, and had remained faithful to the principle of popular government. The Sardinian Constitution, the *Statuto* of 1848, was later to become the constitution of United Italy.

CAVOUR

Sardinia

In the middle of the nineteenth century Sardinia was a nation of about five and a half millions, most of whom were engaged in agriculture. As there were only two fairly large cities in the kingdom, Turin, the capital, and Genoa, the middle class was small and weak. The dominant class was a landed aristocracy which somewhat resembled that of Prussia in vigor and military capacity. By far the greatest asset of the kingdom was the House of Savoy, liberal, patriotic, and Italian by race, a striking contrast to the other dynasties in Italy.

Cavour

King Victor Emmanuel II was a man of sterling honesty and sound common sense, but he was not gifted with abilities of a very high order. Fortunately for him and for Italy, there appeared a man at the helm of the Sardinian state who proved himself one of the master statesmen of an age that could boast of Bismarck, Gladstone, Disraeli, and Thiers. Camille Benso, Count di Cavour (1810–61), was descended from an old noble family of Piedmont. He had traveled extensively in Europe, especially in France and in England, where he was often thrown in contact with the well known Liberals of the time, and he became an enthusiastic admirer of the parliamentary system of government as practiced in England. "Parliamentary government, like other governments," he once declared, "has its inconveniences; yet, with its inconveniences, it is better than all the others. I may get impatient at certain oppositions, and repel them vigorously; and then, on thinking it over, I congratulate myself on these oppositions because they force me to explain my ideas better and to redouble my efforts to win over public opinion. . . . Believe me, the worst of Chambers is still preferable to the most brilliant of antechambers." Unlike many of the Italian nobility, he became a strong nationalist, and he was instrumental in founding the *Risorgimento*, a newspaper devoted to the cause of Italian unity. Cavour read and wrote much on economic subjects, in which he was greatly interested. He proposed plans for an extensive railway system which would facilitate commerce and unite Italy economically. He favored other policies which would develop his country industrially and so enlarge the numbers and influence of the middle class. From the nobility, tied by their interests to the old system, and from the peasantry, dulled by poverty and ignorance, little was to be expected; only an intelligent and independent middle class would be willing and able to take the leadership in the movement to unite the country.

Cavour, unlike Mazzini, had no gift for poetic flights of oratory. His was a clear, cool, practical mind with an unerring "tact to discern the possible," that could foresee, plan, and direct the enthusiasm and energies of others. "I cannot make a speech, but I can make Italy," he is said to have remarked. There was hardly a diplomat in all Europe that was a match for this Sardinian, whose subtle mind could weave a diplomatic web so finely and skillfully that his enemies would be entangled in it unawares. Like his contemporary diplomats, and for that matter like the diplomats of all ages and of all nations, he was usually unscrupulous as to the means that he employed to accomplish his ends. However, his "fine Italian hand" was always used in the service of a great and noble cause, the union of his dismembered Fatherland and its elevation to one of the great powers of the world.

His ability as a diplomat

Cavour was convinced that there was only one practical plan to unite Italy: Sardinia[1] must stand forth as the unswerving champion of unity, and she must call upon the Italian people to support her in the struggle against despotism, whether domestic or foreign. "Piedmont, gathering to herself all the living forces of Italy," he declared, "will be soon in a position to lead our mother country to the high destinies to which she is called." As a thorough believer in the doctrine that no government is legitimate unless it has the full consent of the governed, he was determined that Sardinia should not conquer and annex the rest of Italy, but should drive out Austria and the petty monarchs, and then ask the people themselves to determine their political destiny through a plebiscite. "Italy must make herself through liberty or we must give up trying to make her," he declared.

His liberalism

Cavour entered the Sardinian Cabinet in 1850 as Minister of Commerce. Two years later he became Prime Minister, a position which he filled almost continuously till the end of his life, receiving always the unswerving support of his King. The relations between Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour were not unlike those of King

His reforms

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[1] The terms "Sardinia," "Piedmont," and "Savoy" are used synonymously for the territory ruled by the House of Savoy.

William I and Bismarck: both monarchs relied absolutely on their extraordinary ministers, who really ruled while the former reigned. Cavour was most active in encouraging the economic development of Sardinia. Railways were built; commerce and industry were stimulated by enlightened laws and favorable commercial treaties; the finances were put on a sound basis; the army was reorganized and put in excellent fighting condition. Like many liberals of that day, Cavour was hostile to the Catholic Church, which he regarded as the most powerful prop of the old system. Largely through his influence, the Sardinian Parliament passed the Siccardi Laws (1850), which abolished the civil jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and forbade the acceptance of property by any corporation, civil as well as religious, without the consent of the State. Five years later he made war on the monasteries. A law was passed suppressing all religious orders except those that were engaged in education, charity, and preaching. In spite of the stormy opposition aroused by this law, more than half of the monasteries in the Kingdom of Sardinia were suppressed.

His plan of an alliance with France

Cavour came upon the scene after every plan and every effort to unite Italy had failed miserably. The Carbonari with its conspiracies, Young Italy with its sporadic uprisings, and Sardinia with its little war, had all in turn proved unequal to the task. "What plan could now succeed?" many Italians asked themselves in despair. The failure of Sardinia in the war against Austria in 1848 had proved that Italy could not do it herself. Cavour had little faith in popular uprisings, so often badly organized and poorly led and consequently doomed to failure. Mazzini he regarded as a fanatic who would ruin any cause by his lack of moderation and practical ability. A new and bold plan was born in Cavour's mind, namely, that *Europe* should unite Italy! For many centuries the nations of Europe had intervened in Italian affairs for their own good; why should they not now intervene for Italy's good? In other words, Cavour's project was to form an alliance between Sardinia and some great European Power for the purpose of driving out the Austrians, the chief obstacle to Italian unification. But which Power should this be? His choice, for several reasons, fell upon France. In the first place, Emperor Napoleon III was himself partly of Italian origin; and, in the days of his exile when he had wandered into Italy, he had been for a time a member of the Carbonari. He was, besides, a sincere believer in the doctrine of nationalism, and the Italians could appeal to him on that basis. In the second place, a war with their old enemy, Austria, would be very popular among the French, the more so that it was for the sake of helping a people of Latin civilization like themselves. Finally, Sardinia had something substantial to offer to France in return for her assistance, namely, the French-speaking districts known as Savoy and Nice.

Sardinia joins the Allies in the Crimean War

It now behooved Sardinia to show that she was worth fighting with as well as for. Cavour, to every one's amazement, made war, not on Austria, but on Russia, for a Sardinian army of seventeen thousand picked troops was sent to support the Allies in the Crimean War.[1] So remote was Sardinia's interest in the Eastern Question that the expedition was universally condemned as foolhardy, chimerical, and financially ruinous to a small and poor state. But Cavour, of whom it was said that he had a "sure instinct for the necessity of the moment," saw in the Crimean War an opportunity for Sardinia to show her fighting qualities and, above all, to gain representation at the peace congress that was to follow the war. When the peace congress assembled at Paris in 1856, Cavour was admitted as the representative of one of the belligerents. In a short but incisive address, he brought the question of Italian unity before this body. He pointed out the fact that the situation in Italy was a menace to the peace of Europe, and that Austria, the arch-enemy of Italian freedom and independence, was the disturbing factor in the peninsula. The address created a favorable impression on the delegates.

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[1] See p. 630.

Napoleon III had been moving in the direction of an alliance with Sardinia. What probably hastened it was an attack upon his life on January 14, 1858, by an Italian patriot named Orsini, who threw a bomb at him as he was driving through the streets of Paris. Napoleon escaped unharmed, but many bystanders were killed. Orsini, before his execution, wrote a pathetic letter to the Emperor, claiming that he had committed the crime in order to call the attention of the world to his country's woes, and begging the Emperor to come to Italy's rescue. Napoleon was deeply moved by this appeal, and perhaps also by fear of another attempt on his life, so he decided to intervene in Italian affairs.

Napoleon decides on an alliance with Sardinia

On July 21, 1858, Cavour and Napoleon met "by accident" at Plombières, a little town in France, where they held a momentous interview. Here they secretly agreed upon an alliance between France and Sardinia, and upon the following comprehensive plan: (1) that French and Sardinian armies were to drive Austria out of Lombardy-Venetia, which were then to be annexed to Sardinia; (2) that the Duchies of Parma and Modena and parts of the Papal States were also to be annexed to Sardinia; (3) that a central kingdom was to be formed of Tuscany and what was left of the Papal States; (4) that the city of Rome and the region around it was to be left to the Pope, who was to be compensated by being made President of a confederation of the three kingdoms, Sardinia, the proposed Central Kingdom, and Naples. In return, Sardinia was to cede Savoy and Nice to France. As an additional item in the bargain, it was agreed that Princess Clothilde, the young daughter of Victor Emmanuel, should marry Prince Napoleon, a cousin of the Emperor.

The secret agreement at Plombières

What now remained was to arrange matters so that Austria would appear the aggressor in the eyes of the world. But how was Austria to be provoked into a declaration of war against Sardinia? Disturbances were instigated in the duchies by Cavour's agents which so infuriated Austria that she threatened war.

Quarrel between Austria and Sardinia

England now intervened and proposed a conference to settle the quarrel between Austria and Sardinia, but the former refused to accept this proposal. Instead, she sent an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding that she disarm within three days or war would follow. This was precisely what Cavour desired, and he promptly rejected the ultimatum. Whereupon, on April 19, 1859, Austria declared war against Sardinia. Public opinion in Europe severely arraigned Austria for what was regarded as an act of brutal aggression by a big nation against a little one. French armies poured over the Alps to help the little nation. At their head was the Emperor himself, who promised to free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic."

The Austro-Sardinian War

The Austro-Sardinian War of 1859 lasted about two months. The main military problem was to drive the Austrians from a line of strong fortified places in Lombardy-Venetia, called the Quadrilateral. Two great battles were fought, one at Magenta on June 4 and the other at Solferino on June 24, in which the allied French and Sardinian armies were completely victorious over the Austrians, who were then compelled to abandon Lombardy. Preparations were being made to invade Venetia, when news came that Napoleon III, without even consulting Sardinia, had made a separate peace with Austria at Villafranca. This act of faithlessness so astounded and infuriated Cavour that his condition at times bordered upon madness. He lost his habitual coolness, and in a fit of rage at the Emperor he counseled King Victor Emmanuel to continue the war alone. But the latter saw the folly of such a course, and declined to follow his Minister's advice. Cavour thereupon resigned. Six months later, however, he came back to his old post.

Reasons for Napoleon's desertion

Why had Napoleon deserted his ally? In the first place, the Emperor was the kind of man who was willing to help a friend, but not to help him too much, lest he become a troublesome rival. His original intention was merely to enlarge Sardinia into a North-Italian kingdom. The defeat of Austria, however, set Italian hearts beating fast, for they now saw an opportunity to unite the entire peninsula. While the war was in progress, revolutions were taking place in Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and in that part of the Papal States known as Romagna; and in each place the rulers were being driven out and popular assemblies were voting for annexation to Sardinia. A united Italy was not just to the liking of Napoleon, for he feared that France might be confronted with a too powerful rival on the Mediterranean. Another cause for his withdrawal was that the Catholics in France were clamoring against the Emperor's alliance with the Italian nationalists, the sworn enemies of the Pope's temporal power; Napoleon decided to appease them by retiring from the contest.

All parties rally to the side of Sardinia

The Peace of Zurich, signed on November 10, 1859, which officially terminated the Austro-Sardinian War, granted Lombardy to Sardinia.[1] This was the only change made, but Napoleon's intervention had given such a momentum to Italian unity as no other event in all Italian history had given it. Austria, the arch-enemy, had been beaten and the petty tyrants could no longer rely upon her support. On the contrary, should uprisings take place, the insurgents could now count on the active support of the enlarged Kingdom of Sardinia. All Italian parties, republican, federalist, and monarchist, began to rally to the House of Savoy, which, it was clearly seen, was destined to accomplish the unification of the country. Enthusiastic republicans like Garibaldi and Manin freely offered their services to Cavour. Mazzini, however, remained irreconcilable. "I bow my head sorrowfully to the national will," he declared, "but monarchy will never number me among its servants or followers."

Advance of Italian unity

The use of foreign armies to restore unpopular rulers was now universally condemned. In England Lord Palmerston vigorously asserted that every people had the right to dispose of itself politically in whatever manner it wished. To this doctrine Napoleon gave his assent. During 1860 plebiscites were held in Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and Romagna, and the result was an almost unanimous vote in favor of joining Sardinia. Annexations promptly followed. A plebiscite was also held in Savoy and Nice, where overwhelming majorities voted to join France. Whereupon these two districts were ceded to France by the Sardinian Parliament, though not without the bitter opposition of patriots like Garibaldi, who reproached Cavour for making him a stranger in his native land, for he was born in Nice.

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[1] The annexation of Lombardy was on the theory that the inhabitants had already signified their willingness to join Sardinia. See p. 205.

GARIBALDI

Garibaldi's early life and adventures

A striking figure, Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82), whose romantic character and extraordinary exploits have enshrined him as the leading hero of the *Risorgimento*, now appears most prominently on the scene of his country's history. Garibaldi was one of the young men whose patriotism was awakened by the eloquence of Mazzini, and, at the age of twenty-four, he joined Young Italy. He participated in an insurrection, for which he was condemned to death; but he managed to escape to South America, where he took a prominent part in several revolutionary wars, earning a reputation as a daring and resourceful guerrilla chieftain. He returned to Italy during the uprisings in 1848, and organized a volunteer army of about three thousand men, composed of dare-devil patriots, who were ready to follow him anywhere. His gallant defense of the Roman Republic against the French won him the love and admiration of his fellow republicans, who hailed him as the military leader of the popular party. After the capture of Rome, he and his little band were driven all over Italy by French, Austrian, and Neapolitan armies. He showed remarkable skill in dodging his pursuers, and he finally managed to reach the coast and to escape to America. For several years he again lived in exile, sometimes as a candle-maker on Staten Island, sometimes as captain of a sailing vessel trading with South America. In 1854 he returned to Italy and settled down as a farmer on the little island of Caprera.

His character

Garibaldi's name had become one to conjure with in Italy, and his exploits were on every one's lips. The *Risorgimento* had produced many men who were ready to sacrifice themselves unreservedly for their country, but none more unselfish, more chivalrous, or more heroic than Garibaldi. He seemed a half-legendary hero, like Bayard or Joan of Arc, sent by Providence to lead his fellow countrymen to victory. In many respects Garibaldi resembled the American, Andrew Jackson; like him, he was hot-headed, stubborn, and foolhardy, but generous, brave, and patriotic to a fault. He disliked Cavour intensely as a cold, calculating schemer; yet he realized half regretfully that unity could be obtained only through the House of Savoy. Although he loved the Republic, he loved Italy more, and therefore decided to rally to the monarchy. In the war of 1859 he rendered notable service as the head of a volunteer corps known as the "Hunters of the Alps," defeating the Austrians in several engagements.

The Sicilian expedition

But Garibaldi's most famous exploit was the "Expedition of the Thousand." He had formed the daring design of making war on his own account against King Francis II, who had succeeded King "Bomba." On May 5, 1860, about a thousand poorly equipped, badly armed men, wearing red shirts and slouch hats, set sail from Genoa with the purpose of making war against the Kingdom of Naples, with a population of eleven million and an army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand. The story of this daring expedition of the "Red Shirts" reads like a heroic epic. Garibaldi and his Thousand landed at Massala, at the extreme western tip of Sicily. Through extraordinary marching and fighting against tremendous odds, he finally managed in less than a month to enter Palermo in triumph, having conquered the entire island of Sicily, of which he was proclaimed Dictator in the name of Victor Emmanuel. Italy was thrilled as it had seldom been before. It was devoutly believed that Garibaldi was an agent of Providence possessing miraculous powers which gave him a charmed life. There had been only too many instances of foolhardy attempts by small bands to overthrow tyranny, that had failed; this one, equally foolhardy, succeeded and gave to Garibaldi and his Thousand immortal fame.

Conquest of Naples

In August of the same year, Garibaldi with an army of four thousand set sail for the mainland to conquer Naples. The moment he landed, the people and many of the soldiers in the army of King Francis became his enthusiastic followers. His ranks soon swelled to fifty thousand men. The march to Naples was a veritable triumphal procession. Whole armies, sometimes without striking a blow, surrendered to him. Many of the Neapolitan troops mutinied, murdered their officers, and joined the Garibaldians. One desperate battle took place, that of Volturno, in which Garibaldi defeated an army twice the size of his own. Francis II fled and Garibaldi assumed the dictatorship of the entire Kingdom.

Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy

The question now was, "What was to be done with the conquered regions?" Cavour, who had half countenanced the expedition, feared that the hero, who utterly lacked political capacity, might lose all that had been gained by an imprudent step which he was now meditating, namely, to march on Rome. This would lead to a conflict with France, quite a different matter from attacking a demoralized kingdom like Naples. Sardinia must now act and take charge of the situation. Victor Emmanuel, at the head of his army, crossed over into the Papal States, occupying Umbria and The Marches, though carefully avoiding Rome, and entered Naples, where he defeated the remnants of the army of Francis II. The Sardinian Parliament then voted for the annexation of the recently conquered territory, provided the inhabitants agreed to it. A plebiscite was held in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Marches, and Umbria, and the result was an overwhelming vote in favor of joining Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi drove together through the streets of the city of Naples amid the wild applause of the people. Garibaldi magnanimously resigned his dictatorship, and Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed King of Italy, "by the grace of God and the will of the people," by the first Italian Parliament, which met in Turin on February 18, 1861. Sardinia had now been merged in Italy, and the work of Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi was crowned with success. The last, refusing all honors, titles, offices, and pensions, retired to his farm in Caprera.

Rome

Rome and United Italy

Unfortunately for Italy, Cavour died soon after the proclamation of her unity, leaving to his successors the solution of the knotty Venetian and Roman problems. The Austrians were still in Venetia and the Pope was still in Rome. Cavour had firmly believed that without Rome as the capital, Italy's unification would be sadly incomplete; for the historic position of the Eternal City, with its immortal memories, was such that Italians could not allow another power to possess it. "To go to Rome," said his successor, Ricasoli, "is not merely a right; it is an inexorable necessity." In regard to the future relations between Church and State, Cavour's famous dictum was, "A free Church in a free State"; by which he meant that the former should be entirely free to exercise her spiritual powers and leave politics entirely to the latter.

The Roman Question

Pope Pius IX refused to recognize the new Kingdom, which he denounced as the creation of revolution. He excommunicated the leaders of the nation, including Victor Emmanuel II, whom he denounced as "forgetful of every religious principle, despising every right, trampling upon every law." His position as King of Italy was, therefore, according to the Pope, "a sacrilegious usurpation." In spite of the general desire among the Italians to seize Rome, the Government was loath to take such a step. It well knew that to attack the Pope would be to invite war with France, for the Catholics in the latter country were clamoring for intervention on behalf of the Papacy. There was also the danger of offending the entire Catholic world and possibly of bringing about an armed intervention by the Catholic powers. The Government, therefore, decided to bide its time and to pursue a policy of watchful waiting, hoping that a favorable opportunity would arrive for decisive action. Rome was defended by the French army sent over in 1849 and by a Catholic army of about twenty thousand men, mainly Irish, Belgians, and Austrians, who had volunteered to defend the Pope against Italian aggression.

Garibaldi attacks Rome

Garibaldi became impatient at the delay of the Italian Government, and he decided to attack Rome independently. He hotly refused to listen to a policy of caution. In 1862, against the earnest advice of the authorities, he and his bands set out to attack Rome. Italian troops were sent to stop him; and there actually took place a battle at Aspromonte between the Garibaldians and the Italian army, in which Garibaldi was wounded "by an Italian bullet," as he put it, and he retired in disgust to his farm. In 1867 he made another attempt to seize Rome and was again defeated, this time at Mentana, by the French and Papal armies.

Venetia added to Italy

During the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia, in 1866, Italy joined forces with the latter. Although Austria sorely defeated Italy in several battles, Prussia's overwhelming success compelled the former to cede Venetia to Italy, which was annexed after a favorable plebiscite.

Rome proclaimed the capital

When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, Napoleon III found that he needed every French soldier at home, and he withdrew the French garrison from Rome. The Italians took immediate advantage of the situation and, on September 20, 1870, an Italian army entered Rome in triumph. A plebiscite was then held, and by a vote of 134,000 to 1500 the Romans declared for annexation to Italy. This step was ratified by an act of Parliament, and Rome was proclaimed the capital of the Kingdom. In this way the temporal power of the Pope, which had held sway for over a thousand years, came to an end. Italy was now united at last.

CHAPTER XI

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

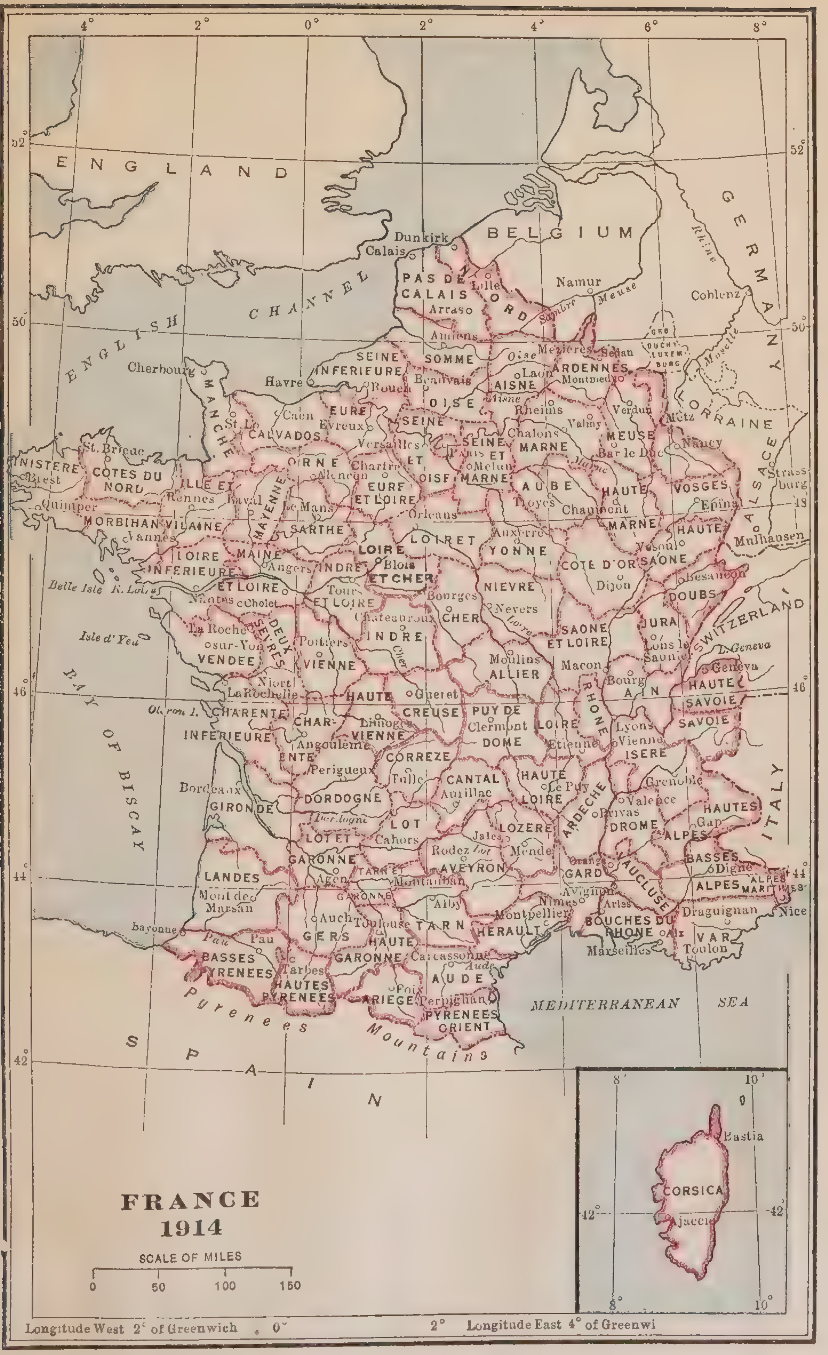
THIERS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF FRANCE

The National Assembly

OF the seven hundred and fifty members of the National Assembly which was called together at the end of the Franco-Prussian War, only about two hundred and fifty could be classed as Republicans. The rest were monarchists belonging to various factions: about three hundred were partisans of the House of Orleans, who favored the Count de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, for the throne; about one hundred were Legitimists, or partisans of the House of Bourbon, who favored the Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X; about thirty were Imperialists, who wished to continue the Second Empire under the son of Napoleon III; and the remaining seventy were monarchists who were committed to no definite candidate. The main reason for the choice of a monarchist Assembly was that the Republicans were in favor of continuing the war; but the country, disgusted with the outcome, desired peace as soon as possible, and therefore voted against the Republican candidates.

Thiers

The National Assembly chose Adolphe Thiers as the "Chief of the Executive Power" with full authority to conclude peace with Germany. Thiers was now an old man of seventy-three. Throughout his long political career he had been known as a shrewd politician whose tactics might be shifty, but whose consistent support of the interests of the middle classes was never doubted. He was therefore a Liberal of the school of Guizot and a partisan of the House of Orleans. In appearance Thiers was, at this time, a little old man with a smooth-shaven face, wearing "the eternal frock coat" of the bourgeois. His speeches were logical and convincing as well as eloquent. He was the typical French bourgeois in politics;


FRANCE
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Longitude West 2° of Greenwich 0°
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ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BELGIUM
GERMANY
LORRAINE
ALSACE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
SPAIN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Pyrenees Mountains
GRD DUCHY LUXEMBURG
Rhine
Moselle
Meuse
Sambre
Oise
Aisne
Marne
Loire
Cher
Dordogne
Lot
Aude
L. Geneva
Dunkirk
Calais
Lille
Arras
Amiens
Namur
Coblenz
Mezieres
Sedan
Montmedy
Laon
Rheims
Valmy
Verdun
Metz
Nancy
Strassburg
Epinal
Mulhausen
Bar le Duc
Chalons
Chaumont
Troyes
Auxerre
Vesoul
Besançon
Dijon
Nevers
Bourges
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Chateauroux
Poitiers
Gueret
Limoges
Moulins
Macon
Bourg
Geneva
Lons le Saonier
Lyons
Vienne
Etienne
Clermont
Le Puy
Grenoble
Valence
Privas
Gap
Digne
Nice
Draguignan
Toulon
Marseilles
Aix
Arles
Avignon
Orange
Nimes
Montpellier
Mende
Jales
Rodez
Alby
Montauban
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Foix
Perpignan
Auch
Agen
Tarbes
Pau
Bayonne
Mont de Marsan
Bordeaux
Angouleme
Perigueux
Tulle
Aurillac
Cahors
La Rochelle
Niort
La Roche sur-Yon
Nantes
Cholet
Angers
Le Mans
Laval
Rennes
Vannes
Quimper
Brest
St. Brieuc
St. Lo
Caen
Cherbourg
Havre
Rouen
Evreux
Beauvais
Versailles
Paris
Melun
Chartres
Alençon
Belle Isle
R. Loire
Isle d'Yeu
Oleron I.
PAS DE CALAIS
NORD
SOMME
SEINE INFERIEURE
AISNE
ARDENNES
OISE
SEINE
SEINE ET OISE
SEINE ET MARNE
MARNE
MEUSE
VOSGES
HAUTE MARNE
AUBE
YONNE
COTE D'OR
HAUTE SAONE
DOUBS
JURA
SAONE ET LOIRE
NIEVRE
CHER
LOIRET
LOIR ET CHER
INDRE
INDRE ET LOIRE
EURE
EURE ET LOIRE
CALVADOS
MANCHE
ORNE
SARTHE
MAYENNE
ILLE ET VILAINE
COTES DU NORD
FINISTERE
MORBIHAN
LOIRE INFERIEURE
MAINE ET LOIRE
VENDEE
DEUX SEVRES
VIENNE
HAUTE VIENNE
CHARENTE INFERIEURE
CHARENTE
CREUSE
CORREZE
DORDOGNE
GIRONDE
LANDES
LOT ET GARONNE
LOT
TARN ET GARONNE
GERS
HAUTE GARONNE
BASSES PYRENEES
HAUTES PYRENEES
ARIEGE
AUDE
PYRENEES ORIENT
TARN
AVEYRON
CANTAL
PUY DE DOME
ALLIER
LOIRE
HAUTE LOIRE
LOZERE
HERAULT
GARD
ARDECHE
DROME
VAUCLUSE
BOUCHES DU RHONE
VAR
BASSES ALPES
ALPES MARITIMES
HAUTES ALPES
ISERE
SAVOIE
HAUTE SAVOIE
AIN
RHONE
CORSICA
Bastia
Ajaccio
8°
10°
42°
44°
46°
48°
50°
52°
4°
2°
0°
6°
8°

and so bitterly was he opposed to socialism in every form that, at times, he was willing to go to the length of compromising with reaction in order to prevent the "vile mob" from getting into power. Although a Voltairean in his personal attitude toward religion, Thiers had been chiefly instrumental in passing the Falloux Law,[1] because he believed that Catholic education would have a conservative influence on the lower classes.

The Compact of Bordeaux

But the Franco-Prussian War transformed this aged politician, who had spent almost his entire public life in opposition, into a constructive statesman. During the critical period following the great disaster Thiers was a tower of strength to his distracted countrymen. He eschewed all party politics and devoted himself whole-heartedly to the welfare of France, coöperating with any faction and with any man who was willing to join him in the patriotic work. The National Assembly, inspired by Thiers's patriotism, adopted what came to be known as the "Compact of Bordeaux," whereby it was agreed that political differences should be put aside in order to carry through expeditiously the work of reconstruction.

Payment of the indemnity

Four great questions faced the Assembly: peace with Germany, the suppression of the Commune, the reorganization of the army, and the adoption of a definite form of government. As we have already seen,[2] the Treaty of Frankfort, drawn up mainly by Bismarck and Thiers, was ratified by the Assembly. It became necessary to raise the enormous indemnity of a billion dollars and to pay the cost also of the German army of occupation, which was to remain in France until the indemnity was paid. Two loans, contracted by the French Government for this purpose, were readily subscribed to many times over by the people, so that the indemnity was rapidly liquidated. By 1873 the German army of occupation was out of France, and Thiers was gratefully hailed as the "Liberator of the territory." The rapid payment of this huge indemnity revealed the great confidence in their country's future felt by millions of Frenchmen, who freely gave their savings to the Government in the face of recent disasters; it was evidence also of the extraordinary prosperity that France had enjoyed under the Second Empire.

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[1] See p. 155.

[2] See p. 193.

The new army law

Military reform was the next important step, for the war had disclosed the woeful disorganization of the army. As Prussia had learned from France after Jena, so France learned from Prussia after Sedan. A new military law was passed in 1872 which reorganized the French army on the model of that of Prussia. The principle of universal military service was introduced, and all French citizens were obliged, at the age of twenty, to serve five years in active service, after which they were to pass through various reserves up to the age of forty. As in Prussia, exception was made in the case of those having a higher education; they were to serve one year only, and in lieu of the other four years they were required to pay three hundred dollars to the State. This law was readily accepted by the people, and it was the prelude to a military revival which greatly alarmed Bismarck.

THE COMMUNE

Hatred of the working-men for the bourgeoisie

Misfortunes followed one after the other during the "terrible year," as the French call 1870. On the heels of a disastrous war came a bloody uprising known as the "Commune," which far surpassed anything of its kind in all the revolutionary history of France. A generation of suppression under the Second Empire had resulted in the growth of secret societies, whose propaganda was all the more violent because secret. The merciless suppression of the "June days" in 1848 had never faded from the memory of the French proletariat, whose unshakable conviction was that, no matter what form of government existed, their enemy was the bourgeoisie; and in Thiers, as the head of affairs, they saw the very incarnation of their enemy.

The election of a monarchist Assembly greatly exasperated the Republicans, those in Paris in particular, who did not wish to be governed by the "clodhoppers," as they termed the Assembly, because it contained a large number of peasants. The Assembly moved from Bordeaux, its first seat, to Versailles; it avoided Paris for fear of a possible interference with its deliberations by the mob, as in the time of the great Revolution. Now that Paris was no longer the capital, many shopkeepers lost trade, and their prosperity as well as their pride was seriously hurt by this change, which greatly exasperated them.

Versailles made the capital

During the war business was naturally disorganized. As a war measure, the payment of rents, debts, and notes had been temporarily suspended. But when peace came, the Assembly refused to grant any further dispensation and ordered the immediate payment of all indebtedness legally due. Thousands of Parisians had suffered severe financial as well as other hardships during the siege, and they denounced the act of the Assembly as completing the ruin begun by the Germans. Many were evicted from their homes because of non-payment of rent, and many small shopkeepers were compelled to close their doors.

Financial hardships

What drove thousands of the Parisian poor into a state of desperation was the abolition of the National Guard by the Assembly. During the siege all able-bodied men in Paris had been provided with arms and enrolled in the militia, or National Guard. After enduring the hardships of the terrible siege, many of these guardsmen depended on their pay of thirty cents a day for their livelihood; and when the Assembly declared the Guard dissolved, they found themselves utterly destitute, but with arms in their hands: a dangerous situation anywhere, but especially so in Paris with its revolutionary traditions.

Abolition of the National Guard

These various discontented elements coalesced and organized what has been called the "Paris Commune," which was initiated by the members of the National Guard. A Central Committee of the latter was

The Commune

formed to defend the Republic, which had been proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, against the monarchist National Assembly at Versailles. The latter, fearing trouble, sent troops to seize the cannon in Paris, but the soldiers were surrounded by mobs and disarmed. War now began between Paris and the rest of France. The Central Committee, complete master of the city, ordered elections to be held in Paris for a General Council. Conservative electors, out of fear, kept away from the polls, so that only extreme radicals were chosen. The General Council then proclaimed Paris a "commune," adopted the red flag, and declared all acts of the Versailles Government to be null and void. It also issued a manifesto to the French people inviting them to organize similar communes and to unite in a national federation.

Ideas of the communists

The communists were a heterogeneous group of revolutionaries: socialists, anarchists, nihilists, and radical republicans, who, though sharply divided as to their schemes for reorganizing society and government, united in opposing the National Assembly. Among them the Jacobin ideals of '93 were strangely fused with the socialist ideals of '48. They revived the old Revolutionary calendar and attempted to reëstablish the national workshops. In a rather vague statement they declared that the Commune inaugurated "a new political era, positive and scientific. It marks the end of the old political and clerical world, of militarism, bureaucracy, exploitation, stock-jobbery, and special privileges, to which the proletariat owe their servitude and the Fatherland its misfortunes."

Communists desire to decentralize France

These revolutionaries of '71 evidently came to the conclusion that the establishment of a socialist state in France as a whole was impossible, because in case of an uprising the peasants always came to the aid of the middle classes in the cities and undid the work of the revolutionary element. The communists turned to the idea of decentralizing France by giving each unit, or commune, great powers of local self-government. If this were accomplished the industrial centers might be able to establish the socialist commonwealth; for without peasant help the bourgeoisie would easily succumb to the attacks of the working classes. To the charge of the Versailles Government that they were destroying the unity of France, the communists replied that that unity, "imposed upon us to this day by the Empire, the monarchy, and parliamentarism, is merely despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary, and onerous centralization," and that the true unity of France would consist in the free and spontaneous coöperation of the communes.

Blanqui

The most important figure of the Commune was Louis Auguste Blanqui, a lifelong political conspirator and ardent revolutionist. Blanqui was an interesting type of "eternal revolutionist," who belonged to no political party and to no definite school of social philosophy, but who continually agitated for a violent uprising against every existing régime. He was an important leader of the secret societies which brought about the Revolution of 1830; he then conspired against Louis Philippe and was active in the Revolution of 1848; during the Empire he was busy organizing secret political societies. This fanatical revolutionist spent more than half his life in prison; no sooner was he free than he would immediately engage in stirring up rebellion. In the vague ideals and violent methods of the Commune Blanqui was in his element, and he became its chief advocate and leader.

In a skirmish between the regular troops and the communists, some of the latter were captured; and because the Versailles Government refused to treat them as prisoners of war, they were shot without trial as rebels and traitors. This infuriated the communists, who seized notable personages living in Paris and held them as "hostages" under threat of death in case any more communist prisoners were shot.

Outrages committed by the communists

When the captive French armies were released by Germany, the National Assembly determined to put down the Commune without mercy. A new siege of Paris was begun in April, 1871, this time by the French army with the Germans looking on.

The city was taken after six weeks. Then followed a gigantic street struggle between the troops and the communists, each side desperate and merciless. In the streets were planted cannon that fired in every direction, causing untold havoc. Seeing themselves overcome by superior force, the communists resorted to frightful methods. They executed the hostages, one of them being the Archbishop of Paris, and began the destruction of the city by setting fire to famous buildings, such as the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais de Justice, and the Tuileries. The Vendôme Column was pulled down. Several streets were masses of flame. Nothing so frightful had ever taken place in Paris, not even during the Reign of Terror nor during the "June days" of 1848.

Vengeance of the Government

The final stand of the communists was at the great cemetery of Père-Lachaise, where a desperate encounter took place. Finally, the troops managed to get the upper hand, and order was restored. The vengeance taken by the Versailles Government equaled in ferocity that displayed by the communists. All those taken with arms in their hands were stood up against a wall and summarily shot, and then buried in nameless masses. Thousands were arrested and, after a brief trial by court-martial, were sentenced to imprisonment, exile, or death. Thousands more fled to foreign countries to escape the fury of the Versailles Government. It is impossible to state accurately how many were killed during the uprising, but it is estimated that about seventeen thousand communists perished.

Growth of socialism hindered by the Commune

The Commune was a great blow to the peaceful growth of French socialism with which the uprising was identified. It was universally felt that the radical elements had taken advantage of the agony that France was suffering as a result of the war with Germany in order to foist their theories on their unwilling countrymen. And it was not for an entire generation that socialism could once more raise its head in France.

GAMBETTA AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC

Rivet Law

The chief political problem in France during 1871–79 was what form of government would finally be adopted. A truce had been called between the various factions during the period of reorganization in order to strengthen the National Assembly in dealing with the questions confronting it. On August 31, 1871, the Rivet Law was passed, which gave to Thiers the title of "President of the Republic," and made him responsible to the Assembly, which was now given constituent powers. It was, nevertheless, understood that the Republic was merely provisional, and was to give place to a monarchy as soon as the two royalist factions, the Legitimists and Orleanists, had composed their differences.

Thiers converted to the Republic

What attitude Thiers was going to adopt became a matter of vital concern. Not only did he enjoy the confidence of the people, but he was also the leader of an important group in the Assembly, the Left Center, that sometimes held the balance of power between the various factions. All his life he had been an Orleanist, but he was now willing, on patriotic grounds, to accept the Republic, "that form of government which divides us least," as he called it in criticism of the three monarchist parties. But he let it be clearly understood that if the government was to be republican in form, it must be conservative in policy. "The Republic will be conservative or it will not exist," he warned his colleagues. His change of view greatly incensed the monarchists in the Assembly, who denounced the Republic as a breeder of "radicalism, anarchy, and moral chaos"; in 1873 they passed a vote of censure against the President, who thereupon resigned. As his successor the Assembly chose Marshal MacMahon, a stanch royalist, with the understanding that he would make way for a king as soon as one was chosen.

The action of the monarchist Assembly in forcing the resignation of Thiers, the "Liberator of the territory," disgusted the country, and at almost every by-election a

Republican was successful. To voice this change of sentiment came Gambetta, who now entered the lists as the Republican champion against royalism, as at one time he had against imperialism. Gambetta's heroic part during the Franco-Prussian War had endeared him to masses of Frenchmen who had but little sympathy with his radical opinions. It now remained for him to begin the "republican education" of France, namely, to convert these masses to the idea of a republic. With this in view he began a series of speaking tours throughout the country, "swinging around the circle," addressing huge audiences and again rousing his countrymen to a high pitch of enthusiasm.

Gambetta

If Thiers was in appearance the typical bourgeois, Gambetta was the typical bohemian. His dark, curly hair and flowing beard, his flashing eyes and careless, joyous manner, his deep resonant voice rolling like musical thunder over great audiences, his flowing eloquence and exuberant imagination fascinated all those who came to hear him. Gambetta's very presence was an oration. Strange to say, he became the darling alike of the solid bourgeoisie and of the students in the Latin Quarter of Paris. Not only was he a great orator, one of the greatest of modern times, but he was also possessed of solid statesmanship and shrewd common sense. Gambetta believed firmly in the principles of the French Revolution, namely, political democracy and intellectual freedom; in addition, he had a warm sympathy for the "new social strata," the working classes, to whom he believed political power was destined to pass.[1] But mindful of the Commune, he warned his fellow Republicans not to disturb the social order till democratic principles triumphed, and to endeavor to solve social problems in a spirit of moderation. "There is no Social Question," he once declared; "there are only social questions which have to be dealt with, one by one, as they come up." Gambetta was essentially an opportunist, asking for much and taking what he could get, and he was willing

Gambetta's influence and ideas

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[1] In 1879, his eloquence secured an act of amnesty for the imprisoned and exiled communists.

to work with a conservative like Thiers in order to realize at least some of his political ideals. Once, when he was being reproached for his opportunism, he replied: "A policy which would not take opportunity into account, I call a policy of disaster. Opportunism! What does the name signify if the country approves the thing!" The policies of the Third French Republic for a whole generation were deeply influenced by Gambetta's ideas, which were espoused by his disciples, Ferry, Bert, Freycinet, Waldeck-Rousseau, and Clémenceau.

Monarchist factions agree on the Bourbon claimant

The rising tide of republicanism convinced the monarchist factions that they must come to a decision without delay in choosing a king. They agreed to offer the throne to the Count de Chambord, who was to be crowned as Henry V, with the understanding that he, being childless, was to make the head of the House of Orleans his heir and successor.

The Count de Chambord

The Count de Chambord was a true Bourbon, never having learned anything and never having forgotten anything. He firmly believed that France had at last repudiated democracy, whether republican or imperial, and was now returning to the ideals of the *ancien régime.* "The issue at stake," he declared, "is none other than that of reconstructing society, now deeply disturbed, on its natural base . . . and not to fear to employ force in the service of order and justice." His loyalty to the traditions of the Bourbon family was sincere and devout. "For forty-three years," he proudly said, "I have preserved intact our sacred traditions and our liberties." He agreed to accept the crown on the terms offered and, as a sign that France had fully recanted her democratic past, he wished the National Assembly to abolish the tricolor flag, adopted during the Revolution, and to restore the *fleur-de-lys* of the Bourbons, "received as a sacred deposit from the old King, my grandfather, dying in exile." He rejected absolutely the tricolor, which he stigmatized as "a symbol of revolution."

The Assembly was in a quandary. To abolish the flag so dear to the French people, that had floated on many a victorious battlefield, might lead to an uprising and possibly to a revolution, for it would be taken to mean that the restoration of the *fleur-de-lys* would be followed by the restoration of absolute monarchy. They tried hard to persuade the Count to accept the tricolor with the crown, but without avail. "Henry V will never abandon the white flag of Henry IV," was his proud answer to the committee that came to see him about the matter.

The question of the flag

This curious situation was fortunate for the Republic, as it postponed the establishment of a monarchy and aroused the country to the true nature of the proposed restoration. In order to continue their control of the Government through MacMahon, the monarchists in the Assembly passed, in 1873, the Septennate Act, extending the presidential term to seven years. It was thought that the Count de Chambord, being old, would probably die within this period and that the Count de Paris, who was willing to accept the tricolor, would then be chosen King. In 1875 a series of organic laws, passed by the Assembly, created a skeleton outline of a constitution, in which the word "Republic" was carefully omitted whereever possible; when they came to designate the office of chief executive, however, it was voted by a majority of one to use the title "President of the Republic." Strangely enough, this stop-gap constitution, which was made a bare outline in order to ease the transition to monarchy, remains in substance the constitution of the present French Republic.

The constitution

The Government, nominally a republic, then proceeded to make war upon the Republicans by using its vast power of patronage to favor royalists. Republicans were dismissed from office; their journals were harassed and frequently suppressed; and their associations and meetings were put under strict surveillance. On December 31, 1875, the National Assembly, having completed the work of reorganizing France for which

The election of a Republican Chamber

it was originally called, went out of existence. Elections were then held for the Chamber of Deputies, the popular House, and for the Senate. In spite of pressure applied by the Government on the electors to choose royalist members, the Chamber was overwhelmingly Republican; the Senate was monarchist only because one quarter of its membership had been appointed for life by the National Assembly before it dissolved. The situation in 1876 presented an anomaly: whereas the popular House was Republican, the upper House, the President, and the entire administration were royalist. This was bound to lead to a renewal of the struggle between the two forces in order that a more decisive result might be obtained.

The monarchists *versus* the Republicans

President MacMahon met the situation by a compromise. He dismissed the royalist Broglie Cabinet and appointed one composed mainly of Republicans headed by Jules Simon; but he maintained that the Ministry was responsible to him and not to the Chamber. The Republicans, on the contrary, held to the principle that the responsibility of Ministers was to Parliament, because the latter, having been elected by universal suffrage, was, in the words of Gambetta, "the master of us all." The first three years of the new constitution were the critical period in the history of the Third French Republic. All political, social, and religious forces were lined up for a trial of strength to decide whether France was to be a republic or a monarchy. Behind the royalists were the aristocratic classes, many of the peasants, the bureaucracy, and the more wealthy of the middle class. Behind the Republicans were the lower middle class, the intellectuals, and the workingmen, who, swayed by the eloquence of Gambetta, were determined that no king, be he reactionary or liberal, should ever again reign in France.

The Church sides with the monarchists

The Catholic Church, too, entered the political fray. Many of the priests preached against the Republic and were active in aiding the royalists during the elections. A propaganda was also started to have France restore the temporal power of the

Pope, and petitions poured in from Catholic bodies asking that the Government intervene in Italy for that purpose. France, in her crippled state after 1870, was neither able nor willing to make war on the Italy which it had helped to create. So great was the activity of the Catholics on the royalist side that the Republicans, always unfriendly, now became bitterly hostile to the Church. Gambetta uttered a phrase which became their rallying cry, "*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!*" ("Clericalism! That is our enemy!")

Seize Mai

On May 16, 1877, the famous *Seize Mai*, President MacMahon dismissed the Simon Ministry, although it was supported by the Chamber, and, in defiance of Parliament, again appointed a royalist cabinet headed by the former Premier, Duke de Broglie. This action was denounced by the Republicans as a *coup d'état* and an attempt by the President to inaugurate a system of "personal government." The reply of MacMahon was to dissolve the Chamber with the consent of the Senate and to order a new election. Both sides once more entered the political arena determined to fight with every weapon at their command.

Gambetta *versus* MacMahon

To preserve the "moral order," as the royalists called conservatism, the Government used every influence at its command to elect a monarchist Chamber. It resorted to "official candidates," gerrymandering, and coercion of all sorts. To counteract this electioneering activity, the Republicans formed secret societies to help them in the campaign. Gambetta became the leading antagonist of President MacMahon. Again he went on one of his famous speaking tours to arouse the country against the monarchists and their methods. He was called, in derision, "the commercial traveler for the Republic," an appellation which he himself adopted with pride. In one of his speeches he gave utterance to another famous phrase, which became the electoral cry of 1877. "When France has spoken in her sovereign voice," he told MacMahon, "you will be forced to submit or to resign." "(*Il faudra se soumettre ou se démettre.*")

The Republicans won a complete triumph over their opponents. In the new Chamber they had a majority of over one hundred seats. MacMahon "submitted." He dismissed the Broglie Ministry and appointed one headed by a conservative Republican, Dufaure. When, in 1878, an election for one third of the Senate was held, the Republicans succeeded in obtaining a majority in the upper House also. They now determined to force MacMahon out of office. A demand was made by the Chamber that he dismiss certain royalist officials. This he refused to do, and on January 30, 1879, he handed in his resignation. To succeed him the National Assembly chose Jules Grévy, a lifelong and faithful Republican, who declared that he would always recognize the Chamber as the supreme power in the Government.

Resignation of MacMahon

Unlike the Republics that were established in 1792 and 1848, each of which came into existence on a wave of enthusiasm, the Third Republic was founded as a consequence of the mistaken tactics of the royalists, whose reactionary ideas, delays, and bickerings disgusted the country and inclined it to favor the advocates of the Republic, who were united, enthusiastic, and able. Nevertheless, the Third French Republic has since proved to be the most stable government that France has known since the great Revolution.

Stability of the Third Republic

Government and Parties

The Government of France may be best described as a parliamentary republic. Like that of the United States, it is republican in form; but, like that of England, supreme power is lodged in a popularly elected parliament, which passes laws and controls the cabinet which executes them. Unlike the United States, which is a federal union with a division of powers between the central and local governments, France is a highly centralized republic, most of the local as well as the whole of the national government being directed from Paris.

France, a centralized republic

The country is divided into eighty-six *départements*, which are administrative divisions presided over by prefects, or governors, appointed by the central government. In each *département* there are popularly elected councils, but their powers are largely advisory. A measure of local self-government was given to the municipalities by the law of 1884; it permitted them to elect their mayors and councils, which exercise considerable power subject, however, to the authority of the prefect.

The President

The head of the French Republic is the President, who is elected for a term of seven years by the National Assembly, which is the name given to a joint session of both houses. Mindful of Louis Napoleon's rise to power through popular election, the French constitution prescribes this mode of choosing a President and prohibits a member of a French royal or imperial family from being a candidate. The powers of the President are limited in the extreme: every act of his must be countersigned by a cabinet minister; he has no real veto power over laws passed by Parliament; appointments to office are made in his name by the cabinet; he may, with the consent of the Senate, dissolve the Chamber before its term has expired, but since President MacMahon's famous dissolution in 1877 no French President has exercised this power. Frequently, however, his influence is felt in the composition of a cabinet.

The Senate

The real ruler of France is Parliament. The upper House, or Senate, consists of three hundred members[1] elected for a term of nine years. The Senators from each *département* are chosen by an electoral college, consisting of delegates from the various local bodies and the members of the Chamber of Deputies elected from the *département*. According to the constitution, the Senate has equal legislative authority with the Chamber; in reality, its main function is to act as a check on the popular House by revising, amending, and sometimes, though rarely, defeating its bills.

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[1] As originally provided in the constitution, one fourth were to be life Senators elected by the National Assembly; but an amendment, adopted in 1884, abolished the life senatorships, though it permitted the Senators so chosen in 1875 to continue in office.

The Chamber

The lower House, or Chamber of Deputies, consists of six hundred and two members elected by universal male suffrage for a term of four years. Like the American House of Representatives, the French Chamber lives out its full term of office for the reason referred to above. Candidates are chosen from single-member districts called *arrondissements*,[1] and a candidate, to be elected, must receive a majority of *all* the votes cast.[2] The powers of the Chamber are like those of the British House of Commons. It passes laws and controls the cabinet, which it may dismiss whenever it so chooses on the principle of ministerial responsibility.

The Cabinet

Although the French cabinet system is modeled on that of the British, its working has been quite different, because of the multiplicity of political parties, no one of which ever has had a majority in the Chamber. A cabinet is therefore composed of men belonging to various groups, and is supported in the Chamber by a coalition of these groups known as a *bloc*. Parliamentary coalitions are often hard to keep together, particularly in France, where party ties are very loose; cabinet crises are therefore of frequent occurrence. Ministries are constantly being overthrown, and rarely does a French Cabinet last as long as two years; often its life is only six months. As much energy is frequently expended in keeping the cabinet together as in promoting legislation. A favorite method of upsetting a ministry is through an interpellation, by which is meant that any Deputy may direct questions and demand answers of a cabinet minister on the conduct of his office. An interpellation is, however, more often in the nature of a challenge than of a request for information; a sharp debate ensues, frequently resulting in a vote of censure for the cabinet, which then resigns.

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[1] In 1885, a change was made in the electoral system, and members were elected on a general ticket known as the *scrutin de liste* in each *département*. Later, in 1889, on account of the Boulanger affair, the single-member districts were restored. (See p. 242.)

[2] In case no candidate receives a majority on the first ballot, a second election is held two weeks later to determine the final choice.

Stability of the French Government

It must not, however, be supposed that the instability of cabinets means the instability of the Government. Below the play of factional politics flow steady political currents that continue in the same direction no matter who is Prime Minister. The fall of a Ministry means generally only the appointment of a new Prime Minister; the Chamber is not dissolved, and frequently the majority of the members in the succeeding Ministry are the same as those of its predecessor. A great though silent part in steadying the wheels of government is played by the bureaucracy. Since its reorganization by Napoleon, the highly centralized administrative system of France has continued the practical work of administration in the spirit of its conservative traditions irrespective of what form of government is proclaimed in Paris. It has given continuity to the political life of France by absorbing the shocks of revolutions and *coups d'état* and by remaining independent of cabinet changes.

The Constitution an outline

The French constitution adopted in 1875 still remains essentially an outline. It contains no statement of general principles, like the documents adopted during the great Revolution, and no definite articles protecting liberty, persons, and property like the Bill of Rights in the American constitution. Its only prohibition is in the article which declares that "the republican form of government shall not be made the subject of a proposed revision." Amendments can be made very easily; a proposal for an amendment may be made by the President or by a majority in both Houses; to pass, it must be ratified by a majority of the National Assembly. In other words, an ordinary statute and a constitutional amendment are adopted by the same persons. Besides, Parliament sometimes passes bills as statutes which in America would be considered subjects for constitutional amendment, because the French constitution contains only general provisions for organizing the Government.

Political groups

There are no political parties in France like those in England and in the United States. Instead of two compact, well-organized groups of electors with candidates, conventions, and platforms striving for the control of the Government, there are in France many loosely organized groups with certain political tendencies, royalist, moderate, radical, or socialist. Each candidate for public office is practically his own party; he writes his own platform, conducts his own campaign, and pays his own expenses, aided sometimes by hastily organized societies. After his election he seeks out other members of the Chamber who profess the same or similar views, and these constitute a "party." A party may be born at the opening of the parliamentary session and die before its close; often a Deputy belongs to more than one group or passes serenely from one to another. Political leaders, rather than political organizations, are the important factors in French parliamentary life, as nearly every group is dominated by a prominent politician whom it follows as long as he can lead. Newspapers, often owned and edited by prominent political leaders, are a most powerful factor in the formation of public opinion, which is easily evoked in a highly sensitive, artistic people like the French. A brilliant speech, a fine article, a penetrating book, will often do the work of party platforms and party organizations.

The "Right"

The Deputies sit in the Chamber according to their opinions, the conservatives to the right and the radicals to the left of the president of the body. The Right is composed of royalists and imperialists devoted to the interests of the various pretenders to the French throne. These anti-republicans are elected most often in rural districts through the influence of the aristocracy and clergy. These groups at one time vowed open hostility to the Republic; but as France became more republican in sentiment, and fewer monarchist Deputies were elected, the members of the Right dropped the name royalist and chose to call themselves Conservatives or Nationalists. An important offshoot of the royalists is a group which calls itself "The

Party of Liberal and Popular Action," composed of Catholics who are loyal to the Republic, which they desire to see the special protector of the Church and of the poor.

The Moderates

Next to them sit the Moderate Republicans, sometimes called "Progressives," representing the interests of the wealthy middle class who desire to keep the Republic as conservative as possible. They favor protection of the interests of peasant proprietors and are opposed to social legislation in favor of the working class and to attacks upon the rights of property. It is to the ideas of Thiers that the Moderates have looked for inspiration.

The Radicals

By far the most numerous group of the Left are the Radicals, who own Gambetta as their intellectual father. Uncompromising hostility to the Catholic Church, or anti-clericalism, is their leading principle; hence they have been the chief advocates of the separation of Church and State and of secular public education. The bulk of the bourgeoisie, as well as many of the intellectuals, are supporters of the Radicals, whose influence on the history of the Third Republic has been very great.

The Socialist Radicals

Farther to the left sit the Socialist Radicals, who are in complete accord with the Radicals on the Church question, and, in addition, demand social legislation in favor of the working class, such as old-age pensions, workingmen's compensation, social insurance, and the protection of women and children in industry. The recent experiments of the Republic in the field of social reform are almost entirely due to this group.[1]

The Socialists

At the extreme left sit the Socialists, elected mainly by the working class and advocating, like the Socialists of other countries, the establishment of a coöperative commonwealth. Socialism was slow to make headway under the Third Republic, partly because of the discredit cast upon it by the Commune and partly because of the numerous factional quarrels among its advocates. It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that a well-defined socialist party made its appearance through the founding, in 1904, of the Unified Socialist Party, which quickly attracted considerable support among the French voters.[1]

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[1] See pp. 264 ff.

POLITICAL HISTORY (1879–96)

Resurrection of France

In spite of the great losses suffered during the Franco-Prussian War in life, property, and through business disturbance, in spite of the humiliating defeat, in spite of bitter political and religious dissensions, France rapidly recovered her old-time vigor. Indeed, the national resurrection of France after 1870 is one of the amazing chapters in the history of modern times. Europe, and particularly Germany, was astonished to see the nation that but yesterday was discredited, defeated, and dismembered, rise to her feet, bind up her wounds, and spring again to the fore. Once the Republic was firmly established, the country was able to see more clearly the path toward recovery and to follow it more firmly.

National defense

Business enterprise was greatly encouraged, and the successful expositions of 1878 and 1889 were striking manifestations of France's economic prosperity.[2] A magnificent series of fortresses was erected along the German frontier, notably at Verdun and at Belfort, to protect the country against invasion. The army was provided with the latest equipment and organized along the most modern lines. In 1889 active military service was reduced from five to three years, but fewer exemptions were allowed. The proposals made by French diplomats for an alliance with Russia as a counterbalance to the Triple Alliance finally proved successful and, in 1895, the Dual Alliance of France and Russia was definitely formed.[3]

Colonial expansion

To balance the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, France decided on a policy of colonial expansion regardless of expense and began the acquisition of a colonial empire in Africa. In the reign of Louis Philippe the conquest of Algeria had already begun, and during the Second Empire the Senegal Valley had been annexed. In 1881 the Republic, under the leadership of Jules Ferry, acquired Tunis; later, in 1895, the large island of Madagascar was made a protectorate of France. In Asia the Second Empire had assumed control of Cochin-China and Cambodia, and the Republic at this time acquired Anam and Tonkin.[1]

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[1] For further description of French socialism, see pp. 591 ff.

[2] For a description of the economic development of France under the Third Republic, see pp. 244 ff.

[3] See p. 687.

A national system of education founded

"It was the schoolmaster who triumphed at Sedan" was the common view in France in explanation of the defeat of 1870. The superiority of the Prussians was assigned to the fact that their national system of popular education had almost completely abolished illiteracy and so gave the mass of people a conscious and intelligent interest in the welfare of their country. Popular education was then in a sad way in France; schools were few and poorly equipped, hence illiteracy was common, especially in the rural districts. If democracy was to succeed, argued the Republicans, all Frenchmen must be educated to appreciate it, and then universal suffrage, "the master of us all," will favor progressive ideas and not become the means of reaction as under the Second Empire. The name most identified with educational reform in France is that of Jules Ferry, a vigorous and bold disciple of Gambetta, who was in the Ministry almost continuously from 1879 to 1885. As Minister of Education and as Prime Minister, Ferry was an ardent advocate of a national system of popular education along secular lines. He was ably seconded by Ferdinand Buisson, the well-known French educator, and by Paul Bert, a vehement anti-clerical Republican. An attack was made by the Government on Catholic influence in the schools. The Falloux Law was virtually abrogated by restoring the prescriptive right of the University to grant degrees, and by suppressing the "letter of obedience" as a certificate to teach.[2] A law, passed in 1886, forbade a member of any religious order to teach in the public schools, but a delay of ten years was allowed for a readjustment.

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[1] See p. 660.

[2] See p. 155.

Only lay teachers having a government diploma could now be appointed as teachers. Civic and moral instruction was substituted for religious, and the right of the parish priest to supervise the schools in his parish was withdrawn. The Ferry Laws of 1881–82 established for the first time a comprehensive system of national education by requiring that it be compulsory, free, and secular. Normal schools for the training of teachers and secondary education for women, long neglected, were now greatly encouraged. Large sums[1] were freely appropriated by the Government for the cause of popular education. Illiteracy disappeared rapidly, so that to-day it is practically non-existent. The creation of a national system of popular education is a great and enduring achievement of the Third Republic and gave its author, Ferry, his surest title to fame.

The decorations scandal

Several political scandals took place which cast great discredit on the Republic and on the parliamentary system generally. It was discovered that a son-in-law of President Grévy was using his influence for the purpose of trafficking in the bestowal of decorations, especially in the greatly sought-for Legion of Honor. The President, although himself innocent, was forced to resign (1887), and Sadi Carnot, a descendant of the famous "organizer of victory" during the Revolution, was elected his successor.

The Panama scandal

Far more serious was the Panama scandal. A company had been organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps to pierce the Isthmus of Panama, in which many Frenchmen had invested their hard-earned savings. In 1888 the company went bankrupt, and a judicial investigation disclosed doubtful financial transactions in which officials high in the public service were implicated. Members of Parliament had been subsidized through presents of shares of stock and through payment of campaign expenses in return for government favors. Even Cabinet Ministers were implicated in this "Republican scandal," as it was termed by the monarchists, who charged that the Republic was in control of "Panamaists," or "grafters." The exposure drove several prominent politicians into private life and some to suicide; it was also responsible for a revival of royalism.

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[1] In 1870 the education budget was $4,800,000, which rose in 1910 to $56,200,000.

A great deal of discontent was also aroused by the peaceful policies of the Third Republic. Its opponents charged France with being recreant to the *revanche*, or national vengeance on Germany for the defeat of 1870. The *revanche* idea became a sort of cult among some elements; and patriotic societies were organized to keep alive the bitter memories of the Franco-Prussian War and to spread a propaganda of hostility to Germany. On every possible occasion great demonstrations would take place around the statue erected to the Alsatian city of Strassburg in the Place de la Concorde, a great public square in Paris.

Revival of the *revanche*

Before long a man appeared who became the leading exponent of discontent with the Republic. He was General Boulanger, a handsome, dashing soldier who made a brilliant figure riding on his black charger. Boulanger was made Minister of War in 1886. He became very popular with the army by constantly appealing to chauvinistic sentiments and by improving conditions for the soldiers. He entered politics and was repeatedly elected to the Chamber by enormous majorities. At every opportunity he would present himself to the voters, at by-elections, on second ballotings, and in several constituencies at the same time; in the year 1888 he was elected six times. The system of *scrutin de liste*,[1] then in vogue, gave him an excellent opportunity to test his popularity, as his followers in an entire *département* could concentrate on supporting him; this, in a way, constituted a plebiscite of the *département*. What Boulanger definitely wanted was never made quite clear. In a general way he demanded a revision of the constitution in favor of a popularly elected president with great powers. This was the Republic of 1848 all over again, and the Republicans feared that, if such a change were

General Boulanger

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[1] See p. 235.

made, it would be followed by another *coup d'état* by this new "man on horseback." Boulanger managed to attract an enormous following and his popularity was unbounded. Whenever he appeared in the streets crowds would follow him about, cheering enthusiastically and demanding that he be put at the head of affairs.

Collapse of the Boulanger movement

It soon became evident that the General was merely a tool in the hands of those that were hostile to the Republic. His campaign was liberally financed by royalists and ably managed; popular journalists, among them Rochefort, became his champions. In the face of this new danger to the Republic there took place, once more as in the days of MacMahon, a "Republican concentration"; the various factions ceased their quarrels and united to defend the Government against its enemies. Boulanger was suddenly summoned for trial before the Senate, charged with conspiring against the State. Had he been a man of the caliber of the great Napoleon, or even of Louis Napoleon, he might have succeeded in overturning the Republic by open defiance. But he was a vain and empty show. His audacity vanished quickly, and he fled the country ingloriously. He soon committed suicide. The entire Boulanger movement suddenly and completely collapsed. It resulted, however, in the abolition of the *scrutin de liste* and the reëstablishment of single-member districts. The general election of 1889 was a great blow to the royalists, who lost about one half of their representatives in the Chamber. The Republic was safe once more.

Growth of radicalism

But a new type of discontent, revolutionary radicalism, was rapidly growing, as shown by the increase in the number of Socialist voters and in violent deeds by anarchists. In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated by an anarchist. As his successor the National Assembly chose Casimir-Périer, who astonished every one by resigning within six months. In 1895 Félix Faure was elected President.

Economic Progress

The industrial advance of the Third Republic has been most notable[1] in spite of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine with its important textile centers and its rich iron deposits.[2] France remains, however, largely an agricultural country; her industries are mainly in luxuries bought for their artistic qualities, such as millinery, laces, silks, gloves, perfumes, tapestries, automobiles, and delicate porcelain. And it is highly improbable that she will ever become an economic rival of great industrial nations like England, Germany, or the United States, because of her limited resources in coal and iron. The mining regions are located entirely in the northeastern part of the country, and the loss of this region would mean that France would be hopelessly crippled industrially and consequently sink to a low rank among modern nations.

French industries

Although the output of coal has greatly increased since 1870,[3] France has to import fully one third of what she needs in order to have sufficient fuel. In the production of iron and steel[4] she has advanced to the fourth rank among nations, coming after the United States, Germany, and England. The production of steel was greatly facilitated by the invention of the Thomas process, which made the *département* of Meurthe-et-Moselle one of the chief steel-producing regions of the world. In the great steel works at Le Creusot, France possesses an important rival to that of the Krupps in Germany.

Coal and iron

The silk industry is as distinctly French as the cotton industry is English. Lately, however, there has been a marked depression in this notable French industry owing to the destruction of the silkworms by disease and to the increasing competition of Italy; Milan has succeeded Lyons as the silk capital of Europe.

Silk

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[1] In 1871 the total horse-power of engines used in industry was 316,000; in 1907 it was 2,474,000.

[2] See p. 300.

[3] The production of coal and lignite in 1871 was about 14,600,000 tons; in 1912 it was 45,500,000 tons.

[4] In 1871 the iron output was 2,000,000 tons; in 1912 it was 21,000,000 tons.

Wine

A most important factor in the economic life of France is the production of wines, liqueurs, and brandies. The vine, which once spread over the greater part of France, is now almost entirely confined to the South, where large areas are given over to its cultivation. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, this highly lucrative industry was almost ruined by the spread of a vine disease, the phylloxera, which caused the production of wine to sink to one third of what it had been in previous years.[1] To combat this evil, strong efforts were made by the wine-growers, many of whom were now reduced to penury; American vine stock was grafted upon the native French, and scientific cures discovered by the great scientist, Pasteur, were applied. Through these efforts the industry began slowly to improve, but it has not recovered its former prosperity.[2] Another attack on the wine industry came in the form of competition of adulterated wines which were manufactured to be sold at low prices.

Transportation

Transport facilities under the Republic were greatly improved and extended.[3] An important step toward the nationalization of the railways was taken in 1909 when the entire Western Railway system (about thirty-seven hundred miles) was taken over by the Government. It was expected that by about 1950 or 1960, when the charters of the other companies will have expired, all the French railways will be under government ownership and operation. French shipping has been slow in developing in spite of government subsidies.[4] The merchant marine of France is very small as compared with that of England or Germany and is largely engaged in Mediterranean and coast trade. The only marked increase has been in the tonnage of steam vessels, which, in 1872, was only twelve per cent of the entire tonnage, but which rose to sixty per cent in 1908.

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[1] In 1875 the wine product of France amounted to 2,214,000,000 gallons; in 1895 it had sunk to about 737,000,000 gallons.

[2] In 1912 the wine production was about 1,306,448,000 gallons.

[3] In 1911 there were 31,056 miles of railway, which was more than three times as much as in 1870.

[4] In 1872 the merchant marine amounted to 1,089,000 tons and in 1908 it amounted to only 1,453,000 tons.

The new tariff

In the Treaty of Frankfort Germany imposed upon France "a most favored nation clause," according to which each was to give to the other all the tariff privileges that she gave to the most favored nation. This clause was denounced in France as an "industrial Sedan," for it was regarded as an effort by Germany to restrict French foreign trade. In 1890 the Chamber of Deputies refused to renew this arrangement and prepared to revise completely the tariff system. A new tariff law was passed in 1892, which abandoned the free-trade policy inaugurated by Napoleon III and established high protective duties on industrial and agricultural products. The new law also gave the French Government freedom to follow any tariff policy that it chose toward any country, by providing for maximum and minimum duties to be applied at its discretion. The foreign trade of France has been steadily increasing,[1] the imports being generally somewhat in excess of the exports. France sells expensive wares to foreign nations and in return buys cheap commodities, largely such raw materials as wool, cotton, and coal. Her trade is principally with Great Britain, the United States, and Germany.

Finance

Of prime importance for the welfare of the country are the banking institutions which invest the savings of millions of thrifty Frenchmen in industrial enterprises and governmental loans, abroad as well as at home. More than once has the "woolen stocking" of the French peasant played a great rôle in international affairs; it was largely responsible for the quick payment of the indemnity to Germany and for the enormous loans to the Russian Government in order to secure the latter as an ally.[2] France is the banker of the world and the land of financial stability, as there is little or no speculation of the "sky-rocketing" type. Investments are made generally in business enterprises that are soundly organized and amply protected from failure. The French banks are the channels through which the surplus capital of the country finds an outlet; they are carefully supervised and controlled by the Government in order to safeguard the savings of the people. A favorite form of French investment at home is in government bonds, or *rentes;* many a peasant, small shopkeeper, or laborer possesses a *rente*, of which he is very proud. This form of popular finance has been encouraged by the Republic for the reason that it gives millions of citizens an economic interest in the stability of the existing Government, and so helps to discourage both revolution and reaction.

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[1] In 1912 the total foreign trade, exclusive of precious metals, was valued at about $3,723,000,000, which was three times as much as that in 1870.

[2] In 1908 French investments in foreign securities were estimated at about seven and a half billions of dollars.

Peasant proprietorship

As has already been stated, France is still largely an agricultural country; fully one half of the population depends upon the soil for its livelihood. France is the land of the small peasant proprietor in contrast to Great Britain, the home of the great landowner. But she is not quite the agricultural paradise that has been so often painted by enthusiastic foreigners. While it is perfectly true that the overwhelming majority of the agricultural population are proprietors of their lands, the farms that they own are very small; by far the greater portion of the arable land is in the hands of those who in France are considered large proprietors. Frequently large estates are cultivated according to a curious system called *métayage:* the owner of the land provides the buildings, animals, and the machinery, and the peasant, the labor, both sharing the product.

Backwardness of French agriculture

In spite of hard labor, rigid economy, and the natural fertility of the French soil, the peasant finds it difficult to live from his little farm. There has grown up a kind of proletarian proprietor who is often only too happy to sell his farm and to crowd into the city. The French peasant is backward in his methods of farming; he has been slow to introduce scientific methods, and in many places the scythe, sickle, and flail are still used instead of modern agricultural machinery.

It is the universal opinion in France that the small proprietor is the backbone of the nation's economic life and that his ruin would spell the ruin of the country. As France cannot expect to become highly industrialized, great concern has been felt for the condition of the peasants. Farmers' coöperative societies have been formed, and scientific agriculture has been encouraged in every way. Provision was made by the laws of 1908 and 1910 for government loans to small landowners at low interest rates in order to encourage them to enlarge and to improve their holdings.

The law of equal inheritance

The law of inheritance, established by the French Revolution, compels the equal division of the land among the heirs, and has been partly responsible for the division of the land into farms too small to provide an adequate living for a family. To avoid this, some of the heirs frequently sell their holdings to the others or take as their share the movable property of the estate. In order to prevent the continued partition of the holdings, a movement has been started in favor of "liberty of bequest," but it has not progressed very far, as the French fear that it might lead to primogeniture[1] and the return of aristocracy. To protect the peasant against his own mistakes, a law was passed in 1909 which limited the right of seizure and of public sale of small farms by those who have financial claims upon them.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

Condemnation of Captain Dreyfus

Toward the end of the nineteenth century occurred the famous Dreyfus Affair which, for ten years, convulsed France and attracted the liveliest attention the world over. In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus, a captain of artillery attached to the General Staff, was arrested on the charge of having betrayed his country by selling important military secrets. The court-martial, composed of his fellow officers, found him guilty and sentenced him to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. As a warning to all other traitors, the culprit was publicly and dramatically degraded. He was marched into the courtyard of the military school in Paris, the stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword was broken, and he was marched out branded as a degraded, despised traitor. Throughout this dramatic scene Captain Dreyfus passionately asserted his innocence and his love for France; but no attention was paid to him. He was sent to Devil's Island, a penal settlement near French Guiana in South America, where he was to serve his life sentence in the fearful heat of the tropics. Although the trial had been conducted in great secrecy and with unusual harshness, the judgment met with universal approval in France. Treason has been universally considered as the lowest depth of moral turpitude, to be severely punished. And for an officer of the army to betray his country!

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[1] The right of the eldest son to inherit the entire landed estate of the father.

Anti-Semitism

There was another element in the situation. Dreyfus was an Alsatian Jew whose family had left Alsace after the Franco-Prussian War in order to live in France. For some years an anti-Semitic feeling had been developing, the reason for which may be traced to the fact that several Jewish bankers had been implicated in the Panama scandal, and to the current belief that the Jews formed an international financial clique which was working in the interests of Germany and to the detriment of France. A vigorous anti-Semitic propaganda was launched by an able journalist named Édouard Drumont, who secured a large popular following through his paper *La Libre Parole* (*Free Speech*). Drumont constantly repeated the charge that the Republic was being dominated by Jewish capitalists who secretly controlled the politicians through corrupt means, and so dictated the policies of France. Prejudice against Dreyfus because he was a Jew helped materially to confirm the already popular opinion that he had been justly condemned.

Colonel Picquart

The trial and condemnation of Dreyfus had almost disappeared from public view when the case was unexpectedly and dramatically reopened in 1896. Colonel Picquart, a rising young officer, had been appointed Chief of the Intelligence Bureau, the department of the army in which military secrets are guarded. There he found the *bordereau*, a document containing the list of military secrets which, it was charged, had been sold to the enemy and which, the judges declared, was in the handwriting of Dreyfus. Although it was without date, address, or signature, this paper had been the most important evidence presented against the condemned man. Colonel Picquart had himself believed in the guilt of Dreyfus, but, on examining the *bordereau*, he came to the conclusion that it was not in the handwriting of the latter, but in that of Major Esterhazy, an officer well known in the army as a dissolute spendthrift. He naturally imparted this discovery to his superiors, General Boisdeffre, Chief of the General Staff, and General Billot, Minister of War, to whom he communicated his conviction that Dreyfus was the victim of a judicial error and that Esterhazy was the real culprit. Colonel Picquart was then told by his superiors that Dreyfus was guilty, even if Esterhazy also was, because the *bordereau* had been supported by the additional evidence of a secret *dossier*, another mysterious document known only to the judges of the trial; and he was implored to drop the matter, as a revival of the case would reflect "on the honor of the army." Picquart now became thoroughly convinced that Dreyfus was the victim, not of a judicial error, but of a military conspiracy, and he began an agitation for a revision of the case. He found himself suddenly removed from the position of Chief of the Intelligence Department, and transferred to a military station in Tunis. In his place was appointed Colonel Henry, an officer high in the confidence of the General Staff.

The Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfusards

By this time great interest in the case was aroused in France. The element of mystery, the possible innocence of one condemned to so cruel a punishment, the fear of foreign complications, all led the sensitive French to take sides either for or against the prisoner on Devil's Island. The overwhelming majority of the people were anti-Dreyfusards, and they denounced the Dreyfusards as enemies of their country and as vilifiers of the army whose honor they continually invoked. Since the introduction of military conscription, the army had become more popular than ever; it was to be the means some day of wiping out the stain of 1870 through a victorious war with Germany. Naturally enough it became the object of passionate devotion and unreasoning confidence. To question its verdict, "for the sake of a Jew accused of treason," seemed to many Frenchmen the height of anti-patriotism.

Royalists oppose Dreyfus

Before long, the Affair entered politics. A new party, called the Nationalists, was organized by the anti-Dreyfusards. It attracted elements that greatly disquieted the Republicans. It was noticed that monarchists, clericals, former followers of Boulanger, and reactionaries of various types became vociferous champions "of the honor of the army" and flocked to the standard of the Nationalists. The Church, too, took an active part on the side of the anti-Dreyfusards. A daily paper, *La Croix* (*The Cross*), published by an order of monks, led in the attack on Dreyfus and on the Jews generally.

Intellectuals and Socialists favor Dreyfus

On the side of Dreyfus was a small minority consisting mainly of intellectuals, writers, professors, and artists. They believed he was innocent and that his conviction was a stain on their country; they also believed that the revival of militarism, which was taking place, would lead to the path of royalism and reaction, and that the Republic, in order to save itself, must vindicate Dreyfus by revising the case. Other Dreyfusard champions were the Socialists, who at first refused to interest themselves in the Affair, regarding it merely as "a squabble among the bourgeoisie"; but later, under the leadership of Jean Jaurès, they became the most doughty defenders of the condemned captain and materially aided in bringing about his vindication.

Scheurer-Kestner champions cause of Dreyfus

Dreyfus came of a wealthy and influential family, who devoted all their energy and means in a zealous propaganda to rehabilitate him. Bernard Lazare, a French Jew and friend of the family, set himself to the task of unraveling the mystery, and he became the leading opponent of the General Staff in the struggle over the intricacies of the case. By far the leading figure among the Dreyfusards was Colonel Picquart, whose burning zeal for justice, daring courage, and exact knowledge of the situation made a profound impression on his fellow countrymen, and caused many seriously to doubt the guilt of Dreyfus. The only Dreyfusard member of Parliament was the Vice-President of the Senate, Scheurer-Kestner, a former Alsatian and a man universally respected and admired. He had become convinced of the innocence of the Captain after a careful study of the case, and he requested that the prisoner be given a new trial. In reply Prime Minister Méline declared that a reconsideration of the case would not be entertained because it was *une chose jugée* (a closed incident), and refused to grant the request. President Faure, as well as the Prime Minister, was known to be against Dreyfus.

Trial of Major Esterhazy

The culmination of the triumph of the anti-Dreyfusards was the exoneration of Major Esterhazy, accused by Colonel Picquart of being the true author of the *bordereau*. He was tried by a military court and unanimously acquitted, receiving an enthusiastic ovation as he left the courtroom. Picquart was then seized and imprisoned. Following his acquittal the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution condemning the Dreyfus agitators for conducting "an odious campaign" which was distracting the country.

Zola

On January 13, 1898, a new champion of the condemned captain appeared in the person of the famous novelist, Émile Zola. On that day he wrote an open letter, entitled *J'accuse*, to the President of the Republic, which was published in the Parisian journal, *L'Aurore*. Zola boldly charged Generals Mercier, Gonse, and Boisdeffre and their tools in the army with being in league with forgers and conspirators; he accused the Dreyfus judges with deliberately and knowingly condemning an innocent man; and he denounced their verdict as "a crime of high treason against humanity." Zola's letter was a bombshell thrown into the ranks of the anti-Dreyfusards and caused a tremendous sensation; for this he was prosecuted by the

Government on the charge of defamation. The trial of the novelist attracted so much attention that, for a time, the Zola Affair threatened to obscure the Dreyfus Affair. He was found guilty and given the maximum penalty of one year's imprisonment, but he fled from France to avoid the sentence.

Cavaignac

In the elections of 1898 for the Chamber, very few Dreyfusards were elected. Godfrey Cavaignac, a leading Nationalist and violent anti-Dreyfusard, was made Minister of War in the newly constituted Brisson Ministry. This Cabinet now proposed to settle the Dreyfus controversy once for all. In a carefully prepared address, Cavaignac announced that he had examined all the documents relating to the case, and that, even omitting the much discussed *bordereau*, Dreyfus had been justly condemned, for his guilt rested on three other documents which he named. So convincing was the speech of the Minister of War that the Chamber voted its *affichage*,[1] in order that all France might read it and also be convinced. The Dreyfus case was once more "closed."

Confession of Colonel Henry

But the more it was closed, the more it was opened. Immediately Colonel Picquart came forward and caused another commotion by declaring that two of the three documents cited by the Minister of War bore no relation to the case, and that the third was a forgery. He offered to prove his statement and was promptly arrested. Shortly afterwards the public was greatly disturbed by the suicide of Colonel Henry, after he had made a confession that in the interest of his country he had forged the document referred to by Picquart. The country was again startled by the news that Esterhazy had confessed to being the author of the *bordereau* and had fled to England. The anti-Dreyfusards defended themselves by saying that the guilt of Esterhazy did not prove the innocence of Dreyfus.

But a suspicion was growing among the French people that they were being duped by the leaders of the army in order to shield forgers and conspirators. The year 1899 marked the turning of the tide in favor of Dreyfus. President Faure died suddenly and mysteriously, and the new President, Émile Loubet, was known to favor a revision of the case. A new Ministry was formed by Waldeck-Rousseau, which determined to get at the bottom of the whole affair. The supreme court of France, the *Cour de Cassation*, ordered a new trial for Dreyfus, and the prisoner of Devil's Island was brought back to France. At Rennes, a town in Brittany, he again faced a court of military judges who were bitterly hostile to him and who were determined to find him guilty under all circumstances. At the second trial the judges were almost as unfair as at the first, for they admitted evidence against the prisoner and excluded evidence favorable to him. He was again found guilty of treason, but this time, under "extenuating circumstances," and he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, from which the five years spent on Devil's Island were to be deducted. But the sentence was not executed, for President Loubet pardoned the prisoner.

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[1] It is the custom of the French Parliament to have notable speeches posted on all public bulletin boards in the country.

Dreyfus's second trial

This decision, however, satisfied neither side. Dreyfus declared that as he was entirely innocent he did not wish to be pardoned, for a pardon carried with it the stigma of guilt. What he demanded was complete exoneration. The anti-Dreyfusards were in a rage. They denounced the Government as a dishonor to France and as having sold out to the Jews. President Loubet was publicly insulted and even physical violence was offered him. Street riots between the two factions were of common occurrence, but quiet was restored in 1900 by a grant of amnesty to all those implicated in the Affair, whether on one side or the other. In 1906 the *Cour de Cassation* revised the case itself, and the complete exoneration of Dreyfus was the result. He was declared wholly innocent of any act of treason, for the evidence against him was proved to consist of rank forgeries and outrageous lies. Esterhazy was found guilty of being the author of the *bordereau*. As in popular novels,

Exoneration of Dreyfus

all the heroes were rewarded and all the villains were punished. Dreyfus was restored to the army and promoted in rank. In the very courtyard where he had once been degraded, he was now given the decoration of the Legion of Honor. Colonel Picquart became a General and later Minister of War. Zola having died before the Affair was completely closed, his remains were buried with great pomp in the Pantheon, the Westminster Abbey of France. The honor of the French army was vindicated by the degradation or dismissal of the officers concerned in the conspiracy against Dreyfus.

Importance of the Dreyfus case

Superficially the Dreyfus case had the appearance of a detective story on a national scale, but it really marked an important epoch in the history of the Third Republic. Although the latter was brought into existence mainly through the efforts of the radical Gambetta, it had been governed in the spirit of the conservative Thiers. Only when attacked, as in the Boulanger affair, did the Republic defend itself; otherwise it made no aggressive move against the royalists, as did the First Republic of the Revolution. In foreign affairs the Republic pursued a cautious and defensive policy, sometimes at the price of national humiliation, for it feared a victory almost as much as a defeat. A disastrous war would surely bring to an end the Third Republic as it had the Second Empire; a victorious war might bring to the fore another "man on horseback" to plot against its welfare. Because of this peaceful policy the royalists denounced republicanism as cowardly and as false to the idea of the *revanche*.

The royalists and the army

Royalism had rapidly declined since 1879. Royalist members of Parliament were steadily diminishing in number, and royalist officials were being gradually eliminated from the administration. Only one institution, and that the most popular one, the army, upon whose support all classes of Frenchmen were united, was still royalist. This was largely due to the fact that most of the higher officers came from conservative classes and had received their early education under conservative influences. Officers known to be Republicans were discriminated against by their superiors; promotion was denied them; and they were assigned to onerous duties. In the army, therefore, lay the one hope of the royalists, for they believed that at a propitious moment it would overthrow the Third Republic as it had the First and Second.

The Republican *bloc*

This situation was clearly revealed by the Dreyfus Affair, and all Republican factions united to wage war against royalism. A coalition, known as the *bloc*, was formed in the Chamber, composed of all types of Republicans, Moderate, Radical, and Socialist, which pledged itself to support the "Cabinet of Republican Defense," organized in 1899 by Premier Waldeck-Rousseau. For the first time a Socialist, Alexandre Millerand, was included in the Ministry. The Cabinet declared its readiness "to defend energetically republican institutions," and "to put an end to all agitations the object of which, it is easily seen, is against the system of government consecrated by universal suffrage." A noteworthy group of new statesmen arose to face the situation, Waldeck-Rousseau, Aristide Briand, Georges Clémenceau, René Viviani, and Émile Combes. The policies of the *bloc*, which may be summed up as anti-clericalism and social reform, have been the policies of successive ministries down to the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

The republicanization of the army

The revision of the Dreyfus case by the civil *Cour de Cassation* and the quashing of the verdicts of two military tribunals plainly showed the supremacy of the civil over the military power in France. The army was compelled humbly to acknowledge its subordinate position in the Republic, in which militarism could have no place. A policy of ruthless republicanization was now determined upon. Through a system of spying, which, however, was not long tolerated, officers discovered to be royalists were cashiered or discriminated against, and favors were shown to Republicans only.

Suppression of the Congregations

The Church and the Revolution

Whenever a republic was established in France, the relations between Church and State immediately became strained. The Church always felt that a monarchy, whether royal or imperial, would be a friendly protector, and that a republic would be a bitter enemy. Neither the Republicans nor the Catholics had ever forgotten the French Revolution, which had made so violent an attack upon the Church; the former, inspired by the ideals of the Revolution, were anti-clerical; and the latter, fearing persecution, were hostile to the establishment of a republic. "Between the Revolution and the Church," declared Count Albert de Mun, a prominent French Catholic, "there can be no compromise. Either the Church will destroy the Revolution or the Revolution will destroy the Church. We recognize the incompatibility, but we do not fear the dilemma, for the victor is preordained. The Church will demolish the Revolution, because the Church cannot ever fail."

Hostility of the Republic to the Church

The Church, therefore, regarded the establishment of the Third Republic with a great deal of anxiety and, as we have already seen, she was very active in opposing its formation. From that time on, the Republicans, inspired by Gambetta's warning cry, watched the Church with an unfriendly eye. Although the Concordat of 1801 was maintained, there was much friction, and it was often violated in spirit by both sides. The annual stipend of about a million and a half dollars was not only too small for the needs of the Church, but it was always voted most grudgingly. The Ministry of Public Worship, generally occupied by an anti-clerical, administered the affairs of the Church in a manner quite unfriendly to the latter. Nevertheless, both parties favored the maintenance of the Concordat. The Church favored it because of the great prestige which it gave her and because of the assured, if small, income from the State. Many of the anti-clericals favored its maintenance because they feared "an armed church in an unarmed state"; by this they meant to imply that the Church would be far more dangerous to the Republic if freed from supervision and control by the State, as provided for by the Concordat.

Pope Leo recognizes the Republic

In 1892 Pope Leo XIII issued an encyclical criticizing the royalist tendencies of the French Catholics. He declared that the Church was committed to no particular form of government, and that, as good citizens, they should accept the Republic which was now firmly established; for by doing so they could exert a mollifying influence on the anti-clericalism of the Government. A section of the French Catholics followed the Pope's advice and "rallied" to the Republic, forming a group in the Chamber known as the *Ralliés;* but the general feeling in the Church continued hostile to the Republic to such an extent that "Catholic" and "royalist" became synonymous terms in France.

The Congregations

In the Dreyfus Affair, many of the Catholic clergy joined the royalists in opposing a revision of the case. As we have seen, the Republicans saw in the attitude of the royalists and their clerical allies another attempt on the life of the Republic; and this, more than anything else, disposed them to regard Dreyfus as innocent. The Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, backed by the Republican *bloc* in the Chamber, determined on an aggressive anti-clerical policy. The first attack was made on the Congregations, or orders of monks and nuns. These societies had so grown in numbers and in wealth since the establishment of the Concordat that in 1900 they had nearly 190,000 members and property valued at about a quarter of a billion dollars. It had been the custom for a Congregation to seek "authorization," or incorporation, from the Government, which gave it the special protection of an incorporated body. But on the establishment of the Third Republic many orders, fearing to give detailed information of their affairs to their enemies in the Government, decided to remain "unauthorized," but under the protection of the general laws. By 1900 the number of unauthorized religious communities greatly outnumbered the authorized ones.

Waldeck-Rousseau and the Church

Most of the Congregations were engaged in the work of education and charity. By the side of the "lay schools" established by Jules Ferry, there had grown up a rival school system conducted by the orders. This greatly disturbed the Republicans, who charged that the religious schools were permeated by royalist ideals. Premier Waldeck-Rousseau delivered an address in 1900 which profoundly influenced public opinion throughout France. He declared that the moral unity of the people was being undermined by rival systems of education which artificially perpetuated the divisions caused by the French Revolution: one system, that of the public schools, was inspired by the democratic and republican ideals of the Revolution, and the other, that of the Church, was inspired by those of the *ancien régime*. This, he declared, was an intolerable situation, and the State, in order to secure its supremacy, was bound to establish a more rational and efficient relation between itself and the Church by limiting the rights of religious associations.

The Associations Law

In 1901 Parliament passed the famous Associations Law. This act required all Congregations to be authorized: those unauthorized must immediately apply to Parliament for this legal sanction on the pain of being dissolved and their property seized by the Government for charitable purposes. The enforcement of the law was entrusted to Émile Combes, who in 1902 succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau as Prime Minister. Premier Combes, an extreme anti-clerical, was determined to apply the law in the most drastic manner possible. The orders that refused to seek authorization were immediately suppressed; those that did apply were refused authorization on the ground that they were not socially necessary and were also suppressed. Comparatively few were permitted to continue their corporate existence. Thousands of monks and nuns found themselves homeless and destitute, for the Government had seized their convents and their property. Many of them left France for other lands and many more took up ordinary occupations to gain a livelihood. The Government was especially severe on the teaching orders, because the Combes Ministry was firmly convinced that the educational system of the Congregations was incompatible with the ideals of the French Republic. In 1904 a new law forbade all teaching of whatever grade by Congregations, whether authorized or not; and it ordered all schools conducted by them closed within ten years, or "secularized," that is, put under lay management. Thousands of schools conducted by the orders were then summarily closed by the Government.

Separation of Church and State

Separation becomes the program of the Left

The stringent laws directed against the Congregations were only preliminary to what is undoubtedly the most important act of the Third Republic, the law separating Church and State. Many Republicans had become converted to the doctrine of *l'état laïc*, or the absolute independence of the State of all religious dogmas and its supremacy over every religious denomination; hence separation was the leading feature of the program of nearly every Republican group. The elections of 1902 resulted in a large and solid anti-clerical majority in the Chamber, and Premier Combes felt that the time was now ripe for the momentous step.

Pope Pius X protests against visit of President Loubet to the King of Italy

What was needed was an "incident" to bring the question immediately to the fore. This came in 1904, when President Loubet went to Rome to visit Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy. Pope Pius X, who had succeeded Leo XIII in 1903, sent an indignant letter of protest to all the Catholic Powers, denouncing President Loubet's visit as "a grave offense to the Sovereign Pontiff," because he was honoring a dynasty which had despoiled the Papacy of its domains. The French became indignant at what they regarded as an unwarrantable interference with their conduct of foreign affairs by the Pope and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val. A diplomatic crisis arose between France and the Vatican. The French Ambassador to the Papal See was recalled and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from Paris.

Separation of Church and State

The opportunity for separating Church and State had now arrived and the anti-clericals were quick to take advantage of it. A drastic separation law was framed by Premier Combes which, however, failed to pass. He resigned and was succeeded by Premier Rouvier. A committee had been appointed by the Chamber in 1903 to study the question and to draft a law. This committee now submitted a bill which was largely the work of Aristide Briand, a brilliant young Socialist politician who was rapidly rising in French politics. It was the intention of Briand to make the separation as mild as possible; with this in view he introduced several features which permitted a gradual dissolution of the bonds which united Church and State. The bill became law on December 9, 1905.

Provisions of the law

This famous law abrogated the Concordat, and declared that the Republic neither recognizes nor subsidizes any form of religion; the budget for the hitherto established faiths, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Jewish,[1] was suppressed. Salaries were no longer to be paid to the clergy by the State, but a graded system of state pensions for priests already in the service was adopted, based upon age, length of service, and character of the parish. The Church was to govern itself absolutely without interference by the State. An inventory was to be made by the latter of all church property, which was then to be turned over to *associations cultuelles*, or societies, for public worship, to be formed by the Church in accordance with her principles. The amount of property these bodies could receive as gifts and legacies was limited by law because, as Briand declared, the living, not the dead, should support the Church. Seminaries, bishops' residences, and parsonages were to be left in their present hands, for a limited period, after which they were to be taken over by the Government. Church buildings were placed in charge of the *associations cultuelles;* but if these were not formed by a certain date, the law made the buildings the property of the State.

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[1] Prior to the passage of the law of 1905, other faiths besides the Catholic were subsidized by the Government.

Briand's views

The Separation Law was the occasion of a series of debates in which the general principles of religious polity, as well as the law itself, were brilliantly discussed, as befitted the seriousness of a procedure which proposed to terminate a system that had flourished in France for many centuries. Briand was the leading protagonist of the law. He declared himself opposed to extreme anti-clericalism which sought to frame a measure calculated to disrupt the Church. In his opinion the "State must remain neutral in respect to all religions. It is not anti-religious, for it has not the right to be so; it is merely non-religious"; therefore, it was his intention not to persecute the Catholics, but to carry out the law in a friendly and conciliatory spirit.

Count de Mun's views

The opposition was led by Count de Mun, who declared that he was opposed to the separation of Church and State in general and especially in France, where the history, customs, and temperament of the people favored the ideal of a union between civil and religious life; that the law was inspired by a hatred of Christianity and of religion and constituted a revolution in the moral order which would inevitably lead to the destruction of Christianity in France; that what was really needed was a revision of the Concordat by France and the Papacy; and that, by ignoring the Pope, the former had acted in the spirit of reprisal and not in that of amity; and he denounced the Separation Law as an act of spoliation and persecution.

Pope refuses to accept the law

In an encyclical issued in 1906, Pope Pius X declared the law null and void and enjoined upon French Catholics not to obey it. Separation of Church and State he characterized as "a very pernicious error"; he denounced especially the *associations cultuelles*, which, he said, could not be formed "without violating sacred rights upon which the very life of the Church depended," as associations of laymen were to intrude upon the duties of a divinely ordained hierarchy. The chief difficulty in putting the Separation Law into operation arose out of the provision for these associations, for the Catholics, out of loyalty to the Pope, refused to organize them. A convention of French bishops voted to accept a form of association which would give the hierarchy full control over their membership and activities in order to prevent possible schisms. To this the Government readily assented; and in some places societies were organized by the Catholics to exercise the functions assigned by the law to the *associations cultuelles.*

The inventories

The taking of inventories resulted in a series of disturbances. Crowds of faithful Catholics collected around the churches to prevent the officials from entering them; and in several instances troops had to be called out to disperse them. When the time allotted for the formation of the *associations cultuelles* expired, it was feared that a religious war would break out. But nothing happened. The Government did not carry out the threat of closing the churches contained in the law, for it was very desirous to avoid anything which looked like persecution. Briand, now Minister of Public Worship, found a way out of the difficulty by ruling that religious services could be held under the general law providing for liberty of assembly.

Amendment of 1907

In the elections of 1906 the anti-clerical *bloc* increased its majority. During the Ministry of Georges Clémenceau an important amendment was made to the Separation Law (1907) which provided that churches could be kept open for public worship by contracts between priests and the local authorities; but that church property, not claimed by *associations cultuelles*, should be taken by the Government and given to charitable institutions. The Clémenceau Ministry carried out this law vigorously.

Separation an accomplished fact

In spite of the great difficulties involved in the question and the bitter controversies aroused by it, the separation of Church and State became an accomplished fact. Both parties gradually accommodated themselves to the new situation, which gave freedom in religion to the Church and freedom in politics to the State.

Social Legislation

France has lagged behind Germany and Great Britain in the matter of social legislation for the working classes, largely for the reason that her industrial population being small, the problem was not so acute as in highly industrialized England and Germany. In the struggles of the Republic with the royalists and with the Catholic Church, the workingman's problems were forgotten. The Republican politicians were too much in their element fighting conspiring royalists and their priestly sympathizers to care very much about social questions.

The Socialists support the *bloc*

Until the Dreyfus Affair the Third Republic had no definite policy toward social reform. The crisis in the life of the Republic which that celebrated case revealed brought home to the Republicans the necessity of allying themselves with the Socialists, who were rapidly growing in numbers, and who were led by brilliant men, like Jean Jaurès and Alexandre Millerand. The French middle classes were now no longer obsessed by the fear of a social revolution which had haunted their imagination all through the nineteenth century. The suppression of the Commune having shown the futility of a Parisian uprising under modern conditions, the workingman was now welcomed as an ally because he was no longer feared as a foe. The Socialists had played a great part during the anxious days of the Dreyfus Affair, and they helped materially to fashion the new France which arose as a result of this momentous event. Jaurès was a potent figure in the *bloc*, and, as we have already seen, Millerand became a member of the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, which pledged the Republic "not to limit itself to mere political reforms, but to embark on the new path of social reform."

Factory legislation

Some progress had already been made in factory legislation. The law of 1892 limited the labor of minors in factories to ten hours a day, of women to eleven hours, and of men to twelve. A law passed in 1900 reduced the number of hours for all operatives to eleven; in

1906, as a result of an agitation for an eight-hour day, the number was still further reduced to ten. Labor in the mines was forbidden to women and children. In 1906 the Sunday Rest Law was passed, entitling every employee to one day's rest during the week, either on Sunday or on some other day. These reforms were largely the result of the activity of Millerand, who greatly influenced his associates in the Cabinet.

Working-men's Compensation Law

The first Workingmen's Compensation Law was passed in 1898. It provided for a regular scale of compensation for injuries received by workingmen in the course of their employment, the amount to be paid being in proportion to the seriousness of the injury.

No social insurance laws

Little progress has been made by France in the matter of sickness and unemployment insurance. The Government has so far been content to make annual contributions to societies having these objects in view.

Old-Age Pensions

Following the great Revolution, many attempts were made to establish a system of old-age pensions. No serious step, however, was taken in that direction by any Government save by that of the Third Republic. In 1893 Parliament appointed a commission to study the subject and to recommend legislation. A heated controversy arose over the question whether the pensioning system should be compulsory or voluntary. The Senate several times defeated bills sent up by the Chamber because they contained compulsory clauses. A law was passed in 1905 which granted a pension of about one dollar a week to indigent men over seventy years of age, the money for this purpose to be raised by local taxation supplemented by government subsidies. Later the age limit was reduced to sixty-five. This system resembled old-fashioned outdoor relief, and it was for that reason considered unsatisfactory. However, it prepared the way for the Old-Age Pensions Law of 1910 which, for the first time, established compulsory insurance for wage-earners earning less than five hundred and eighty dollars a year. The employer and the employee each contribute about $1.75 (nine francs) a year, and the State contributes $11.60 (sixty francs) annually for each insured person. The employee is entitled to a pension of about eighty-five dollars a year at the age of sixty. In case of death before this age, the surviving dependents are granted a death benefit.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In no other European country has the labor movement been so closely identified with the political and philosophic tendencies of the day as in France. In the checkered history of French trade unionism may be read the story of political progress and reaction, of bold theories and revolutionary violence, which characterize the France of the nineteenth century.

Law of Coalitions

The Law of Coalitions, passed in 1791, abolished all guilds and corporations, and established freedom of contract for individuals only. It forbade even the gathering of men of the same trade to discuss their common affairs lest they should organize as a group; the "general good" alone was considered a legitimate object for organized effort. Trade unions were, of course, considered illegal, and to strike was criminal. This law was made more severe by Napoleon, and it continued in force till the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the coming of the Industrial Revolution made trade unions inevitable; and, as they could not organize openly, they did so secretly, or in the disguise of benevolent societies. These unions sometimes fomented violent strikes and were often closely allied with the secret political societies that were instrumental in bringing about the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

Concessions to trade unions by Napoleon III

The Revolution of 1848 had a deep influence on the labor movement, of which it was partly the outcome. Louis Blanc's theories[1] greatly influenced many of the Parisian workingmen, and they began to organize themselves. Although the uprising during the "June days" was suppressed, the idea of a general insurrection of labor, or a social revolution, took firm root in France. During the early days of the Second Empire, trade unions were not allowed to be formed save under exceptional conditions. Workingmen were carefully watched through the *livret*, first instituted by Napoleon I, whereby each laborer was obliged to have a booklet, analogous to a passport, in which his comings and goings were noted by his employer. But the industrial progress during the reign of Napoleon III brought into existence many trade unions, or *syndicats*. In 1864 an important concession to the spirit of the times was made in a law permitting strikes, and in 1868 workingmen were allowed to organize. Both these concessions were made with many restrictions, as the law of 1791 was not repealed; what was granted was legal toleration, not legal freedom. But most of the unions were suppressed as a result of the Commune, which discredited all working-class activity, whether moderate or revolutionary.

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[1] See p. 100.

Legal recognition of the unions

After 1870 the French labor movement took an entirely new start. At first it showed distinctly moderate tendencies, deprecating strikes and seeking to better the condition of the workers by coöperating with the employers. Finally, in 1884, came the law which is the "charter of liberties" of organized labor in France. It gave workingmen freedom to organize and to strike, and thereby, for the first time, nullified the law of 1791. This reform was largely the work of Waldeck-Rousseau, then a young disciple of Gambetta, who recognized the importance of the new "social strata." Trade unionism took on new life and began to spread rapidly.[1] A federation of unions was formed, which held annual congresses to discuss general policies for labor. The various Socialist factions tried to capture the unions for their own particular propagandas, with the result that internal dissension almost disrupted the labor movement, and generated among French workingmen a feeling of distrust for politics and politicians. In 1895 the federation of unions reorganized under the name

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[1] During the decade 1884–94, the number of unions increased from 68 to 2178.

"General Confederation of Labor" (*Confédération Générale du Travail*), and declared itself independent "of all political schools"; it proposed "to unite the workingmen in the economic field with the bonds of class solidarity to struggle for their integral emancipation."

The Bourses

Another interesting development of the labor movement appeared in the formation of the *Bourses du Travail*, or Chambers of Labor. The first *Bourse* was organized in Paris in 1887 with the object of providing a central meeting-place for workingmen, where they could come together to discuss their affairs. Similar establishments were founded in other French cities, frequently with the aid of subsidies from the municipalities. Under the energetic direction of Fernand Pelloutier, these *Bourses* became centers of agitation, from which strikes were organized and directed. As a consequence the municipalities withdrew their support and closed some of them on the charge of fomenting rebellion. A national congress was held by the *Bourses* in 1892, when they organized themselves into a federation which, ten years later (1902), joined the General Confederation of Labor.

Syndicalism

The union of these two federations marks the true beginning of this famous organization, as its present constitution and its revolutionary activity followed closely upon the amalgamation. A new form of organization was adopted. The Confederation was to be the directing head, not of *craft* unions, such as bricklayers, carpenters, motormen, or shirt-makers, but of *industrial* unions, such as the building trades, railwaymen, the clothing trades, or the miners. The various craft unions were therefore organized into industrial federations, each with a common policy. Strikes were hereafter to be general, not local: for example, should the carpenters have a grievance, the entire building trade was to support them in a general industrial strike. This new labor policy, which became known as syndicalism,[1] was soon felt as a most potent force in the affairs of labor, although fewer than half of the organized workingmen in France were identified with the Confederation. Syndicalism was intensely anti-militarist; it charged the army with being the tool of the capitalists and began a propaganda among the soldiers against military service.

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[1] For a discussion of syndicalism see pp. 599 ff.

General strikes

The Confederation began to agitate vigorously for an eight-hour law for all labor. It fixed May 1, 1906, as the day for beginning a general strike, when all labor was to cease in order to compel the Government to pass such a law. When the day arrived there was almost a panic throughout France, and the troops were called out to preserve order. Many stopped work on that day, but the strike was not sufficiently general to prove successful. In March, 1907, nearly all of Paris was plunged in darkness because of a strike of the gas and electric workers organized by the Confederation; but this, too, proved a failure, although it showed the new spirit animating the French working class. Most disturbing to the Government was the unionizing of public employees, such as teachers and postmen, who desired to be affiliated with the Confederation. In 1909 a strike of those employed in the public postal and telegraph offices took place, which failed mainly because many persons not in the service volunteered to take the places of the strikers. To prevent a similar occurrence the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution denying the right of public employees to strike and forbidding them to join the Confederation.

The great railway strike of 1910

Syndicalism's greatest effort was in the railway strike in October, 1910, one of the most remarkable labor demonstrations in recent times. A demand made by the railwaymen for an increase in wages was refused. In a short time almost the entire railway system of France was completely tied up. Food supplies for the cities were not delivered, inflicting great privation. Rioting followed and much railway property was destroyed. The strikers had expected that Premier Briand, who in his radical days had himself once advocated the general strike, would sympathize with them. But they were soon undeceived. Briand discovered a new way of breaking a strike. The leaders were arrested, and the Government issued mobilization orders to the strikers, calling them "to the colors," that is, to perform military duty as reservists. They were then ordered to protect the trains which, as soldiers, they could not refuse to do; in other words, the strikers became their own strike-breakers. The strike immediately collapsed. Briand was bitterly denounced by the workingmen as a tyrant and dictator. He defended himself by saying that the Government was faced by what was virtually rebellion, and that it had a right, therefore, to use all means, illegal ones if necessary, to protect itself from destruction.

POLITICAL HISTORY (1906–14)

Proportional representation

In 1906 Armand Fallières was elected President and Georges Clémenceau became Prime Minister. A new issue now appeared, proportional representation, which began to displace clericalism as the leading question in French politics. Ever since Gambetta's day the *scrutin d'arrondissement*[1] had been the subject of attack. The disregard of minorities, and sometimes of majorities, which this system fostered, made the Chamber not a truly representative assembly, but a "broken mirror" in which France could not recognize her own image, as Gambetta once declared. Moreover, the attendant evils of district representation are intensified in a highly centralized country like France, where the great influence of the National Government is used in favor of the candidate supporting its policies; as a consequence there is a system of veiled "official candidates" which has aroused much criticism. Once elected, the Deputy becomes the dispenser of governmental favors, such as appointments, promotions, licenses to sell matches and tobacco which are state monopolies, decorations, furloughs from the army, and the like. Only too frequently has the welfare of the country been forgotten by the representatives in their desire to please their districts which, in the expressive phrase of Briand, became "stagnant pools" infesting with moral disease the political life of the people. It was hoped that proportional representation, by enlarging the unit of representation, would enlarge the political vision of the electors, who would then be inspired more by national issues than by local politics.[1] The Briand Ministry had put electoral reform at the head of its program, and the elections of 1910 were fought on this issue. An overwhelming majority of those elected to the Chamber favored reform. In 1912 the Chamber passed a bill which proposed to establish a modified system of proportional representation, but the measure was defeated in the Senate, the opponents being chiefly Radicals, like Clémenceau and Combes, who feared that their party would be ousted from power in case the new electoral system was adopted.

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[1] See p. 235.

Population in France stationary

In 1913 Raymond Poincaré was elected President of France. He is a man of distinguished character and abilities whose political affiliations are with the Moderate Republicans. Poincaré's election was largely due to his vigorous championship of a three-years' military service law. In 1905 service in the army had been reduced from three to two years. When, as a result of the Morocco and Balkan crises,[2] Germany had decided to increase her army, France determined to do likewise. But the question for France was how to do it, in view of the fact that her population was considerably smaller than that of Germany. During the early part of the nineteenth century France was second only to Russia in the size of her population; but since 1870 the birth-rate has fallen considerably and, as a result, the French population is almost stationary.[3] Were it not for the low death-rate and foreign immigration,[4] the population of France might actually be decreasing. This situation has an important military bearing.

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[1] For a fuller discussion of proportional representation, see p. 492.

[2] See p. 708.

[3] In 1872 France contained about 36,000,000 inhabitants; in 1914 about 40,000,000.

[4] In 1914 there were about a million foreigners domiciled in France, mainly Italians and Belgians.

Where was France to get the men in case of a war with Germany, whose increase in population during two months equaled that of France for five years? "Every year we win a battle against France," once remarked General von Moltke.

There was only one possible way of increasing the size of the French army, namely, to increase the term of military service. In 1913 a bill, raising the term of active service from two to three years, was introduced in the Chamber, where it encountered most vehement opposition, chiefly from the Socialists. Jaurès delivered many eloquent speeches against the measure which, he declared, would put an intolerable burden on the people. He denounced the system of universal conscription generally, and he proposed the substitution of a popular militia for a standing army. Enormous mass meetings were organized by socialists and syndicalists to protest against three years' service; and several times troops had to be called out to disperse the mobs. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the bill finally passed Parliament. Under the new law, the French army was increased by about 170,000 men.

The three-years' service law

The elections of 1914 were significant only because the representation of the Unified Socialists rose to one hundred and one seats in the Chamber, a gain of twenty-six seats, largely at the expense of the Moderates. A new Cabinet was formed under a Socialist Radical, René Viviani, pledged to a number of reforms, including proportional representation, an income tax, and social insurance. But the European storm clouds were gathering. Suddenly in 1914 the World War broke out, and France was stricken with the agony of invasion.

The elections of 1914

Literature under the Republic

French literature after 1870 no longer displayed either the joyous buoyancy of the Romanticists or the calm strength of the Realists. A spirit of pessimism took possession of the new generation, on whose minds the national disaster of 1870 exercised a profound impression. To the world at that time the defeat of

Pessimistic tone of French writers

France by Germany was a sign of the decadence of the former, and so widespread was this idea that even many Frenchmen believed it. They became skeptical about the destiny of their country and of humanity in general, and there developed what was called the *fin-de-siècle* spirit, a nonchalant attitude of mind characteristic of France at the end of the nineteenth century.

Maupassant

The last of the great Realists was Guy de Maupassant (1850–93), who is universally regarded as the greatest of short-story writers. Like his master, Flaubert, Maupassant strove to describe life with impersonal objectiveness; he, too, believed that the true function of the author is to stand passively by and allow his characters to act out their destiny. His stories depict human vices and virtues, as seen in all classes of people and under all circumstances. Whether the happening be frightful or idyllic, it is described in a detached, almost anonymous way, so that an impression of absolute truthfulness is made on the reader. Each story is its own comment. Although Maupassant seems to have no point of view about life, there runs through his work a hidden vein of melancholy, which might be interpreted to mean that, though life is really not worth living, it is interesting: so let us live.

Zola

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Realism passed to its logical but brutal conclusion, Naturalism. To get "slices of life" the novelists of the new school worked among miners and fishermen, became patients in hospitals, or had themselves incarcerated in prisons in order to reproduce in literature these experiences, which they considered "human documents." The most distinguished champion of Naturalism was Émile Zola (1840–1903), whose novels created a world-wide sensation. In imitation of Balzac, Zola set himself the task of writing a *comédie humaine* of the middle nineteenth century. This is the famous Rougon-Macquart series of twenty novels describing "the natural and social history of a family living under the Second Empire," which deals largely with the problem of degenerate heredity. The most famous books in this series are *Germinal* (*The Sprouting*), *La Terre* (*The Countryside*), and *La Débâcle* (*The Downfall*). Zola reveled in unsavory descriptions of human degradation, for he regarded man as a "human beast" who could be moved only through his appetites. Yet, for all his brutal pessimism, he showed himself a hero during the Dreyfus Affair, when, at great personal risk, he jumped into the fray in order to right the wrong done to an innocent man.[1] Zola, unlike Flaubert, had no talent for analyzing the individual soul, but he greatly excelled in describing angry mobs, street crowds, tumultuous assemblies, and other great masses of men in action.

Daudet

The charming and pathetic tales of Alphonse Daudet (1840–97) have endeared him to millions of readers. Daudet combined pathos with humor to a degree attained only by Charles Dickens, with whom he has been frequently compared. He was "ever trembling into tears or flashing into laughter." His most famous work is *Les Aventures prodigieuses de Tartarin de Tarascon* (*The Extraordinary Adventures of Tartarin of Tarascon*). Tartarin is a typical *méridional*, or South Frenchman, whose exuberant imagination gives the neighborhood the general impression that he is a mighty hunter. Forced at last by public opinion to give proof of his skill, Tartarin leaves for Algiers on a lion-hunting expedition. There he shoots a tame old lion that used to be taken about the streets by a beggar, and returns home in triumph with his trophy. The story is told with great charm and humor and the character of the hero is described in inimitable style.

Verlaine

A unique figure in French literature is Paul Verlaine (1844–96), whose poems have a quality quite original in French poetry. Verlaine excels in what he calls *nuance*, delicate suggestion in tuneful words. He plays upon words as upon a musical instrument, and his verse has been well described as "disembodied song," so lute-like is its quality and so haunting its charm. Verlaine had no message to give to mankind nor did he care to have any; he merely wished to express the mood of exquisite melancholy that frequently possessed him. Curiously enough, this great artist lived much of his life as a Parisian vagabond, now in the café, now in the gutter, now in the hospital. He was a child that fell into evil ways and remained a child.

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[1] See p. 252.

Anatole France

By far the greatest figure in contemporary French literature is Jacques Anatole Thibault (1844–), better known by his pseudonym, Anatole France. No writer has more truly expressed the mood of the generation that grew up under the Third Republic than this author. After the death of Renan, his master, he was the leading spirit among the intellectual *élite* of France. A true French man-of-letters, France is learned, witty, and wise; and the style of his disquisitions, generally in the form of loosely constructed novels, is almost perfect in charm and lucidity. Satire, varying from irony so delicate as to be almost indistinguishable from serious intent, to mockery that is blasphemous and sometimes, though rarely, coarse, pervades nearly all his writing.

France has chosen to aim the shafts of his wit at two subjects, early Christianity and modern society. His attacks on Christian ideals take the form of stories of the early martyrs of the Faith, in which this twentieth-century Voltaire satirizes their motives and their practices. "Bibles of modern unbelief," a critic has called his books. His attacks upon the modern social system are most biting. The following excerpt is characteristic of his manner: "The State, with its majestic sense of justice and equality, forbids the rich man as well as the poor man from sleeping in the streets." In a description of primitive life, which pretends to explain the origin of our cherished institutions, we read: "See how this furious man is biting the nose of his fallen adversary; and how the other one is pounding the head of a woman with a big stone!" cries one character to another. "I see them well enough. Do not interfere! They are creating law; they are founding property; they are establishing the principles of civilization, the basis of society and the foundation of the State," is the reply. Yet this master of irony is full of marked tenderness for the very persons and things that he so mercilessly satirizes; for he believes that it is the spirit of folly, not of evil, which is responsible for our incongruous world.

One of France's most famous books is *Île des Pengouins* (*Penguin Island*), a satirical history of his country, in which religion, morals, art, and politics are dissected with an elegant dagger held in the delicate but firm fingers of this aristocrat of letters. The story has a pessimistic conclusion: the world is plunged into a universal cataclysm of revolution and the wearisome process of rebuilding civilization has to begin anew. His *Histoire Contemporaine*, a series of four novels, is a penetrating study of French political and ecclesiastical life. The hero, M. Bergeret, is a professor at a provincial university who loves his books, his daughter, and his dog. He is "irreligious, but with decency and good taste." It is M. Bergeret's wont to go among his neighbors, like Socrates, and start discussions; and, like the latter, he is regarded as a nuisance and suffers in consequence.

Anatole France lived for many years in "an ivory tower," a literary recluse interested only in art and literature; but the Dreyfus Affair aroused him to action; and, like Zola, he became an ardent champion of the condemned Captain. He has since that time continued actively interested in public affairs as a reformer and a Socialist.

CHAPTER XII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Government and Parties

THE outward structure of the political system of Germany resembles that of the United States. It is a federal union composed of twenty-five states enjoying large powers of local autonomy and united for common purposes under a central government at Berlin. Centralization in Germany has been carried to a larger extent than in the United States. Matters like the regulation of corporations, social insurance, industrial relations, and civil and criminal codes, which in America are left largely to the states, are in Germany subjects of imperial legislation. But the federal laws are administered by state officials under the supervision of the central Government. The German federal union is an Empire and the office of Emperor is hereditary in the Hohenzollern dynasty, the rulers of Prussia. Each state, except the three city republics and Alsace-Lorraine, is likewise a monarchy; the local ruler is known as king, grand duke, duke, or prince, generally according to the size of his domain,[1] which he governs in conjunction with a local legislature.

Germany a federal union

The most powerful governing body in the Empire is the Bundesrat, which is composed of sixty-one members, distributed among the states roughly according to size. Prussia has seventeen; Bavaria, six; Saxony and Württemberg, four each; Alsace-Lorraine, Baden, and Hesse, three each; Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Bruns-

The Bundesrat

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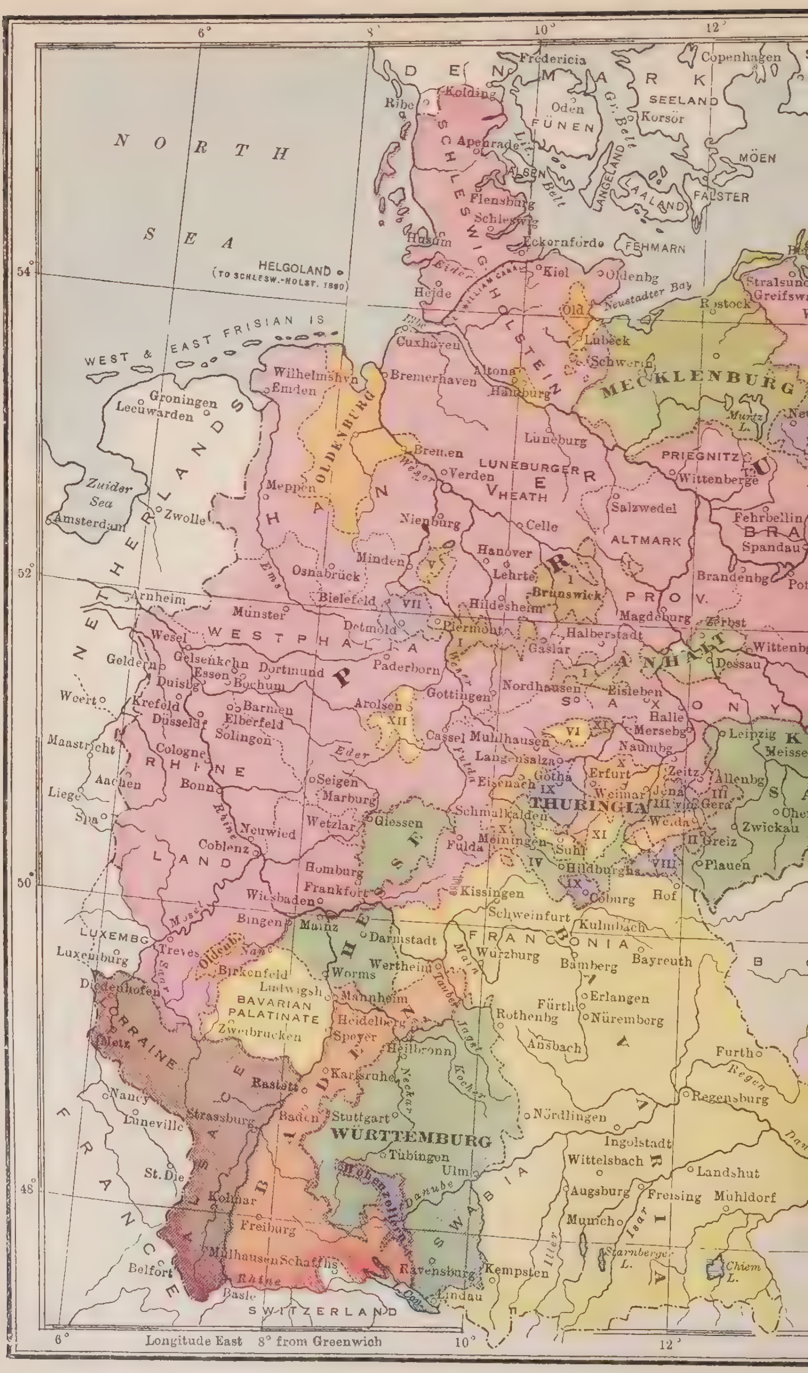
[1] There are four kingdoms, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg; six grand duchies, Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Oldenburg; five duchies, Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Anhalt; seven principalities, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen and Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (united in 1916), Waldeck, Reuss Elder Line, Reuss Younger Line, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Lippe; three free cities, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg; and the Imperial territory, Alsace-Lorraine.

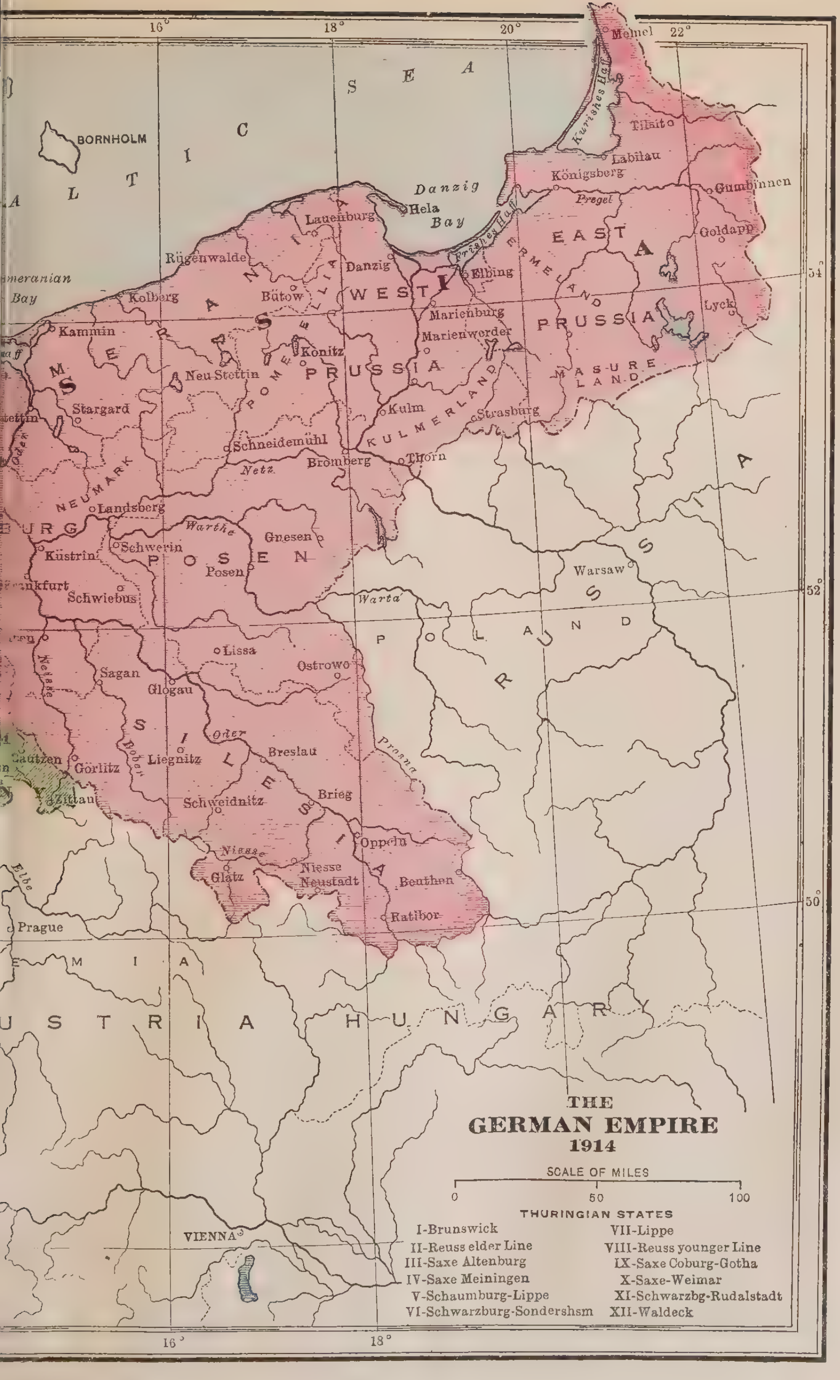
wick, two each; and the rest one member each. A delegation to the Bundesrat votes as a unit and under instructions from the monarch whom it represents and by whose grace it holds office. As a legislature the Bundesrat initiates all legislation of importance and issues ordinances which have the force of law. Its consent is necessary for the acceptance of treaties, for the dissolution of the Reichstag, and for the appointment of many of the federal officials. It acts as judge in quarrels between the states, and has the power to coerce any refractory state that refuses to obey its decision. An amendment to the Imperial Constitution must first be submitted to the Reichstag, or popular House, where a majority vote is required for its passage; then it goes to the Bundesrat, where fourteen votes are sufficient to defeat it. This gives the Bundesrat power to prevent changes in the fundamental laws of the Empire.

The Reichstag

The distinctively democratic feature of the Government of Germany is the Reichstag, which is composed of three hundred and ninety-seven members elected by universal suffrage. Its term of office is five years, unless it is sooner dissolved by the Emperor with the consent of the Bundesrat. According to the Constitution, all imperial laws must have the consent of the Reichstag. But it does not follow from this that it is a legislature like the American House of Representatives, which shapes laws to its liking, or a parliament like the British House of Commons, on which the Government of the day is dependent for its existence. Although the Reichstag has the right to initiate legislation, it seldom does so; that is left to the Bundesrat. A bill adopted by the Bundesrat is sent to the Reichstag, which may accept, amend, or reject it. If accepted, the bill becomes law; if it is amended, it goes back to the Bundesrat, which has the first and last word in all legislation; if the bill fails, the *status quo* continues, for the Cabinet does not resign as in England under similar circumstances. As the power of the Reichstag is negative, its chief function is that of criticism, which it very freely exercises, often to the embarrassment of the Government. It serves chiefly as



6°
8°
10°
12°
54°
52°
50°
48°
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
(TO SCHLESW.-HOLST. 1890)
WEST & EAST FRISIAN IS.
DENMARK
Fredericia
Copenhagen
Kolding
Ribe
Oden
FÜNEN
SEELAND
Korsör
Gr. Belt
Lt. Belt
LANGELAND
LAALAND
FALSTER
MÖEN
ALSEN
Apenrade
Flensburg
Schleswig
Husum
Eckernförde
FEHMARN
SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN
Kiel
Oldenbg
Neustadter Bay
Eider
KAISER WILLIAM CANAL
Heide
Elbe
Old.
Lübeck
Schwerin
Stralsund
Greifswald
Rostock
MECKLENBURG
Cuxhaven
Bremerhaven
Altona
Hamburg
Wilhelmshvn
Emden
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Zuider Sea
Amsterdam
Zwolle
NETHERLANDS
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Weser
Verden
LUNEBURGER HEATH
Luneburg
HANOVER
Meppen
Nienburg
Celle
Salzwedel
ALTMARK
PRIEGNITZ
Wittenberge
Murtz L.
Fehrbellin
Spandau
BRA
Ems
Osnabrück
Minden
V
Hanover
Lehrte
Brunswick
I
Brandenbg
Magdeburg
Zerbst
PROV.
Arnheim
Münster
Bielefeld
VII
Detmold
Hildesheim
Pyrmont
Halberstadt
Goslar
ANHALT
Dessau
Wittenbg
WESTPHALIA
Wesel
Geldern
Gelsenkchn
Essen
Dortmund
Bochum
Duisbg
Paderborn
Weser
Weert
Krefeld
Düsseldf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Solingen
Arolsen
XII
Gottingen
Nordhausen
Eisleben
SAXONY
Halle
Merseburg
Leipzig
Meissen
Maastricht
Cologne
RHINE LAND
Bonn
Aachen
Liege
Spa
Eder
Cassel
Fulda
Muhlhausen
VI
XI
Naumbg
Langensalza
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Zeitz
Altenbg
Eisenach
IX
THURINGIA
III
VIII
Gera
Seigen
Marburg
Wetzlar
Giessen
HESSE
Schmalkalden
X
XI
Weida
Greiz
Zwickau
Neuwied
Coblenz
Rhine
Fulda
Meiningen
Suhl
IV
Hildburgh.
VIII
Plauen
Homburg
Frankfort
Wiesbaden
Kissingen
IX
Coburg
Hof
Mosel
Bingen
Mainz
Darmstadt
Schweinfurt
Kulmbach
LUXEMBG
Luxemburg
Treves
Oldenb.
Nahe
Saar
Birkenfeld
Worms
Wertheim
FRANCONIA
Wurzburg
Main
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Diedenhofen
Ludwigsh
Mannheim
BAVARIAN PALATINATE
Heidelberg
Speyer
Zweibrucken
Tauber
Jagst
Rothenbg
Fürth
Erlangen
Nüremberg
Ansbach
BAVARIA
LORRAINE
Metz
Rastatt
Karlsruhe
Heilbronn
Neckar
Kocher
Furtho
Regen
Regensburg
Nancy
Luneville
Strassburg
Baden
Stuttgart
WÜRTTEMBURG
Nördlingen
Ingolstadt
Danube
FRANCE
ALSACE
Tübingen
Ulm
Wittelsbach
Landshut
St. Die
Hohenzollern
Danube
SWABIA
Augsburg
Freising
Muhldorf
BADEN
Kolmar
Freiburg
Iller
Isar
Munich
Mulhausen
Schaffhs
Ravensburg
Kempsten
Starnberger L.
Chiem L.
Belfort
Rhine
Basle
Const. L.
Lindau
SWITZERLAND
Longitude East 8° from Greenwich



THE
GERMAN EMPIRE
1914

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100

THURINGIAN STATES

I-Brunswick	VII-Lippe
II-Reuss elder Line	VIII-Reuss younger Line
III-Saxe Altenburg	IX-Saxe Coburg-Gotha
IV-Saxe Meiningen	X-Saxe-Weimar
V-Schaumburg-Lippe	XI-Schwarzbg-Rudalstadt
VI-Schwarzburg-Sondershsm	XII-Waldeck

a forum for political discussion, and constitutes the best means that the Government has of gauging public opinion.

Unfair representation in the Reichstag

Representation in the Reichstag at the present time closely approaches a "rotten-borough" system. No reapportionment has taken place since 1870, in spite of great changes in population. Berlin has grown from a city of six hundred thousand in 1870, to one of over two million inhabitants, but its representation in the Reichstag continues to be six members; whereas the rural region known as East Prussia, with a population about that of Berlin, sends a delegation of seventeen members. There are "giant" constituencies of three hundred thousand and over and "dwarf" constituencies of fifteen thousand and less. In the elections of 1912 seventy-four Conservatives were elected by about two million voters and one hundred and ten Social Democrats by four and a quarter million. As the present system gives the advantage to the rural districts, which are mainly Conservative in politics, the Government has persistently refused a reapportionment for fear that a larger representation from the cities would result in a larger number of Socialists in the Reichstag.

The Chancellor

A striking feature of the German system of government is the Chancellor, or Prime Minister, who is appointed by and is responsible to the Emperor. He therefore does not resign on an adverse vote of the Reichstag, but only when he displeases his master, the Emperor. As the mouthpiece of the latter, and as the head of the imperial administration, the Chancellor has great influence in shaping the policies of the Empire, both foreign and domestic.

The Kaiser or Emperor

The Imperial Constitution requires that the presidency of the union be vested in the King of Prussia, with the title of *Deutscher Kaiser*, or German Emperor, and that it shall always be hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern. The chief function of the Emperor is that of commander-in-chief of the army and navy, a position purely nominal in other countries, but a political reality in Germany, where the army plays a great part in the life of the nation. Through the Chancellor he influences the foreign and domestic policies of the Empire. His legislative and executive authority is, however, strictly circumscribed; he cannot directly veto bills passed by the Bundesrat and Reichstag; and he shares with the Bundesrat in the appointment of imperial officials.

Privileges of Prussia

But the real powers of the Emperor are derived from the fact that he is King of Prussia. The most distinguishing characteristic of the German Empire is the dominance of Prussia over the entire union, which is accomplished in the following ways. As we have already seen, her King is German Emperor; all proposed changes in the army, navy, or system of taxation must have Prussia's consent; the chairman of every standing committee in the Bundesrat, except the one on foreign affairs, must be a Prussian; moreover, her seventeen votes in the Bundesrat are sufficient to prevent changes in the constitution. The Fatherland was not formed by the absorption of Prussia into Germany, but by the absorption of Germany into Prussia: the part swallowed the whole.

Government of Prussia

It is therefore highly important to examine the political structure of Prussia, for in it lies the "efficient secret" of the government of the Empire. Prussia has been a constitutional state since 1850, when a parliament, the Landtag, was established by the King. But the limited power of this body, as well as the reactionary electoral system, makes the Landtag merely a veil for autocratic rule. It consists of two houses, the Herrenhaus, or House of Lords, and the Abgeordnetenhaus, or House of Representatives. The former is distinctly an aristocratic body, as its membership, numbering three hundred, is made up mainly of wealthy landed aristocrats. The latter consists of four hundred and forty-three members who are chosen by the well known three-class system. According to this system the voters of a district are divided into three groups: first, the wealthy, who pay one third of the direct taxes of the district; then, the moderately well-to-do, who pay the second third; and, finally, the mass of poor, who pay the remaining third. Each class elects by public ballot one third of the members of an electoral college which, in turn, elects the representatives for the district. As votes are not counted but weighed in the scale of property to determine their value, the electoral colleges are naturally controlled by the property-owners.[1] This three-class system, with its property qualifications, indirect election, and public voting, was deliberately designed to strangle democratic government, and even Bismarck once denounced it as "the most wretched of all electoral systems." Its unfair character was strikingly illustrated in the elections of 1908, when the Conservatives, who received about seventeen per cent of the popular vote, returned two hundred and twelve members to the Abgeordnetenhaus; the Center, who received about twenty per cent, returned one hundred and four members; and the Socialists, about twenty-four per cent, returned seven only. The conservative parties, though possessing a minority of the suffrage, are assured by this system of a perpetual majority in the popular chamber.

Power of the King in Prussia

The actual government of Prussia is in the hands of the King, who is vested by the Constitution with sovereign power. He appoints and dismisses all officials including the Cabinet, and he has an absolute veto over all legislation passed by the Landtag. He also appoints Prussia's delegation to the Bundesrat and directs its vote in that body. Although the other states of the Empire have fairly democratic constitutions, the influence of Prussia is the determining force in the government of the German people. The Emperor, as King of Prussia, is thus able indirectly to exercise the dominant control in the Empire, which proves to be, in reality, an autocratic, not a parliamentary, state.

It is rather astonishing that a people like the Germans, who have made such wonderful progress in almost every field of human endeavor, should maintain in the twentieth century a political system which had become archaic in the nineteenth. It must not be supposed that the Germans are content to be the "political kindergarten of Europe." Far from it. Time and again has public opinion shown a decided preference for democratic rule. Why, then, is the autocratic system tolerated? It must be remembered that Germany was made by "blood and iron," and that this system was riveted on her by a conservative military class. To change it peaceably is impossible without the consent of Prussia, that is, of the King and the landed aristocracy; to rise in revolt against the Government would be a quixotic proceeding, because an armed uprising, no matter how widespread, could easily be suppressed by that military machine which proved its prowess at Sadowa and Sedan, and which was able to withstand the Allies in 1914.

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[1] It is reckoned that three per cent of the Prussian voters are in the first class, ten per cent in the second, and eighty-seven per cent in the third. In some districts the first class consists of only five or six persons.

Reasons for autocracy in Germany: (1) The army

The German people are, moreover, loath to rise in revolution for fear of losing what they gained in 1870, their Fatherland. The idea has been sedulously fostered by the ruling classes that a popular uprising would give Germany's enemies an opportunity to make war upon her in order to reduce her to impotence. To protect the Fatherland a united people must stand behind a strong army, and the Government, no matter how distasteful it is, must be supported.

(2) Fear of foreign enemies

It should also be borne in mind that the Germans are very proud of their Government, and with good reason. Although domineering and even brutal at times, it is progressive, enlightened, economical, and marvelously efficient. In no other country in the world is administration to the same degree a science applied by experts as in Germany. Laws are the result of thorough study, and they are enacted with an eye to the welfare of every class in the community. The legislation of the Empire, which will be described later,[1] has been especially favorable to the common man, who has benefited from this system. "So, why revolt?" he reasons.

(3) Efficiency of the Government

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[1] See p. 296.

Finally, there exists a condition which effectively bars the way to the establishment of democracy. It will be recalled that in England the first triumph of democracy came as a result of a combination of the middle and working classes, who forced through the Reform Bill of 1832; in France a similar combination succeeded in the Revolution of 1830. History has proved that it takes two classes out of power to cope successfully with one class in power. In Germany the working classes have continually refused to combine with the middle classes against the intrenched aristocracy, on the ground that the middle classes would reap the benefit, as in England in 1832 and in France in 1830. Although the middle classes are opposed to the autocratic régime, they have consistently refused to combine with the workingmen to overthrow it, because they fear that the latter, who are largely Socialists, might endeavor to establish a socialistic republic, as was attempted in France in the Revolution of 1848 and in the Commune of 1871. Its opponents being thus divided, the autocratic system, supported by the landed aristocracy, or Junkers, has been able to maintain itself without serious difficulty.

(4) Division among its opponents

POLITICAL PARTIES

In Germany there are no political parties in the English or American sense. Instead of two powerful political organizations with leaders, platforms, conventions, and candidates, there are numerous political groups which are formed in the Reichstag, generally after elections. Candidates for office are often self-nominated or nominated by small organizations representing various political, economic, or religious interests. As no one "fraction," as a political group is termed, is ever large enough to command a majority in the Reichstag, several combine to form a *Blok*, or alliance, in order to pass laws.

The "fractions"

The many parties may be grouped into five main divisions, Conservative, Center, National Liberal, Radical, and Socialist. The Conservative Party represents primarily the landed interests, and its support comes mainly from landowners, peasants, and officials. It favors a high protective tariff on agricultural products, colonial expansion, and an ever stronger army and navy. It is bitterly opposed to any reform in the political system, some Conservatives considering it even too democratic. Although numerically small, the Conservative Party is by far the most important in Germany, because it is supported by the aristocratic Junkers, who have directed the policies of the Empire since its birth. An influential faction of the Conservatives, known as the Pan-Germans, advocate aggressive foreign policies in order to establish in the world the predominance of German influence.

The Conservatives

The Center, or Clerical Party, represents the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. It is supported chiefly by the Catholic peasants of Bavaria and the Catholic workingmen of the Rhenish provinces. The political program of this party has never been definitely formulated, but its general attitude in the Reichstag is moderate, hence the name "Center," which signifies that the group sits between the Left, or Radicals, and the Right, or Conservatives. Since the abrogation of the anti-Catholic laws passed during the *Kulturkampf*,[1] the Center has generally united with the Conservatives to support the Government, because both these parties represent essentially agricultural interests and favor conservative principles of government.

The Center

The interests of the middle classes are represented by the National Liberals and the Radicals. The former favors revision of the tariff downwards on agricultural, but not on industrial, products, and moderate political reforms, such as the abolition of the Prussian three-class system, a reapportionment of the Empire, and the restriction of church influence in education and government. It is also "national," and agrees with the Conservatives in favoring colonial expansion, an aggressive foreign policy, and a large army and navy. The leaders of

The National Liberals

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[1] See p. 290.

the National Liberals are the lords of industry, or great capitalists, who deeply resent the monopoly of influence and offices that the Junkers enjoy in the Government, and are constantly demanding equality in these respects with the latter.

The Radicals

The most advanced of all the middle-class groups is the Radical, or Progressive People's Party. It favors the complete democratization of the Government through the establishment of ministerial responsibility, reapportionment of the Empire, and a democratic electoral system for Prussia. This party is also a strong opponent of "militarism," or the influence of the army in the Government, and of "clericalism," or the influence of the churches in the Government; hence it favors the complete subordination of the military to the civil power and the separation of Church and State. In regard to the tariff, it favors free trade as maintained by England.

The Social Democrats

By far the most significant group is the Social Democratic, or Socialist Party. It is the only thoroughly organized political party in Germany, as it maintains central and local organizations that hold conventions to nominate candidates and to adopt platforms. It has a large corps of enthusiastic volunteer workers, and its regular party membership in 1914 numbered about eight hundred thousand men and women. The Social Democratic Party has become a channel for the expression of political and economic discontent; and, although most of its supporters are workingmen, many of the middle class vote with it as the best way of protesting against autocracy and militarism.[1]

THE ARMY

Universal military service

Ever since the Liberation Movement of 1814, the Prussian military ideal has been that of "a nation in arms," or of an army consisting of the whole body of able-bodied citizens. This was made possible by the system of universal military service or general conscription which, as we have seen, was first adopted by Prussia. Later, the principle was incorporated in the constitution of the German Empire, which requires military service of every citizen capable of bearing arms.

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[1] For further description of the German Socialists, see pp. 586ff.

The military system

A recruit is "called to the colors" generally at the age of twenty, although he is liable to service at seventeen. For two years he is withdrawn entirely from civil life and he spends all his time in constant training, or active service. If he joins the cavalry he is required to give three years of active service. Those who give evidence of superior education serve only one year, and form a special group in the army known as the "one-year volunteers." As the latter generally come from well-to-do families, they provide their own equipment and live at home. This group supplies many of the officers of the Landwehr. At the age of twenty-two an active soldier is put into the reserve, where he remains for five years, during which time he is called out to drill for two periods of about six weeks each. At the age of twenty-seven he passes into the Landwehr, where he remains till the age of thirty-nine. During the first five years, or the "first ban," in the Landwehr, he is occasionally called out for drill; but during the latter part, or "second ban," he performs few military duties. From the Landwehr he passes into the Landsturm, where he remains till the age of forty-five, when his military service is over. The Landsturm is not called out in case of war, but is used for garrison duty at home.

The Great General Staff

Strictly speaking there is no "German" army, as each state organizes and officers its own military force. But all the armies are subject to the supreme command of the Emperor, who, as *Bundesfeldherr*, or Commander-in-Chief of the federal forces, appoints the Great General Staff, a body of military experts that devote their entire time and energy planning campaigns, directing the movement of the armies of the Empire, and, in the words of General von Moltke, "working out all possible eventualities of war in the most minute way."

The training of recruits is most severe. Tests of endurance, discipline, and courage are constantly devised in order to bring them to the highest pitch of military efficiency. During his term of service the young German is imbued with the spirit of obedience which he carries with him into civil life; he becomes an obedient employee and a law-abiding citizen. *Pflicht*, or duty, is his watchword. He also imbibes the military spirit which exalts the profession of arms over all other professions and the military virtues over all other virtues.

Training of the soldiers

The officers of the army are practically a military caste with their own code of laws and morals. They are recruited in the main from the Junker class, and are soldiers by tradition, temperament, and training almost from childhood. The spirit of deference to the officer is marked everywhere in Germany. Civilians are considered inferior and treated as such by the officers, particularly by the younger ones, whose behavior is often haughty and overbearing. This was strikingly illustrated in the famous Zabern Affair.[1]

The officers

The influence of the army in civil affairs has been very great, and many complaints have been made by German democrats against what is termed "saber rule," or militarism. The control of the Reichstag over the army is slight. Its organization is established by the Constitution; its administration is exclusively in the hands of the Kaiser; and its budget is voted for a number of years at a time,[2] not annually, as is the case in those countries, like England, France, and the United States, where the military is under the full control of the civil power. Writing of the possibility of full parliamentary control of the army, a well known German historian, Hans Delbrück, recently declared that "whoever understands thoroughly the feelings and ideals of our corps of officers knows that such a thing is an impossibility; for this to come to pass, it would be necessary that our army experience a defeat as great as that of the French at Sedan."

Militarism

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[1] See p. 317.

[2] Between 1874 and 1893 the period was seven years; since then, five.

Bismarck as Chancellor

Unlike his great contemporary, Cavour, Bismarck lived to direct the fortunes of the political structure of which he had been the master-builder. He became the first Chancellor of the German Empire, which he ruled so long as Emperor William I reigned. Problems as momentous as those previous to unification now faced the veteran statesman, who set about solving them with his old daring and insight. Bismarck's intellectual mobility was amazing; he "grew visibly." He frequently boasted of being entirely free from "doctrinairism," by which he meant that he had no fixed ideas or principles, but suited his theories to the needs of every problem. "No theory!" was his constant rejoinder to those who wished to solve Germany's new problems according to set formulas. Bismarck was the lone realist in a land of theorists. This was strikingly illustrated by his change of attitude toward universal suffrage, which he had bitterly opposed all his life. When he was convinced by Ferdinand Lassalle, the Socialist, that to inject a popular element into the Government would mean the "moral conquest of Germany," he adopted universal suffrage for the Reichstag. In spite of his frequent and sometimes startling changes of policy, Bismarck, nevertheless, consistently pursued one aim, the welfare of Germany.

Bismarck's realism

In foreign affairs Bismarck's object was to make secure what had been gained in 1870. He declared that Germany was now "satiated," having accomplished her unity and having taken a leading position among the nations of the world. But she had earned the bitter enmity of France, which might bring another conflict. Bismarck was astonished at France's quick recovery from the crushing defeat of 1870. To weaken her internally, to attract her attention to other fields, and to isolate her in Europe were now the aims of his diplomacy. He therefore favored and secretly encouraged a republican government for France in the hope that factional quarrels would divide the

Bismarck's foreign policy

nation. He also encouraged the French to expand in Northern Africa in order to make them forget the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. But, most of all, he sought to prevent an alliance between France and Russia, for such a combination would be most dangerous to Germany, who, being geographically situated between these two nations, would find herself locked in their hostile embrace in case of war. Bismarck's plans succeeded admirably and he achieved the greatest diplomatic triumph of his career by forming the famous Triple Alliance.[1]

Methods of fostering unity

To Bismarck and his associates there was an ever-present fear that "particularism" and internationalism, so deeply embedded in the consciousness of the German people, would loosen the foundations of the new Germany. In order to make the Germans sink their localisms in the common consciousness of national unity, the Imperial Government constantly enlarged its functions. A central Imperial Bank was created to harmonize the financial operations of the various state governments; a civil and criminal code was issued establishing a common private law for the Empire; all the state railways were put under the supervision of an imperial railway board; new coins were issued, bearing on one side the effigy of the Emperor and on the other, the arms of the Empire, to be the missionaries "preaching the good news of unity."

The Catholics suspected of being anti-national

Almost from the very beginning of national unity, a great struggle began between the Empire and the Catholic Church. In spite of the fact that the Catholics had rallied to the Fatherland during the Franco-Prussian War, their whole-hearted loyalty to the new Empire was questioned because they had favored Austria during the Seven Weeks' War. In the elections of 1871 the Center, or Catholic Party, elected sixty-three members to the Reichstag. To Bismarck this was a challenge to the German Empire. Memories of the struggle between Pope and Emperor during the Middle Ages were revived, and the Pope was accused of desiring to ruin the new Empire as his predecessors had ruined the old.

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[1] See p. 685.

The Syllabus

What aggravated the situation was the attitude of Pope Pius IX toward modern ideas. In 1864 he had issued a noted encyclical, *Quanta Cura*, which was followed by the *Syllabus of Modern Errors*, both of which defended most vigorously the religious conception of society and government, and declared that the supreme authority in the world lay in the Church. Pope Pius denounced as "modern errors" liberty of conscience, civil marriage, divorce, and secular education. On December 8, 1869, there was convened in Rome a great assembly of Catholic ecclesiastics, known as the Vatican Council, which was the first general assembly of the Church since the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. It adopted the dogma known as "papal infallibility," by which is meant that when the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*, or by virtue of his apostolic authority, on matters pertaining to faith and morals, he cannot err.

Catholics *versus* liberals

These pronouncements of the Church were received by liberals throughout the world as a declaration of war against modern society, and they had the effect of greatly embittering the relations between Catholics and non-Catholics. This was particularly true in Germany, the home of the Protestant Revolution, where the differences between Catholic and Protestant engendered during the sixteenth century still lingered in some quarters. Hatred for Catholicism was very strong among the large number of free-thinkers in Germany who derived their inspiration from the French Revolution and from the philosophy of Kant.

The "May Laws"

The struggle which followed is known as the *Kulturkampf*, or the battle for civilization. It began in 1871 with an imperial law making it a penal offense for priests to attack the Government from the pulpit. In the same year another law was passed expelling the Jesuits from Germany. Then followed the famous "May Laws" (1873–75), enacted by the Prussian Landtag under the influence of Falk, the new Minister of Public Worship, making civil marriage compulsory, obliging all candidates for the priesthood to attend government schools and universities and to pass government examinations, and stopping subventions to the Church. A strict supervision was also instituted over Catholic institutions, and the civil government asserted its authority in the appointment and dismissal of priests.

Persecution of Catholics

The answer of the Pope was to declare these laws null and void, and the faithful in Germany were enjoined by him not to obey them. This interference aroused Bismarck's ire, and he determined to crush all opposition of the Church. "We shall not go to Canossa[1] either in the flesh or in the spirit," was his famous challenge. Priests who refused obedience to the "May Laws" were fined and jailed, church property was confiscated, and many churches were closed by the Government. In order to divide the Catholics, Bismarck encouraged a schism which was formed by a group calling itself the "Old Catholics," who refused to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility. The Old Catholics at one time threatened to disrupt the Church, but their adherents were few, as they numbered only about fifty thousand, the overwhelming majority of the German Catholics standing by the Pope. This "Diocletian persecution," as it was called by the Catholics, only roused them to stubborn resistance, and many willingly suffered imprisonment for conscience's sake. Many non-Catholics also opposed the "May Laws" as an attack on religious freedom, and the Liberal and Conservative Parties, which supported Bismarck in the *Kulturkampf*, were severely criticized.

Repeal of the "May Laws"

The Catholic voters found a champion in Ludwig Windthorst, an able parliamentarian and eloquent orator, who became the leader of the Center Party. Bismarck's majority of Liberals and Conservatives was beginning to vanish, as the Center in 1877 won ninety-two seats in the election for the Reichstag; so he decided to "go to Canossa." He promptly deserted his Liberal friends and began to make overtures to his erstwhile enemies. In 1878 a new Pope, Leo XIII, was elected, who was more moderate in his views than his predecessor, Pius IX. Bismarck offered terms of peace to the Church which were accepted, and a new Government coalition was formed in the Reichstag, this time of the Center and Conservative Parties. Between 1878 and 1887 nearly all the "May Laws" were repealed; those that continued in force were the anti-Jesuit and civil marriage laws.

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[1] The Italian town where, in the eleventh century, the Emperor Henry IV humiliated himself before Pope Gregory VII.

The Socialists denounced by Bismarck

If the "black international," as Catholicism was called, was considered a danger to German unity, the "red international," or socialism, was looked upon as its open and avowed enemy. The few Socialists in the Parliament of the North-German Confederation had voted against the Franco-Prussian War and had denounced the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. After 1870 the newly formed Social Democratic Party bitterly opposed the Bismarckian order and openly favored the establishment of a democratic republic. It was the internationalism of the Socialists, even more than their democracy, that aroused Bismarck's ire, and he denounced them as men "without a country" and as "enemies of the Empire." He believed that the Socialists were aiming to alienate the working class from the Fatherland, threatening the unity of the Empire as well as the social order. Bismarck, therefore, determined to crush them without mercy.

Anti-Socialist laws

The sought-for opportunity came in 1878, when two attempts were made on the life of the aged and beloved Emperor William by men who were known to be Socialists. The Reichstag passed a series of "exceptional laws" against "the publicly dangerous endeavors of Social Democracy," prohibiting the formation or existence of all associations, meetings, or publications which sought to subvert the existing system of society and government. Large powers were given to the police to be exercised against the Socialists, who were now in a state of semi-outlawry. Their meetings were prohibited and their leaders arrested on the slightest pretexts, often on the charge of *lèse majesté*. Owners of assembly halls were forbidden to rent them for Socialist meetings. Socialist publications were constantly suppressed, their funds confiscated, and their editors fined or jailed. A state of minor siege might be proclaimed in any town where Socialists were numerous and influential, so that those arrested might be tried by martial law.

Futility of these laws

For about a decade these "exceptional laws" remained in force, but Socialist agitation continued in spite of them. It was merely driven underground. Secret associations were formed that carried on a far more vigorous propaganda than heretofore. Socialist papers developed an art of communicating their ideas "between the lines" in order not to give sufficient cause for court proceedings. Branches of the Social Democratic Party would organize as bowling and singing clubs in order to avoid police interference. Conventions of the party would meet in Switzerland, where they used the freedom of speech permitted in that country to denounce the reactionary policy of Bismarck. The Socialist Party grew in spite of, or rather because of, persecution.[1] In the election of 1890 it received about a million and a half votes and captured thirty-five seats in the Reichstag. The Government saw the futility of the repressive measures, and in 1890, the year of Bismarck's retirement, the "exceptional laws" were not renewed. Once more Bismarck was beaten. And yet his scheme of constructive social legislation,[2] which was enacted during the period of Socialist persecution, produced a far-reaching effect upon the attitude of the working classes toward the Empire. There began a steady growth of a moderate sentiment among the Socialists, whose revolutionary ideas were transformed into demands for reform, and whose emphasis on internationalism grew fainter and fainter.

Germany has been the pioneer of the most modern forms of social legislation. With rare insight Bismarck discerned the true nature of industrial society and its effect upon the working classes. He regarded the policy of *laissez faire* as fraught with great danger to society and to the State, because it produced an unbridled capitalism intent upon its own interests only and a sullen working class alienated from the State which it regarded as an enemy. The great Chancellor determined to avoid such an outcome in Germany at all costs, for a healthy, contented working class was to him the surest guarantee of social peace and national power.

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[1] In one election only, that of 1881, was there a marked falling off of the Socialist vote. See p. 589.

[2] See pp. 295 ff.

Bismarck opposes *laissez faire* policies

According to Bismarck, it was the duty of a Christian State, as the sole representative of all the elements in the nation, to look after its unprotected members, "that they may not be run over and trampled under foot on the highway of life." He was not at any time, however, opposed to the interests of the employers. "I am not antagonistic to the rightful claims of capital," he declared; "I am far from wanting to flaunt a hostile flag; but I am of the opinion that the masses, too, have rights which should be considered." What was necessary, according to him, was "to add a few drops of social oil" in the recipe for the health of the State if it desired to be regarded as a friend, not as an enemy, by the lower classes. This idea is forcefully and clearly enunciated in the preamble to the Sickness Insurance Law. "That the State should interest itself to a greater degree than hitherto in those of its members who need assistance is not only a duty of humanity and Christianity . . . but an object of state-preserving policy. It should be our aim to spread the idea, particularly among the non-propertied classes, who form at once the most numerous and the least instructed part of the population, that the State is not merely a necessary but a beneficent institution. If direct benefits are secured to these classes by legislation, they will not regard the State as a contrivance for the benefit of the better classes, but as an institution serving their own needs and interests."

His reasons for social legislation

As we have already seen, the rapid growth of socialism frightened Bismarck, who saw in this revolutionary movement a danger to the united Fatherland, for the Socialists claimed to be internationalists, owing no allegiance to any particular country and therefore flouting the ideal of patriotism. He was convinced that social legislation would result in making the workingmen more contented and therefore less inclined to support revolutionary parties. "Give the workingman the right to employment as long as he has health," he once told the Reichstag, "assure him care when he is sick, and maintenance when he is old, . . . then these gentlemen [the Socialists] will sound their bird call in vain. Thronging to them will cease as soon as the workingmen realize that the Government is earnestly concerned in their welfare." The cry, raised by the middle-class Liberals, that laws for the benefit of the working classes constitute socialism, did not disturb Bismarck. "If you believe that you can frighten any one or call up specters with the word 'socialism,' you take an attitude which I have abandoned long ago," he once told an opponent.

Social legislation would make the workingmen patriotic

The reforms of Stein and Hardenberg in 1810, emancipating the peasantry by royal edict, constituted a great Prussian tradition, and the Hohenzollern family was proud of its paternalism, or its interest in the condition of the lower classes. "In Prussia," once declared Bismarck, "it is the kings, not the people, who make revolutions." Why, then, should not the Government improve the condition of the new poor man, the factory laborer, as it once had improved that of the other poor man, the peasant? Moreover, the ideal of an efficient nation would be greatly advanced by social legislation, for a healthy working class would make better soldiers, better citizens, and even better workingmen, and so advance the interests of the employers themselves as well as those of the State.

Precedent of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms

Three great social reform measures were enacted by the Imperial Government, (1) the Sickness Insurance Law of 1883, (2) the Accident Insurance Law of 1884, and (3) the Old-Age and Invalidity Law of 1889. Later, in 1911, these acts were unified in a social insur-

The social reform laws

ance code of about two thousand articles, which constitutes the most comprehensive effort yet made by any modern state for the amelioration of the lot of the working classes. The social legislation of other countries, particularly that of England, has been largely enacted upon the German model. These laws added a new luster to Bismarck's renown; he was now considered the greatest social reformer, as well as the greatest diplomat, of his age. In the Reichstag the insurance laws were supported by the Conservatives and Liberals, who took Bismarck's point of view, and sometimes by the Center, who believed that it was the duty of a Christian state to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Opposed to them were the Radicals, who believed in the doctrine of *laissez faire* and, therefore, decried the interference of the State in industrial life as "socialism"; and, curiously enough, the Socialists, who feared "the Greeks bearing gifts" to the workingman.

Sickness insurance

Sickness insurance is compulsory for all laborers whose wages are less than five hundred dollars a year. The fund from which benefits are drawn is made up of contributions by the employers and workingmen in the proportion of one third from the former to two thirds from the latter. The benefits go entirely to the workingman, who, in case of sickness, receives one half of his wages for a period of twenty-six weeks and free medical attendance including medicines. In case of death, the expense of the funeral is paid from the same source. The funds are administered by a commission composed of representatives of employers and employees. In 1913 there were about fourteen and a half million men and women insured against sickness, and they received about one hundred and seven million dollars in benefits.

Accident insurance

Accident insurance was made compulsory for nearly all workers employed in industry. The funds are made up entirely by the employers, who contribute according to the number of their employees and according to the degree of risk in their trade. The administration of the funds is in the hands of the employers, but the scale of compensation to injured workingmen is determined by law according to the degree of injury sustained by the latter in the course of their employment. This compensation begins after the injured workman has received thirteen weeks of sickness benefits. In case of death, the dependents of the worker receive an annual pension of twenty per cent of his wages. The number of those insured under this law in 1913 was about twenty-six million, and they received in benefits over fifty-one million dollars.

Old-age and invalidity insurance

Old-age and invalidity[1] insurance was made compulsory for laborers who earn less than four hundred dollars a year. This fund is made up of contributions by the employers, the workingmen, and the State, and is administered entirely by state officials. At the age of seventy,[2] the insured receives a pension, the amount of which varies according to the contributions which he has made. These pensions are small, ranging from about thirty to sixty dollars a year. In 1913 the number of those insured under this law was about sixteen and a half million, and they received in benefits about fifty-two million dollars.

Success of the insurance laws

Great objection was at first raised by employers to these insurance laws, which they considered a burden upon industry, hampering them in competing with foreign manufacturers, who then had no such burden. But the remarkable advance of German industry convinced them that social insurance, instead of being a handicap, was actually an advantage because of the increased efficiency of the workers. Now all parties in Germany heartily favor such legislation and even advocate a wide extension of the system.

Economic Progress

Germany's rise in the economic world has been as phenomenal as her rise in the political world. Even during the middle of the nineteenth century, two generations after the

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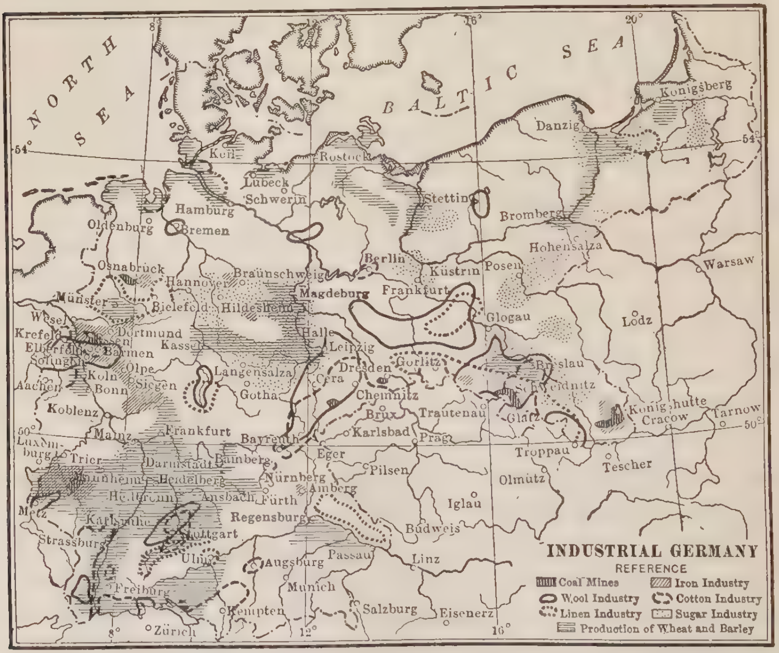
[1] By invalidity is meant total or partial incapacity to work because of disablement for any reason. An invalidity pension is given by the Government to the workingman after his twenty-six weeks of sickness benefit.

[2] In 1915 the age limit was lowered to sixty-five.

Industrial backwardness of Germany

Industrial Revolution had taken place in England, Germany was still largely a "peasant land," as only thirty per cent of her population then lived in towns of over two thousand. Few factories existed; hence there was practically no export of manufactured articles. It was a poor country, inhabited by a frugal, hardworking people devoted to agriculture and to the handicrafts. At that time the Germans were said to be unpractical, inefficient, and lacking in business enterprise, a "nation of poets and thinkers" whose empire was "in the clouds."



Hardly a country in Europe presented a less inviting field for economic development than Germany. Her soil was generally poor, her rivers shallow, her harbors few, and her deposits of coal and iron were so inferior in quality that little mining was done.[1] In order to engage in manufacturing, the raw materials had to be assembled from widely separated districts, and means of communication were inadequate;[1] moreover, the long distance to the seaboard from the manufacturing regions was a serious handicap to overseas trade.

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[1] As late as 1860 only twelve million tons of coal and half a million tons of pig iron were produced in Germany.

Industrial rise of Germany

Shortly after 1870 a startling change took place. In an incredibly short period Germany was transformed from a "peasant land" to a highly developed industrial nation. The population in 1870 was about forty million; in 1914 it had risen to sixty-seven million, of which fully sixty per cent lived in large cities and were engaged in industrial and commercial pursuits.[2] The period 1870–75 is known in Germany as the *Gründerjähre*, or "foundation years," as during these five years the amount of capital invested in industry was extraordinarily large for that day. Once the impetus was given, there seemed to be no limit to Germany's mounting prosperity. The products of her factories and workshops invaded the markets of the world and the legend "Made in Germany" became the symbol of commercial success. Inside of a generation Germany leaped to the side of England as an industrial nation and challenged this long-established "workshop of the world" for economic leadership.

Coal and iron

The industrial sections of Germany are in the west and in the south where are found large deposits of coal and iron, the twin pillars of modern industry. In the Rhineland, Westphalia, Silesia, and the Saar region near the Vosges are the great coal fields.[3] Enormous quantities of iron ore are found in Lorraine, which supplies three fourths of all the iron used in Germany. For a long time the iron ore of Lorraine was considered useless, as it contained a large amount of phosphorus; but the "Thomas process" of burning out the phosphorus in iron, invented in 1878, made these deposits of great value. This process also produces a by-product, a "slag," which is useful as a soil fertilizer. Germany immediately advanced as a producer of iron, so that by 1903 she passed England and is now the second iron-producing country in the world,[1] ranking after the United States. In the production of steel there was a similar rise. From 1890 to 1910 the German steel industry grew seven times as fast as that of England in point of production; and in 1912 Germany's product doubled that of England. The world-renowned Krupp Works at Essen manufacture not only munitions of war but also steel materials for railways, ships, and factories. Germany's export of machinery in 1908 was about half that of England, but five years later she completely outdistanced her rival.[2]

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[1] In 1840 there were only three hundred and fifty miles of railway in all Germany.

[2] There began a *Landflucht*, or exodus from the land, as millions of peasants moved to the cities. In 1870 there were only eight cities of over one hundred thousand people; in 1910 there were forty-seven. In 1870 the rural population was sixty-four per cent; by 1907 it had sunk to about thirty-three per cent.

[3] In 1912 Germany produced over 192,000,000 tons of coal, which gave her third rank as a coal-producing country.

Shipping

Thirty years ago German ships were built in England. To-day Germany builds not only her own vessels but many for other countries. She has developed an important merchant marine, which in 1913 showed a net tonnage of 3,154,000, nearly all new vessels using steam power. Two of the largest steamship companies in the world are the Hamburg-American and the North-German Lloyd, whose magnificent liners carry about one half of the passengers between Europe and America. However, England's shipping is still far in the lead, particularly in the "tramp steamers," which have no definite time schedule: in 1914 the English tonnage all told was about seven times that of Germany.

The electrical and chemical industries

Two typical German industries are the electrical and the chemical, the extraordinary growth of which is largely due to the excellent technical schools of Germany. Most of the electrified railways in Europe were built with German apparatus. Germany easily leads the world in the manufacture of chemical products. The manufacture of dye-stuffs, a branch of the chemical industry, is largely in German hands. In 1914 Germany supplied four fifths of the world's demand.[1] German chemists have, in a way, abolished the tropics, for they have discovered processes for making artificial indigo, musk, vanilla, and camphor, which are exported in large quantities.

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[1] In 1913 Germany produced about 31,535,000 tons of iron ore.

[2] In 1887 Germany exported $13,200,000 worth of machinery; in 1912 the value of this export was $157,600,000.

Textiles

The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine gave an impetus to the German textile industries as well as to the production of coal and iron. Alsace and Saxony are the cotton manufacturing centers of the Empire, but they are not sufficiently developed to make Germany a great textile-producing nation, her annual production being only a fifth of that of England.

Scientific agriculture

Although German industrial development has been most wonderful, it has not been, as in the case of England, at the expense of agriculture. Germany's economic ideal has been a harmonious development of all her resources, and she has been as careful to protect and develop her agriculture as she has been to protect and develop her manufacturing industries. This was accomplished in two ways: by protective tariffs and by scientific farming. In spite of the outcry raised by the city dwellers against the high duties on agricultural products which were partly responsible for the constantly increasing cost of living, Germany refused to follow England's free-trade example; hence German agriculture was saved from possible ruin by foreign competition. Scientific farming has accomplished wonders for German agriculture. By a careful system of manuring, nursing, and soil preparation, the yearly harvest has enormously increased despite the constantly diminishing number of people engaged in farming.[2] The cultivation of the sugar beet has been greatly developed. By careful planting and selection, the German beet was made to increase very largely its yield of sugar, so that from 1880 to 1910 the amount of sugar produced in Germany rose from half a million to over two million tons a year. The chief farming regions are East Prussia, where the system of large estates obtains, and Bavaria, where the land is largely cultivated by peasant proprietors.

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[1] The value of the annual export of dye-stuffs from Germany was put at about $25,000,000.

[2] Between 1885 and 1910 the grain crop increased forty-five per cent and the potato crop fifty-five per cent. In 1913 Germany was the leading potato-producing country in the world, having grown fifty-four millions of tons, or fourteen times as much as Russia, although the latter had three times as much land under potato cultivation.

Foreign trade

Although the home market is rapidly increasing, foreign trade has become a necessity for Germany, as she must needs manufacture more and more in order to feed her growing population. She must import huge quantities of raw material, make it over into goods, and send the surplus to the world in return for food; hence great efforts were made to expand Germany's foreign trade and with signal success. In 1870 her total foreign trade was about a billion dollars; in 1913 it rose to over five billions, of which nearly all the imports were food and raw material and nearly all the exports manufactured articles. Steadily Germany has been lessening the disparity which exists between her foreign trade and that of England, whose trade has not increased at the same rate as that of her rival across the North Sea.[1] This has given rise to a commercial rivalry between the two nations which has been going on with ever-increasing bitterness.

Reasons for Germany's prosperity: (1) National unity

There are many causes for Germany's astounding industrial development. First and foremost is the unification of the country, which united the energies of a highly capable people and gave them unbounded confidence in their powers. It is said that on the surrender of Metz, Prince Frederick Charles made the following statement: "We have just conquered in the military sphere; our task is now to fight and conquer in the industrial sphere." The large indemnity collected from France and the natural resources of Alsace-Lorraine, now a part of Germany, were highly important factors in the latter's economic advance.

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[1] See p. 369.

(2) Application of science to industry

The Germans have been pioneers in the application of science to industry. Germany is literally covered with chemical laboratories, wherein an army of highly trained scientists are constantly at work inventing new processes and devising new methods, with the result that articles produced in Germany are cheaper than those produced elsewhere. This union of laboratory and workshop has been an efficient cause of German prosperity, as it enlisted trained intelligence to solve the problems of industry. German business men will spare no expense in providing for scientific experiments, well knowing that, in time, they will be amply rewarded. German laborers, even those doing the simplest work, are highly skilled, due to the numerous and excellent technical schools that prepare men and women for their vocations in life.

(3) Efficiency

Slow and plodding, the Germans work with intense energy if without feverish excitement. They are patient and methodical, and they have developed a most extraordinary genius for efficient organization, or the art of putting every man in his place and of getting the most out of him. Business is a career in Germany for which men prepare themselves as carefully as for a profession, studying in excellent commercial schools the various aspects of commerce and industry in general and their special branch in particular. A striking characteristic of German business men is their freedom from tradition; they are enterprising and will readily change their system in order to conquer a market. New methods and new goods are eagerly sought for and quickly adopted if they are found good. They are also ready to coöperate for mutual advantage. Frequently several German firms combine to hire a trained and experienced commercial traveler, who is sent to distant lands to open new markets for German wares. German commercial travelers learn the language of their prospective customers, their likes, and their dislikes; and they endeavor to please them in every possible way. Time and again have the Germans captured the trade in certain articles by paying special attention to little things, such as the color of a garment, the shape of an egg cup, or the method of packing needles. German firms sell their goods cheaply and on long credit; they are enabled to do this partly because they are careful to keep down the cost of production and partly because they are satisfied with small profits.

(4) Adoption of the most improved methods

Germany's late entrance into the field of modern industry proved to be not a handicap but a positive advantage in her struggle for economic supremacy. Instead of going by rule of thumb along an unknown path, she, profiting by the experience of other nations, especially by that of England, carefully planned and directed her economic development. She avoided their mistakes and improved on their successes, so that the many problems arising from the Industrial Revolution were solved before they had become serious enough to become obstacles to social betterment and to business enterprise. It was easier for Germany to adopt the most improved machinery and the most modern methods, as she had no old plants to dismantle and no cherished business traditions to violate.

(5) Favorable commercial treaties

The Government of the Empire has been a most important factor in the economic advance of Germany. Her great international position as a military and naval power has been very effective in securing commercial treaties favorable to German merchants and in compelling concessions to German capitalists in Asia and Africa. The Empire decided on a policy of protection in order to avoid the possible hindrance to German industry through foreign competition. Bismarck, who had been a free-trader, was convinced that high tariff duties were now needed to protect the large and rapidly growing home market. Free trade, he declared, was the "weapon of the strongest" and a good policy for England, who was now "a mighty industrial athlete" capable of competing successfully in the world; but for Germany protection was necessary, as she was as yet industrially weak and therefore unable to stand foreign competition. In 1880 a high protective tariff was adopted which has since been maintained and applied with great intelligence and knowledge by a tariff commission composed of economists, business men, and government officials.

(6) Government regulation

Government regulation has been an important cause of Germany's prosperity. There is hardly a business enterprise which does not feel the regulating hand of the Government; and it is done, not with the idea of hampering but of promoting business. Almost from the beginning of the Empire the railways were nationalized for military reasons, that troops might be transported rapidly to all corners of the land. The railways are owned and operated by the individual states, but are supervised by an Imperial Railway Board which establishes uniform regulations for the entire Empire. State ownership of railways has proved a brilliant success in Germany; the management is economical and efficient, fares are low, the equipment is good, and the service, excellent. The State Governments make large profits from their railways, which enables them to undertake many things without resorting to new taxes.[1] But most important of all is the way the railways have been used to build up German commerce and industry. Especially low rates are allowed on export goods in order to enable the German manufacturer better to compete in foreign markets. If a new industry is to be started, the rates on the raw material coming from distant parts are lowered in order to encourage the enterprise. Material help was in this way given to the building of a merchant marine; for low freight rates were allowed on the materials which came to the shipyards from all over Germany. Many times the evil effects of bad harvests were minimized and many farmers saved from ruin by the lowering of freight rates on agricultural products. Rebating in Germany is open and legal, as fully sixty per cent of the entire railway traffic is under "exceptional rates"; but this is done for the purpose of helping, not of destroying, business enterprises. The Government has built a wonderful system of canals connecting the various rivers, so that inland transportation is cheap and easy. Vast sums have been spent in deepening the shallow German rivers in order to make them more navigable.[1]

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[1] In 1911 Prussia made $178,000,000 profit from her railways, which was double the amount that she collected in taxes for that year.

RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Laissez faire ideals not dominant

The results of the Industrial Revolution were in general the same in Germany as in other lands.[2] But there were noteworthy features, peculiar to that country, which it is important for us to note. The astounding rapidity of the transformation left a marked impression on the German people, for it was almost a flying leap from the economy of the eighteenth century to that of the twentieth. For this reason Germany, unlike England, largely missed the early forms of capitalistic society, with its keen competition in business, individualism in philosophy, and *laissez faire* in politics. Coöperation, regulation, and efficiency became the watchwords of this "nation of poets and thinkers," now become a nation of business men and soldiers.

Dominant position of the landed aristocracy

The German working class which made its appearance was not merely democratic, as was that of England and France during the early part of the nineteenth century; it was socialistic, and therefore opposed, in theory at least, to the very existence of the capitalistic system. The German middle classes, on the other hand, have not been liberal like those in England, or revolutionary like those in France, for in spite of their professed belief in democracy they have consistently supported the autocratic régime, because the latter encouraged business enterprise from which they profited, and kept down the Socialists of whom they stood in deadly fear. Hence Germany, a modern, highly industrialized nation, has been ruled by a privileged landed aristocracy, which officers the army and navy, fills most of the important positions in the Government, and directs the policies of the country, largely to suit its class interests. In spite of their great wealth the

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[1] The Main River, at one time only two and three quarters feet deep, was deepened to eight and one quarter feet.

[2] See p. 34.

"chimney aristocrats," as the capitalists are called in Germany, occupy a subordinate position in the State, greatly to their chagrin.

Emigration and immigration

From a land of emigration, Germany has become one of immigration. Before the new industrial era Germans emigrated at the rate of two hundred thousand a year;[1] but since then, in spite of a yearly increase of eight hundred thousand, German industry has been able to provide work for so many that emigration has sunk to about twenty thousand annually. Every year about half a million foreign workingmen, mainly from Italy, Austria, and Russia, come into Germany to help harvest the crops and to work in the mines. These immigrant laborers are permitted to remain under special conditions and for a specified time in order to prevent them from competing with the native laborers.

Unfortunately for Germany, she came into existence as a nation when the best parts of the world had already been parceled out among the other nations. Of what was left she got her share, which was almost entirely in the hot, unhealthy regions of Africa which were unfit for white settlement.[2] She therefore turned her attention to the establishment of an economic empire. German capital began to invade foreign countries and to make invisible conquests. Through the influence of the Government, concessions were granted to German capitalists, who began to build railways, to open mines, and to establish factories in Asia, Africa, and South America. Even the countries of Europe felt the influence of German investors, for some of the largest industrial and financial establishments in France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey came under their control. This economic penetration of foreign countries made Germany's influence greatly felt the world over, but it did not satisfy her longing to expand in territory.

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[1] During the period 1851 to 1895 four and a half millions of Germans emigrated, most of them to America.

[2] See p. 679.

Reign of William II

William II

On March 9, 1888, the aged Emperor William I died. His son and successor, Frederick III, was known to be a liberal and an admirer of the English system of government, but he lived only a few months. He died on June 15 of the same year, and was succeeded by his son, William II, a young man twenty-nine years of age. No monarch of recent times has been more widely known than Emperor William. A man of striking personality, very eager to appear in the public eye, he succeeded in gaining wide popularity. Like his predecessor, Frederick William IV, he is a brilliant orator and is fond of making speeches on any and every occasion and on any and every subject. He will lecture learned bodies on archæology, dispute points in theology with theologians, advise artists how to paint, and recommend courses in the teaching of history. The Emperor has frequently taken occasion to discuss his political views boldly and freely, and he has been nicknamed "William the Indiscreet," because of his sensational sayings and doings. When the Boers defeated the Jameson raiders,[1] he sent a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger which aroused the British to furious indignation. In 1908 he gave an interview to the London *Daily Telegraph* in which he asserted his sincere friendliness for England, but admitted that the mass of his people were hostile to the English. This time the Germans were aroused to fury, and a unanimous Reichstag passed a chiding resolution which declared that the Emperor should henceforth speak on political matters through the mouth of his Chancellor only.

His claim to "divine right"

In William's speeches two subjects are continually referred to, namely, the army and religion. On numerous occasions he has exalted the army as the foundation stone of Germany. Addressing a body of recruits in 1891 he declared, "You are now my soldiers; you have given yourselves to me body and soul. There is now but one enemy for you and that is my enemy." Not even in the twentieth century has he relinquished the outworn theory of divine right, according to which he claims to rule as King of Prussia. In 1910 Emperor William declared in a public address that his "grandfather in his own right placed the Crown upon his head, insisting once again that it was bestowed upon him by the grace of God alone, and not by parliaments or by the will of the people. . . . I too consider myself a chosen instrument of Heaven, and I shall go my way without regard to the views and opinions of the day."

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[1] See p. 416.

His progressive attitude

There is another and truly modern side to Emperor William. In spite of his outworn ideals of "divine right" and of his romantic temperament, he is keenly aware of the new industrial spirit stirring within Germany, and he has done much to foster it. Around him have gathered the new "chimney aristocrats," the lords of mines, factories, ships, and banks, who have had a powerful influence in shaping the policies of the Empire.

Dismissal of Bismarck

Bismarck, who had once prophesied that William would be his own Chancellor, soon came into conflict with his master. The Emperor resented the overshadowing importance and complete dominance of German politics by the veteran statesman; and he was unwilling to follow his grandfather's course of allowing Bismarck to rule while he reigned. Germany was too small to hold two such self-willed autocrats. Moreover, it was felt by the rising generation that Bismarck's work was now over, because his main policy as Chancellor was to conserve what had been gained in 1870, and he would therefore be a great obstacle in the path of the new Germany that was about to be launched. Accordingly, the Emperor determined to "drop the pilot." In 1890 the Iron Chancellor was dismissed, and he retired to private life full of humiliation and bitterness. He spent his remaining days writing his memoirs and inspiring malicious articles against the Emperor, whom he secretly distrusted as hot-headed and flighty. In 1898 the "faithful servant of Emperor William I"[1] died, and the entire nation was plunged into great grief.

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[1] This is the inscription on Bismarck's tomb placed there at his request.

A new era of conciliation opened with William II's reign. The "exceptional laws" against the Socialists were not renewed and some of the remaining anti-Catholic laws were repealed. The Emperor early evinced a special interest in the welfare of the working classes, and the social insurance laws of Bismarck were extended with the idea of killing socialism with kindness. Finding, however, that in spite of these laws the Social Democrats were increasing, he became deeply resentful and took every opportunity to denounce them as "unworthy to bear the name of Germans," and as "vermin which gnaw at the roots of the Imperial oak." In the address to the recruits above referred to, the Emperor declared, "In the presence of the Socialist agitation it may happen, though may God avert it! that I shall order you to shoot down your relatives, brothers, yea, even parents; yet you must obey my commands without murmuring."

William II and the Socialists

It became evident that William would be his own Chancellor; hence any one that he chose for that office would merely be his mouthpiece. As successor to Bismarck he appointed, in 1890, Count von Caprivi, a soldier by profession and instinct, who had only one rule, to obey his master, the Kaiser. It was during Caprivi's chancellorship that a sharp demand arose from the middle and working classes for lowering or abolishing the tariff on foodstuffs, in order that cheaper food might be imported. Germany, they contended, was no longer an agricultural but an industrial state; hence industrial interests should be paramount. Caprivi signed reciprocity treaties with Russia, Austria, and Italy, which materially reduced the tariff on foodstuffs coming from these countries. This aroused the powerful landed interests who, in 1893, organized an association called the *Bund der Landwirte*, or League of Landlords, which began an agitation against the renewal of these treaties which, they claimed, were ruining agriculture and thereby lessening the food supply of the nation. By a revision of the tariff in 1902 the landed interests succeeded in restoring the high duties on agricultural products.

The tariff agitation

Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst succeeded Caprivi as Chancellor in 1894. But he, too, was merely a mouthpiece for his master. In 1900 Count Bernhard von Bülow, an adroit diplomat, clever speaker, and skillful parliamentarian, became Chancellor. Although Bülow was always in perfect accord with the views of the Emperor, he was far too able a man to be merely his mouthpiece; he consequently exercised great influence on the policies of the Government. During the first years of his chancellorship, he was always fully supported in the Reichstag by the Conservatives and the Center and, occasionally, by the Liberals on "national" questions, that is, those affecting the army, the navy, and foreign affairs. The only party that consistently opposed him was the Social Democrats.

Bernhard von Bülow

A decided change took place in Germany's foreign policy almost from the beginning of the new reign. Bismarck's policy of "satiation" no longer satisfied the ambitious, exuberant Germany of Emperor William, which wished to become a world Power and play a leading rôle in *Weltpolitik*. A veritable hunger for foreign markets took possession of Germany, whose expanding industry was ever pushing her onward to newer economic conquests. She began to demand "a place in the sun," or a colonial empire, in order to find new sources of raw material for her factories and an outlet for her surplus population. "The wave-beat knocks powerfully at our national gates, and calls us as a great nation to maintain our place in the world, in other words, to follow world policy," once declared the Emperor in a widely quoted address. Germany's territorial ambitions were centered in Morocco, the only desirable part of Africa not yet acquired by a European Power; but in this she encountered the bitter opposition of France, who also desired to annex the country.[1] Her economic ambitions were centered in Asia Minor, a fertile but undeveloped region; and through the influence of the Imperial Government the Sultan granted concessions to groups of German capitalists, who began building the Bagdad Railway; but this project

The new foreign policy

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[1] For further discussion of the Morocco question see p. 700.

encountered the active hostility of Great Britain when it was proposed to extend the railway to the Persian Gulf.[1]

The alliances

The good understanding with Russia, long maintained by Bismarck, terminated when the latter retired from public life. Germany began to draw more closely to Austria, for Russia and France were cementing their alliance and Italy's interest in the Triple Alliance was becoming lukewarm. William at first endeavored to bring about a *rapprochement* with France in order to isolate England, but he failed; instead, a *rapprochement* took place between England and France which ended in the *Entente cordiale*, and Germany was isolated.[2]

The navy law

To the Emperor's initiative was due the creation of a German navy. He was thoroughly convinced that Germany's rapidly growing merchant marine and world-wide economic interests needed a great fleet for their protection in case of war. The idea was also present in the minds of the ruling classes of Germany that a powerful navy was the best means of gaining and holding oversea possessions, just as a powerful army was the best means of defending the country from invasion. In a series of eloquent speeches the Emperor emphasized Germany's need of a navy in order to maintain her position as a world Power. "World power and sea power are complementary; the one cannot exist without the other," he declared. "Our future lies on the water," and "The trident must pass into our hands," are two of his oft-quoted sayings. Navy leagues were founded under the patronage of the Emperor, which began a persistent and enthusiastic propaganda in favor of a large navy. In 1900 the first great navy law was passed by the Reichstag. In the preamble to this law the following statement occurs: "Germany must possess a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest naval Power would endanger the supremacy of that Power." The building of war vessels went on at a rapid rate, so that in a short time Germany had the second largest navy in the world, ranking after England. Under Admiral von Tirpitz, who became Secretary of the Navy in 1897, the new German navy was splendidly organized on the English model.[1] In 1890 the little island of Helgoland, near the entrance to the Kiel Canal, was acquired by Germany from Great Britain in exchange for parts of Africa. This transaction, made by Lord Salisbury, was regarded in England as a good trade, an "exchange of a button for a suit of clothes." But Helgoland was quickly fortified by the Germans and became the Gibraltar of the North Sea, protecting the Kiel Canal which was completed five years later.

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[1] See p. 702.

[2] For a fuller discussion of Germany's foreign policies see ch. XXIX.

Colonial reform

Closely connected with the movement for naval armament was the colonial question. In its African possessions the Government had much trouble with the natives, against whom several expeditions had to be sent. It was charged that the German officials in the colonies were guilty of cruelty, and that the administration was corrupt and incompetent. The home Government was obliged to make up large deficits every year. In 1907 Bernhard Dernburg was appointed to the newly created office of Colonial Minister. He was not of aristocratic but of middle-class origin, a banker who had become known as an able administrator. It was Dernburg's plan to spend large additional sums of money on the colonies in order to put them on a sound basis so that, in time, they would be an asset and not a liability to the mother country. He visited Africa several times and made drastic reforms in the administration. In 1907 a colonial budget, appropriating money for these colonial reforms, was introduced in the Reichstag. The Center Party thereupon abandoned the Government and joined the Socialists in opposing what was denounced as "a colonial adventure," and both parties had enough votes to defeat the budget. The Reichstag was dissolved, and the election which followed was fought on the colonial issue. The Conservatives and Liberals made an appeal for patriotic support on the ground that the two international parties, the "Blacks" and the "Reds," had combined to oppose national interests. Great enthusiasm was shown in this exciting election in favor of the Government, and the result was a signal triumph for the latter. The Socialist representation fell from seventy-eight to forty-three members,[1] and the Center barely managed to hold its own. A new combination of Conservatives and Liberals was formed in the Reichstag to support Chancellor von Bülow, and the colonial budget was adopted.

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[1] See p. 689.

PROBLEM OF THE NON-GERMANS

The Danes

Although homogeneous to a remarkable degree Germany, nevertheless, contains within its borders non-German elements that have stubbornly resisted assimilation. The policy of uncompromising "Germanism" pursued by the Imperial Government has produced bitter resentment among the "submerged nations," who wish to maintain their own languages and cultures, even though they live under the German flag. In Schleswig, acquired from Denmark in the war of 1864, many are of Danish nationality, and they have managed to maintain their speech and sentiment in spite of the vigorous and systematic efforts of the Prussian Government to suppress them.

The Poles

Far more serious, however, is the Polish problem. The parts acquired by Prussia in the dismemberment of Poland[2] are still Polish in tradition, language, and sentiment. Many Poles are also to be found in East Prussia, where they are employed as agricultural laborers, and in Westphalia, where they work in the mines. Altogether there are about four millions of Poles in the Empire, and they have tenaciously clung to their nationality. Prussia, fearful that this alien and hostile element on the frontier might prove a danger to the Empire in time of war, has made special efforts to Germanize them. In 1886 the Prussian Landtag, through the influence of Bismarck, appropriated twenty-five million dollars, which was turned over to a Settlement Commission with power to purchase land in the Polish regions and resell it to German "colonists," who were to be induced to settle there by favorable terms of sale. This policy of the Government had for its object to permeate the Polish districts with Germans and thereby to weaken "Polonism." In addition, drastic laws were passed prohibiting the public use of the Polish language; Polish historic names were abolished and German names substituted for them; the right of public meeting was indirectly curtailed by the requirement that all addresses had to be in the German tongue; and even theatrical performances in Polish were forbidden.

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[1] In spite of the loss of seats the Socialist popular vote showed an actual increase of two hundred and fifty thousand. This anomaly was due to the unfair system of representation. See p. 589.

[2] See p. 503.

Struggle for the land

Between 1886 and 1890 about one hundred and twelve thousand acres of Polish land were acquired by Germans through the efforts of the Settlement Commission. In 1898, and again in 1902, the Landtag voted new funds to continue this policy of Germanization. The Poles, frightened at the prospect of being driven from their historic home, formed coöperative societies and land banks to tide them over in times of financial difficulty, in order not to be compelled to sell their farms to the Germans. As a result less and less Polish land was sold; in fact, many of the German colonists were compelled, through systematic boycotting by the Poles, to resell their land to the Poles at low prices. German settlers were exhorted on patriotic grounds not to resell to Poles, but all to no purpose; and the Prussian Government saw the failure of its Polish policy.

The Dispossession Law

In 1908 came the Dispossession Law, which gave extraordinary powers to the Settlement Commission. It was now empowered to compel the sale of Polish land at prices fixed by itself. Germans buying this land did so with the understanding that they must not resell it to Poles. The laws against the use of the Polish language were made more severe. All teaching, even that in private schools, had to be in German. When the Polish children in the schools refused to answer their teachers in German, they were severely punished and their parents and priests fined and imprisoned. Many school "strikes" took place. A popular cartoon of the day represented a Polish child saying, "If I say my prayers in German, my father beats me; if I say them in Polish, my teacher beats me; if I don't say them at all, my priest beats me."

The Reichstag champions the Poles

An outcry was soon raised by the Poles against the harsh policy of the Prussian Government, and their cause gained the sympathy of many people the world over. In the Reichstag the Poles were supported by their co-religionists of the Center Party and by the Socialists, who, on January 30, 1913, combined to pass a resolution of "no confidence" in the Imperial Government and condemning the Prussian authorities for their attitude toward the Poles. This was the first time that a resolution of this kind was passed by the Reichstag.

The Alsatians

The problem of the Alsatians is really an international one, as their cause is championed by France. Immediately after the Franco-Prussian War thousands of families left Alsace-Lorraine for France rather than live under the German flag. In spite of the serious international aspect of the problem, Germany determined to hold on to these provinces at all costs for two important reasons: first, the military necessity of keeping the "gates," Metz and Strassburg, closed against possible French invasion; secondly, the vast deposits of iron found in Lorraine are essential to her industrial progress. The Germans also claim that the region is Teutonic by race, tradition, and language, and hence by right ought to belong to Germany and not to France.

Suppression of French sentiment

A large number of German settlers came to take the place of those who had left. Although the French-speaking population is small and lives mainly in Lorraine, many Alsatians feel a strong attachment for France despite the fact that the provinces have prospered greatly under German rule. The Government has shown itself needlessly severe and very tactless in its efforts to stamp out French influences. The use of the French language was strictly forbidden in public assemblies and limited even in private life. Tombstones must contain no

French inscriptions. An Alsatian barber was fined for having on his window the sign "*Coiffeur*." Societies to keep alive French memories were dissolved, and ardent French nationalists were imprisoned or exiled on the slightest pretexts. The story is told of an Alsatian who had his body tattooed with the legend "*Vive la France!*" and was arrested when he appeared in a public bath. The famous "Zabern Affair" of 1913 illustrated the strained relations between the Alsatians and the German authorities. The military officers stationed in the little garrison town of Zabern in Alsace had so greatly offended the citizens by their domineering and insulting attitude, that they were hooted whenever they appeared on the streets. During a disturbance of this sort a haughty young lieutenant struck with his sword a lame shoemaker who had laughed at him. Great indignation was aroused in Germany at the brutal conduct of the officers; and, on December 4, 1913, the Reichstag passed a resolution of "no confidence" in the Government because of its support of the military.

Home rule granted to Alsace-Lorraine

The pro-French attitude of German-speaking Alsatians is a remarkable tribute to the generous and kindly treatment that the provinces had been accorded under France. Thousands of young Alsatians crossed the border every year to enlist in the French army, where they were welcomed with open arms. For about forty years the government of Alsace-Lorraine was that of a *Reichsland*, or imperial territory, ruled by a *Statthalter*, or governor, appointed by the Emperor. The people were, however, allowed to elect members to the Reichstag, and they sent a "protesting delegation" of about fifteen members. In 1911 the country was deemed sufficiently safe to be entrusted with home rule. A constitution was, therefore, granted to Alsace-Lorraine, which provided for a local legislature to be elected by universal suffrage, and for a delegation of three members to the Bundesrat to be chosen by the *Statthalter*, who was to be, as hitherto, an appointee of the Emperor.

THE MOVEMENT FOR POPULAR CONTROL

The question of ministerial responsibility

Ever since the organization of the Empire there has existed a movement, supported mainly by Socialists and Radicals, to democratize the government by establishing the principle of ministerial responsibility to the Reichstag. If the popular chamber could make and unmake a Chancellor, the influence of the Emperor in the Government would be materially lessened. During the debate in the Reichstag on the *Telegraph* incident, a Radical member declared: "Our present constitutional system is in many respects a sham, as it does not fulfill the aims of a modern constitutional state. . . . There is no doubt that complete responsibility of the cabinet to parliament is the very cornerstone of constitutional government." Naturally enough, this principle has been vigorously opposed by the ruling powers, for its adoption would make the Reichstag the dominant element in the Imperial Government. "A Chancellor dependent only upon the Emperor and the King of Prussia," once declared Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, "is the necessary counterpoise to the freest of electoral laws, devised by Bismarck on the supposition that the Bundesrat and the Imperial Chancellor would maintain their independence."

Resolution of "no confidence" passed by the Reichstag

The first precedent for ministerial responsibility came with the resignation of Chancellor von Bülow. The combination of Conservatives and Liberals, formed after the election of 1907, soon split over the question of taxation. In order to pay for the mounting expenditures of the army and navy, Bülow included an inheritance tax in the imperial budget of 1908. The Conservatives refused to support it and joined the Center in opposition, with the result that the budget was defeated. Shortly afterwards the Chancellor resigned, and the Emperor appointed Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg as his successor. The two resolutions of "no confidence," passed by the Reichstag as described above, did not lead in either case to the resignation of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, because he continued to have the confidence of the Emperor; at the same time it was universally felt in Germany that the unpopularity of the Government would in time be followed by important concessions to democracy.

The "Blue-Black Block"

The new Chancellor had spent his life in the Prussian administration, and was known as a conscientious, well-informed official, but lacking in originality and parliamentary ability. He made peace with the Conservatives and Center, who now united to control the Reichstag; this alliance became notorious as the "Blue-Black Block," or aristocratic-clerical combination. The inheritance tax was withdrawn and, instead, consumption taxes were laid on tobacco, beer, tea, sugar, brandy, and matches, and stamp taxes on checks, notes, and shares of stock. It was evident that the agrarian interests, as represented by the Block, were using the government to shift the burden of taxation on other shoulders. In 1909 the *Hansabund*, or Hanseatic League, was organized with a membership of three hundred thousand merchants and manufacturers who were determined to oppose the agrarian interests. The Socialists began to recover from their defeat of 1907, as nearly every by-election brought in a Socialist member.

Attempts to modify the three-class system

The citadel of reaction in Germany is the Prussian three-class system; once that falls, it is the common view in Germany, then the democratization of the Empire will speedily come. A persistent and powerful agitation was therefore set on foot to abolish this system. Huge demonstrations took place in Berlin, in which Socialist hosts marched through the streets demanding a democratic suffrage for Prussia. The ever-growing unpopularity of the Government finally induced it to make some concessions. On February 10, 1910, Bethmann-Hollweg introduced a bill into the Prussian Landtag which slightly modified the three-class system by putting the electors of superior education, irrespective of the taxes which they paid, into the second class, and by abolishing indirect voting; it retained, however, public voting and the division of the voters into three classes. The Socialists and Liberals denounced the measure as inadequate, and refused to support it; the Conservatives and Center opposed it as being too liberal, with the result that the bill was withdrawn.

The elections of 1912

Discontent was rife all over Germany. The Prussian electoral struggle had become a matter of imperial interest, and an attempt was made in the Reichstag to compel Prussia to adopt a democratic suffrage. The ever-increasing cost of living as well as the unpopular consumption taxes were laid at the door of the "Blue-Black Block." The middle classes were now almost as bitterly opposed to agrarian rule as were the Socialists, and they were willing to combine with the latter in order to overthrow it. In the elections of 1912 the Government made frantic appeals to patriotic citizens to rally against the Socialists, "the party of disorder and negation," but the result was a crushing defeat for the "Blue-Black Block." The Conservatives elected seventy members, a loss of thirty-three; the Center, ninety-three, a loss of ten; the Social Democrats, one hundred and ten, a gain of fifty-seven;[1] and the Liberals and Radicals, ninety, about the same as before. For the first time in the history of the German Empire the parties of the Left had a majority in the Reichstag, and the Socialists were the largest single party, displacing the Center from that position. In striking contrast was the result of the election to the Prussian Landtag, which took place during the following year; there, owing to the three-class system, the Conservative-Center combination returned in almost undiminished strength.

War preparations displace projected reforms

The lesson of the election of 1912 was plain. The German people had at last spoken most emphatically.[2] They desired to see established throughout the Empire a truly democratic régime; they were opposed to militaristic dominance as illustrated at Zabern; they were opposed to the rule of Germany in the interests of the agrarians only. The Government was not at all blind to the situation, and semi-official intimations were given that a modification of the autocratic régime was to be expected. Unfortunately for German democracy, the Morocco situation and the Balkan War suddenly shifted the issues to "nationalism," and Germany began to prepare herself more assiduously than ever for the coming European conflict.

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[1] The popular vote of the Socialists was enormous, about 4,250,000, or thirty-five per cent of the whole.

[2] The popular vote of the Left was 7,410,000 as against 3,123,000 of the Block.

Deutsche Kultur

Intense patriotism of the Germans

The spirit of nationalism which welled up during the period of unification produced an intense patriotism among the German people. Other nations had achieved unity gradually, almost imperceptibly, through centuries of accretion as a result of petty wars between king and nobles, dynastic marriages, alliances, and inheritances. But Germania sprang full-grown from the brow of Mars. A *conscious* patriotism took hold of the German mind; every act, every thought, no matter how simple, was associated with the Fatherland. The brilliant victories over Austria and France inspired the Germans with an unbounded confidence in their military prowess and an overweening pride in their achievements, and led them to believe that they were indeed a superior race. A Teutonic cult arose which had for its votaries influential writers, statesmen, and soldiers who fervently believed that the day of the Teuton had at last arrived, and that Germany was now to be the new model for the peoples of the world. Other races, they contended, had already accomplished their destiny, and were now therefore decadent; the trial by battle had proved it conclusively for them in the case of France; the seeming absence of a definite purpose and efficient system in the loosely hung British Empire convinced them that the English were fast losing their grip upon the world. In their view the Russians were a barbaric horde without European traditions or culture and a constant danger to Western civilization, which it was now Germany's special mission to protect.

In a wonderful way Germany proceeded to organize herself as the "new model." The development of almost every phase of human activity, political, economic, and cultural, was minutely planned beforehand; nothing was left to chance. Difficulties were foreseen and provided for, and waste was eliminated through a marvelously efficient system of organization. System, Efficiency, Order, became the watchwords of the German people, who determined to conquer through them as once the French had conquered through Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Germany the "new model"

Although the German State is not democratic either in theory or in practice, it is the object of profound devotion on the part of the German people. This is chiefly due to the fact that for the first time in modern history the State took a paternal interest in all classes of the community. In the German view society consists, not of individuals, but of economic groups which are constantly struggling against one another; left to themselves, some of these groups would prosper at the expense of others and the nation as a whole would consequently be the loser. In order to conserve the best interests of the nation, Germany has developed an organic view of society, namely, that the various classes must work in harmony in order to insure the well-being of the community. To the State is assigned the coördination of social and economic activities, and the welfare of all classes is carefully guarded by a system of enlightened and painstaking legislation. The State teaches the farmer how best to utilize the soil and protects his product by high tariffs and low railway rates; it aids the merchant and manufacturer by far-seeing regulations; it aids the investing capitalist by a fine system of banking facilities; it aids the laborer by training him for his vocation and by protecting him through life by the system of social insurance, already described.

Paternalism

Such is the German view of themselves and of their powers. A propaganda was begun by influential elements in the Fatherland which aimed to rouse among the people a desire for world dominion. Germany's

Germany's "mission"

"will to power" would establish her *Kultur*, a new and higher civilization, and she would therefore accomplish her "mission." It was to be "world power or downfall." Naturally enough the doctrine of force was inculcated, for the State was unmoral and everything that it did for its aggrandizement was right. Force itself became an ideal, and men normally kindly and honest could be persuaded to do brutal and dishonest deeds when they were convinced that such conduct would be "in the interest of the State."

Germany's backwardness

Although she became a nation, Germany did not assimilate the ideal of nationality. To live and let live is the very essence of true nationalism, and Germany has had scant sympathy for oppressed peoples. Germany has been a "localism," narrow, unimaginative, suspicious, that expanded to imperial dimensions and became a disturbing influence among the nations because of her arrogant assertiveness. If she has had little understanding of nationalism, she has had even less understanding of that other modern political ideal, democracy. Every advance in Germany has been made by grants from above, not, as in democratic lands, by the people themselves in defiance of those in authority. A "people" comes into existence only as a result of successful revolution against autocracy. And the tragedy of Germany has been that she has not had a successful revolution, and for that reason she has been an alien in the modern world.

Helotage of the lower classes

Germany as a sociological State has not been a paradise for the working classes. Wages are low; hours, long; and conditions, hard for the mass of workingmen. Her social legislation has not solved the problems of the working class created by the Industrial Revolution. The real beneficiaries of the Empire were the Junkers who filled the offices and the industrialists who gained the profits. A few crumbs were thrown to the lower classes in order to cause them to forget their condition of political helotage. The mass of Germans are the serfs of the State, who is their ruthless master and in whose name they are induced to surrender their liberties and their lives.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GREAT BRITAIN

1867–1914

GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES

Evolution of British democracy

THE British system of government is full of anomalies, for it contains royal, aristocratic, and democratic elements. In the days of the Tudors the royal element was the most powerful; after the Revolution of 1689 political power shifted to the aristocracy which, for over a century, was dominant in the State; and with the Reform Bill of 1832 the democratic element began to assert itself, and a new shift of political power took place, this time to the middle classes. Although royal and aristocratic institutions are still maintained by the nation, universal suffrage and the abolition of the veto power of the House of Lords [1] have almost completed the stages in the evolution from autocracy sanctioned by "divine right" to the thoroughly democratic system now established in Great Britain.

The King

"The King reigns, but does not rule." In theory the King remains an absolute monarch by the "grace of God," but in practice he never interferes with, and seldom influences, the conduct of the Government. He no longer vetoes bills; and appointments to office are made by the Cabinet in his name. The King has become a figurehead in the English political system; his sole prerogatives are "the right to encourage and the right to warn." Nevertheless, he still performs a useful political function in being the symbol of the unity of the Empire. The monarchy is greatly respected by all classes of the English people, who regard it as the only non-partisan element in their Government and therefore a truly patriotic institution.

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[1] See p. 363.

The Cabinet

The leading characteristic of the British political system is the Cabinet. This is a committee of about twenty members of Parliament chosen in theory by the King, but in practice by a caucus of the party in control of the House of Commons. The chief of the Cabinet is known as the Premier, or Prime Minister, and he is always the leader of the majority party. It is he who has most weight in determining the appointment of his associates and in the formulation of policies to be pursued by the Government. The "efficient secret" of the British cabinet system is the "union of powers," in contrast to the American system of "separation of powers": the Cabinet exercises "executive" power by appointing officials and by supervising the administration; and it exercises at the same time "legislative power," inasmuch as the Ministers, being members of Parliament and the leaders of the dominant party, introduce all the important bills. Should any of these bills fail to pass the Commons, or should the latter pass a resolution of "no confidence," the Cabinet as a whole must immediately resign, since it is chosen not for a definite term of office, but on the principle of "ministerial responsibility," which means that the Commons may at any time terminate its political life. When an adverse vote is passed, one of two things may follow: either the King calls upon the leader of the Opposition to form a new Ministry; [1] or, what is more likely to be the case, the House is dissolved and a new election is ordered. If the newly elected House contains a majority in favor of the Cabinet, the latter continues in office; otherwise the leader of the Opposition is called upon by the King to form a new Cabinet, which in turn becomes "His Majesty's Government." It is of the greatest importance that harmony should exist in all parts of the British Government, and the elastic method of dissolving Parliament is used to bring about such harmony in case it has ceased to exist. The British cabinet system combines efficiency with democracy, and for this reason it has become the model for the whole world.

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[1] The Cabinet is the core of a larger group of officials, called the Ministry, which consists of all the important administrative officials; but the terms "Cabinet" and "Ministry" are used synonymously.

Parliament consists of two houses, the Lords and the Commons, though the term "Parliament" generally refers to the latter. The House of Lords consists mainly of hereditary peers, that is, those who owe their seats to the fact that they are the heads of noble families in England. The power of the Lords has been on the wane since 1832, and the Parliament Act of 1911[1] has reduced the once haughty House to a position of inferiority, for the utmost they can do now in shaping legislation is to defer action for two years. Nevertheless, it is still a distinction to be a peer, because of the social prestige enjoyed by the English aristocracy.

The Lords

The House of Commons is composed of six hundred and seventy members chosen for a term of five years, but this period may be curtailed if the House is sooner dissolved by the King on the advice of his Ministers. As the King may order a dissolution at any time and for any reason, Parliament is sometimes dissolved, as in the case of the Lloyd George Budget of 1909,[2] because the Lords refuse to pass an important bill. Although Parliament is elected by what is practically universal manhood suffrage, voting in Great Britain is considered a property, not a natural, right. There are still property qualifications for voting, as the expansion of the suffrage was brought about by the contraction, and not by the abolition, of the property qualification. In order to be permitted to vote, a man must be a landowner, a householder, that is, the head of a family occupying a house, or a lodger paying fifty dollars (£10) a year rent. Plural voting is permitted, for a man has the right to vote in every constituency in which he possesses landed property.[3] The supremacy of Parliament is the fundamental fact in the English political system; from the humble position of a mere advisory body to the King, the Commons has risen to dominate the entire Government by

The Commons

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[1] See p. 363.
[2] See p. 359.
[3] In 1918 important changes were made in the electoral system. See p. 757.

absorbing the power of both the King and the Lords. As the functions of Parliament are focused in the Cabinet, the part the former plays is mainly that of monitor for the nation: it watches over the actions of the Cabinet, which must conform its policies to the will of Parliament or resign. In the British political system there are no "checks and balances" to hamper the free action of Parliament; no written constitution to limit its powers, and consequently no supreme court to declare its acts unconstitutional; and no veto by King or Lords to nullify its measures. Parliament, however, is heedful of the unwritten constitution, or the principles established by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Were it not that English society is aristocratic, influencing the masses to feel great respect for their "betters," the exceedingly democratic character of the British system of government might easily lend itself to revolutionary legislation. As it is, the conservative temper of the English people has been a restraining force on radicalism.

The Conservatives

The two-party system which grew up in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century has been so intimately related to the governmental system that it has come to be considered a necessary part of it. "His Majesty's Government," or the party in power, is always faced by "His Majesty's Opposition," or the party out of power; the former has complete control of all legislation and the latter limits itself merely to criticizing the Government. There are two great parties, the Conservatives, or Unionists, and the Liberals; and two small parties, the Irish Nationalists and the Laborites. The Conservative Party favors union with Ireland, an aggressive foreign policy, tariff reform (Protection), moderate social legislation, and land reform along conservative lines. Now that Parliament is under democratic control, Conservatives are beginning to question the long-accepted doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament. They advocate the referendum, a device by which the people themselves would be called upon to vote directly on an important bill over which the two Houses disagree. By this device they hope to circumscribe the unchecked freedom of action of the Commons. The Conservative Party represents, in the main, the landed interests and receives the almost solid support of the rural vote. When Joseph Chamberlain deserted the Liberals on account of Irish Home Rule,[1] he took with him into the Conservative ranks a capitalistic element which has since made itself sufficiently powerful to dictate the policies of the old, aristocratic Tories.

The Liberals

The Liberals favor home rule for Ireland, radical social reform, free trade, land reform, restriction of the liquor traffic, the abolition of plural voting, and the supremacy of Parliament in the government of Great Britain. Most of the support of the Liberals comes from the middle and working classes in the industrial regions of the kingdom. In recent years a radical element led by Lloyd George has appeared in the Liberal Party, which is no longer satisfied with the Gladstonian tradition of slow progress along the path of political democracy, but wishes to go much faster along the new path of *social* democracy.

The Nationalists and Laborites

Although there are now four parties in Parliament, the essential character of the English two-party system, the Government and the Opposition, has not been seriously undermined, because the Irish and Labor parties are too small to play the part that the Continental groups do in forming cabinets. They have, however, profoundly influenced the policies of the two leading parties, especially of the Liberals, with whom they have been closely allied since the election of 1906.

POLITICAL HISTORY (1867–1906)

Gladstone

During the latter half of the nineteenth century two great personalities, Gladstone and Disraeli, dominated England's public life to a degree almost unparalleled in her history. Their ideals and characters made a lasting impression upon their own generation and greatly influenced the generation that followed them. William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) was born in the city of Liverpool. His father was a wealthy merchant who gave his son the best education possible in the England of that day. Young Gladstone was sent to Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself both as a student and as a debater. In 1833 he was elected to the House of Commons as a Conservative. His eloquence and ability gained him immediate recognition, and he was acclaimed by Macaulay, the famous historian, as the "brightest hope of the stern, unbending Tories." For some years he was the faithful follower of Sir Robert Peel, who was a past-master in the art of adapting himself to changing political conditions. An earnest study of English political and social institutions, a slowly dawning conviction that a democratic England was inevitable, and a natural desire to be the leader in the new time, drew the rising young statesman from the Conservative to the Liberal Party. For many years Gladstone was the leading spokesman of progressive liberalism and the chief builder of modern England. Although frequently accused of being a demagogue, because of his eloquent defense of democratic principles, he was far indeed from being a revolutionary radical. On the contrary, he believed in liberty "broadening down from precedent to precedent"; and to the day of his death he continued to "grow visibly." Gladstone was a man of many abilities. As an orator he was unsurpassed, and received the homage of a generation that knew Bright, Disraeli, and Macaulay. He was also a master of national finance and could make the intricacies of a budget as interesting as an exposition of human rights. When Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Coalition Ministry, he once held the rapt attention of the House for five hours while he was expounding the budget for the year. Gladstone's main political interest was in domestic reform. In the Empire as a whole he had but scant interest; and in foreign affairs he frequently showed himself incapable of grasping the true significance of great events such as the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War. No man since the Earl of Chatham exercised so wonderful an influence over his countrymen as did Gladstone, who advocated his political principles with a moral fervor and religious earnestness that made him appear the very model of a Christian statesman.

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[1] See p. 394.

Disraeli

His famous rival was Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81), later known as the Earl of Beaconsfield. Disraeli was born in London of Jewish parents, but received Christian baptism and was admitted into the Anglican Church at the age of thirteen. Although he was not sent to any of the great English colleges, he was carefully educated by his father, who was a literary man of some talent. From his earliest youth Disraeli was consumed with the ambition to play a prominent rôle in politics. In 1837 he entered Parliament as an independent radical. When he was making his maiden speech, his florid oratory and sensational mode of dress produced such an uproar in the House that he was compelled to sit down, shouting defiantly at the same time that the day would come when they would be glad to hear him. He continued to attract attention as a writer of political novels, which are remarkable, not so much for their literary qualities as for their keen analysis of English political and social conditions. He again entered Parliament in 1841, this time as a Conservative. Before long his political abilities brought him recognition in spite of the prejudice against him because of his origin and personality. The leader of the Conservative Party, Sir Robert Peel, did not take kindly to young Disraeli. When Peel yielded to the demand for repealing the Corn Laws,[1] Disraeli immediately came forward as the champion of protection, and in a speech vibrant with sarcasm and scorn he denounced Peel as a betrayer of the Conservative Party and as a "sublime mediocrity" who, being devoid of originality, became the "burglar of other men's minds." From that day till his death, Disraeli was absolute master of his party, which followed him willingly or unwillingly, because it was recognized among the landed gentry that he alone could rehabilitate conservatism in the new England that had arisen since 1832.

Disraeli resolved "to educate his own party" in the new problems confronting the generation of his day. He came to the rather startling conclusion that an alliance between the aristocrats and the working class against the middle class, the two extremes as against the middle, was the wisest policy for the Conservatives. This he called "Tory Democracy," and, to attract the workingman to his standard, he advocated the liberalizing of the Tory Party in novels, speeches, and pamphlets. The Liberals who had exhausted their political energies in promoting reforms, he once wittily described as "a row of extinct volcanoes." Plausible as the idea of "Tory Democracy" appeared, it failed of its object chiefly because the Liberal Party under Gladstone's leadership became more progressive; it had moreover the advantage of being able to claim to its credit the first great step toward democracy taken in 1832. Disraeli urged another policy on the Conservative Party, imperialism, which he characterized as "the sublime instinct of an ancient people." The British Empire had grown up mainly as a result of private enterprise, and it had often been treated with neglect and indifference by the Government. It was Disraeli's idea that Great Britain should become conscious of her imperial duties and extend her sway by an aggressive foreign policy. He made a vivid appeal to the English imagination, and the Conservative Party gladly adopted the policy of imperialism which has since proved to be its greatest political asset.

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[1] See p. 71.

Victorian England could boast of two other distinguished figures that shed luster upon her history, namely, John Bright and John Stuart Mill. John Bright (1811–89) was a typical representative of the middle classes who had come into power with the Reform Bill of 1832. He was a stanch believer in the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and for that reason he opposed factory legislation; but he was consistently in favor of political democracy and was always a valiant champion of the liberal movements of his day. Bright effectively aided Cobden in his anti-Corn Law agitation and Gladstone in his efforts to extend the franchise. As we have already seen,[1] he was an enemy of

Bright

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[1] See p. 74.

slavery and espoused the cause of the North during the Civil War. Bright's abilities as an orator were of the very highest; by some of his contemporaries he was rated as the ablest orator of the day.

Mill

John Stuart Mill (1806–73), political philosopher and economist, was one of the great intellectual influences of his generation. As a disciple of Jeremy Bentham, Mill championed the ideals of the Utilitarian School of philosophy, whose fundamental doctrine was "to do the greatest good to the greatest number"; by this they meant that government and society ought to be so organized as to bring comfort and happiness to the mass of the people. In economics Mill espoused the ideas of the Manchester School, which he made popular by his books on political economy. He had an extraordinary gift for lucid statement, and his writings are crystal clear in their exposition of varied and complex phenomena. He was conspicuous for open-mindedness and intellectual honesty and ahead of his generation in many of his ideas. He warmly espoused the cause of woman suffrage and advocated the reorganization of the electoral system on the basis of proportional representation.[1]

The Education Act

The Reform Bill of 1867, like that of 1832, was followed by an era of reform. Now that the working classes were enfranchised, the general sentiment was that an educated democracy was less dangerous than an ignorant one. "We must educate our masters," said the Conservative, Robert Lowe. Gladstone's first Ministry (1868–74) put through the Forster Education Act (1870) establishing for the first time a national system of popular education. The declared aim of this law was "to complete the voluntary system and fill up the gaps." Great Britain was divided into school districts, and new schools were built where there was not a sufficient number already established. These new schools, known as "Board Schools," were supported mainly by local taxation and were placed under the control of popularly elected boards. Illiteracy, which at one time had been very high in Great Britain,[1] began to fall rapidly. To-day, with education both free and compulsory, it is practically non-existent.

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[1] See p. 492.

Gladstone's first Ministry

When Gladstone took office he announced that his first mission was to pacify Ireland. The Irish Question, therefore, occupied a prominent place in the program of his Ministry. A law disestablishing the Anglican Church in Ireland was passed in 1869; and during the following year the first of the famous Irish Land Acts was enacted.[2] The most notable act of the Gladstone Ministry in the realm of foreign affairs was the settlement in 1871 of the Alabama Claims. These grew out of the claims of the United States against England for giving assistance to the Alabama and other Southern privateers in their depredations on Northern commerce. After much negotiation the matter was settled by a board of arbitrators, who awarded the United States the sum of fifteen and a half million dollars.

Disraeli's Ministry

Disraeli's Ministry (1874–80) was as notable in foreign affairs as Gladstone's had been in domestic affairs. It was the aim of the new Premier to have his country play a great part in the affairs of the world by pursuing a vigorous foreign policy and by extending the boundaries of the Empire. Egypt made her entry into the British Empire in 1875 through England's purchase of the Suez Canal shares held by the Khedive.[3] Disraeli emphasized his imperalism in a highly dramatic manner in 1877 by having Queen Victoria crowned with great ceremony as Empress of India. The Bulgarian atrocities, which precipitated the Near Eastern crisis of 1877,[4] aroused such great indignation in England that a demand, voiced by Gladstone, arose that the Turk be driven out of Europe. But the Disraeli Ministry, following the traditional policy of England in the Near East, backed Turkey against Russia during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. At the Congress of

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[1] In the middle of the nineteenth century about thirty per cent of the men and about fifty per cent of the women were illiterate.

[2] See p. 390.

[3] See p. 404.

[4] See p. 632.

Berlin, Disraeli played a prominent if not a great part, and he left the Congress bringing, as he said, "peace with honor."[1] The Government was denounced by Gladstone in a series of stirring speeches to his constituents in Midlothian for its support of the Sultan and for its neglect of domestic reforms to such good effect that in the election of 1880 the Liberals were overwhelmingly successful; and Gladstone returned to power.

Gladstone's second Ministry

Gladstone's second Ministry (1880–85) was even more notable than his first. Once more domestic reform became the leading question in English politics. A stringent Corrupt Practices Act was passed in 1883 which forbade, under severe penalties, the bribery of voters, directly or indirectly. This law, together with the introduction of the Australian, or secret, ballot (1872), did much to purify the English electoral system. As the extension of the suffrage had been the main principle of the Liberals, they had been for a time discouraged when the Conservatives "stole their clothes" by passing the Reform Bill of 1867. The Conservatives hoped that out of gratitude the newly enfranchised would support them; but in this they were doomed to disappointment, for most of the workingmen supported the Liberal Party, which, under Gladstone's leadership, became the champion of complete democracy. The Reform Bill of 1867 did not by any means establish universal suffrage, for, as we have seen,[2] it was so drawn as to exclude the agricultural laborers from voting. In 1884 Gladstone, ably seconded by John Bright, carried through Parliament the third great Reform Bill against the vigorous opposition of the Conservatives. The new law placed the county franchise on the same footing as that of the borough by giving the vote in the counties to all householders and to those who paid at least fifty dollars (£10) a year for lodgings. It is estimated that the Reform Bill of 1884 increased the electorate from about three to about five million. Universal manhood suffrage was now virtually established in Great Britain, as the number of those still excluded from voting, sons living with their parents and servants living with their employers, was comparatively small. However, a new suffrage question arose, Woman Suffrage, which will be described in another chapter.[1] In 1885 Parliament passed the Redistribution Act, which reapportioned the country into constituencies more or less equal in size. Unfortunately, provision was not made for a periodic redistribution of seats, as is the case in America, where, under the Federal Constitution, a reapportionment is made every ten years. Failure to provide this safeguard has permitted the growth of a new "rotten-borough" system, as the party in power is naturally reluctant to change the constituencies lest it suffer thereby.

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[1] For further details see p. 635.

[2] See p. 76.

Overthrow of the Gladstone Ministry

Gladstone's temperamental dislike of an aggressive policy in the conduct of foreign affairs greatly dissatisfied the country. When he yielded to the Boers after the British defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881,[2] the Conservatives denounced the Government's action as a humiliation of the British Empire. His hesitation in sending a relief expedition to General Gordon when the latter was besieged by the followers of the Mahdi at Khartum,[3] and the subsequent death of the General, whom the country regarded as a martyr, made the Ministry so unpopular that, in July, 1885, it was overthrown.

Salisbury's first Ministry

The new Prime Minister was Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Disraeli as the leader of the Conservative Party. Salisbury was a member of the Cecil family, distinguished in English history since the days of Queen Elizabeth. He was a disciple of Disraeli, and, like his master, was noted for his caustic wit; but, unlike him, he was a man of a narrow, aristocratic outlook and therefore lacking in sympathy with the progressive ideas of his time. Salisbury was in office but a short time, for the Liberals won in the general election in December, 1885. Gladstone's third Ministry was a short one (February–August, 1886), but it was made notable by the introduction of the first Irish Home Rule Bill.[4] Gladstone was bitterly denounced for his championship of the Irish both by Liberals and by Conservatives. John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, and Lord Randolph Churchill led a secession movement from the Liberal Party to vote against it. "An intolerable, an imbecile, an accursed bill," was Lord Salisbury's opinion of the measure; the solution of the Irish Question, he declared, was not in concession, but in coercion. The bill was defeated by a combination of Conservatives and Liberals.

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[1] See pp. 607 ff.

[2] See p. 414.

[3] See p. 406.

[4] See p. 393.

Gladstone's third Ministry

A Conservative Government was again organized under Lord Salisbury. His second Ministry (1886–92) was chiefly occupied with the Irish problem. Many outrages were committed by the Irish tenants against the landlords, and the Land League was accused of secretly encouraging the turbulent Irish. Arthur Balfour, Salisbury's nephew, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he determined to suppress ruthlessly the lawless agitation of the Irish. A drastic Crimes Act was passed, and it was vigorously enforced. The Conservatives, however, decided to quiet Irish discontent by land legislation favorable to the peasants, and so they passed the Land Purchase Act of 1891.[1] An important measure of political reform was accomplished by the Salisbury Ministry through the passing of the County Councils Act of 1888. This measure did for the rural districts what the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 had done for the cities: political control was taken away from the local aristocracy and given to popularly elected bodies.

Salisbury's second Ministry

Gladstone's fourth Ministry (1892–94), like his third, was occupied mainly with the Irish Question. In 1893 he introduced the second Home Rule Bill.[2] This time it passed the Commons, but it was defeated by the Lords. Shortly afterwards Gladstone retired from public life and was succeeded as Premier by Lord Rosebery. The latter, having no sympathy with Irish Home Rule, made no effort to agitate the question any further. The Rosebery Ministry (1894–95) was responsi-

Gladstone's fourth Ministry

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[1] See p. 391.

[2] See p. 394.

ble for an important tax law fathered by Sir William Harcourt which laid heavy "death duties," or taxes on inheritances.

Salisbury's third Ministry; Chamberlain

In the general elections of 1895, the Conservatives were overwhelmingly successful, and they ruled England for an entire decade. From 1895 to 1902 Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister and from 1902 to 1905 Balfour was at the helm. This decade is a crucial period in the history of the British Empire, as once more imperial questions came to the fore in English politics. An important figure in the Conservative Ministry was Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary. Chamberlain began his political life as a radical Liberal, and he attracted considerable attention by reforming the government of Birmingham, his home city, where for many years afterwards he dominated political life. Although a manufacturer and the representative of an industrial section, he yet was sufficiently far-sighted to favor social legislation for the benefit of the working classes. As we have already seen, he left the Liberal Party on the Home Rule issue; later he joined the Conservatives with a group of followers who called themselves "Unionists." Chamberlain devoted the latter part of his political life to a vigorous agitation for protection and imperial preference;[1] he believed that only by the adoption of these policies could the British Empire be maintained under modern conditions. On the question of protection the Conservatives became divided into two camps, for many had become adherents of free trade; Chamberlain, finding himself in a minority, resigned his office in 1903.

Balfour

Arthur James Balfour was another prominent figure of this period. He is an excellent example of the English intellectual in politics, his speeches being distinguished by literary and philosophic qualities of a high order. Although an aristocrat and a Conservative, Balfour's fine personal character and tolerant openmindedness brought him respect even from the extreme radicals in Parliament. His equivocal attitude regarding protection aroused a formidable opposition to him among the tariff reformers, or protectionists, in his own party; in 1912 he was deposed as leader of the Conservatives and was succeeded by a stanch protectionist, Andrew Bonar-Law.

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[1] See p. 421.

Foreign affairs

The Boer War[1] was fought during the Salisbury Ministry. The war was opposed by the Liberals but it was enthusiastically supported by the overwhelming majority of the English people, and in the general elections of 1900 the Conservatives were returned to power on the war issue with a majority of 134. A dispute with Venezuela, in 1895, over the boundary line between that country and British Guiana almost led to a war with the United States on account of the Monroe Doctrine; but the matter was amicably settled by arbitration, resulting in a marked improvement in the relations between England and America, which had been strained since the Civil War.

Domestic legislation

Irish discontent continued to engage public attention, and the Conservatives endeavored to quiet the country by passing the Local Government Act (1898) and the Land Purchase Act (1903).[2] In 1902 they passed an Education Act[3] favorable to the schools of the Established Church, which aroused great opposition, particularly among Nonconformists. The Conservatives had been in office for a long time, and a general reaction was now setting in against them. They aroused popular fury by permitting the mine-owners in South Africa to import Chinese coolies to work under conditions of semi-slavery. As a consequence they suffered a great defeat in the elections of 1906, which returned about 380 Liberals and only about 160 Conservatives.

Religious and Educational Reforms

A State Church is an inheritance from the Protestant Revolution, which split up the international Catholic Church into national fragments. For several centuries after the Protestant Revolution, a common belief prevailed that it was as much the duty of the State to protect souls from heresy as it was to protect persons in their lives and property. Until the Revolution of 1689, the English law presumed every subject to be a member of the national Anglican Church; later only those possessing the political privileges of voting and holding office were presumed to be Anglicans. Even after the removal of the disabilities of Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews, the Anglican Establishment remained the favored Church of the nation. The King was its head; and its bishops, appointed by the Government, had seats in the House of Lords. It was supported mainly from the "endowments," large properties given to the Church in times past by the State; and the income from this source was supplemented by donations from its adherents and further augmented by local taxes known as "church rates" and "tithes," levied on citizens irrespective of their beliefs. The nation directly contributed to the support of the Establishment from a special fund called Queen Anne's Bounty.

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[1] See p. 416.

[2] See p. 391.

[3] See p. 342.

Church and State

With the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 there began a movement for religious equality which enlisted the hearty support of the new voters, mainly Dissenters, who objected vigorously to supporting a Church in whose doctrines they did not believe. In 1868 Parliament abolished compulsory church rates by forbidding the prosecution of those who refused to pay them. As we have already seen,[1] a step was taken in the direction of religious equality by the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The requirement that only Anglicans should be granted degrees at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was repealed in 1871 by an act of Parliament. The Burials Act of 1880 permitted Nonconformist burial services in the parish churchyards. Each of these laws was a step toward the equalization of all religious denominations.

Steps toward religious equality

The right to be a member of Parliament had been granted to all Christians and Jews. Could the right be withheld from an atheist, or one who was opposed to all religions and disbelieved in the existence of God? Charles Bradlaugh, a well-known atheist agitator, was elected to Parliament in 1880. Instead of taking the customary oath, in which the words "so help me God" occurred, he wished to make merely an affirmation of his allegiance to the British Crown. This privilege being denied to him, he offered to take the oath; but he was then told that it could have no meaning for an atheist, and his election was declared null and void. A heated controversy arose over the question whether belief in God ought to be a test for membership in Parliament. The matter was definitely settled in 1888 by an act which legalized an affirmation of loyalty as a substitute for the customary oath. Bradlaugh thereupon made the affirmation, and was admitted to the House. Now that an atheist was permitted to sit in Parliament, the last religious test for holding public office disappeared.

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[1] See p. 388.

The Bradlaugh case

Another sign of the growth of religious tolerance was the change made in the King's oath on the accession of George V in 1910 to the throne. The statute of 1688, in order to assure the country of the Protestantism of the King, required him, in the coronation oath, to denounce the Catholic religion as "superstitious and idolatrous." In 1910 Parliament established a new oath which required the King merely to swear that he would maintain the laws governing the Protestant succession.

The King's oath

The next step taken toward religious equality was the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales. For many years it had been the national grievance of the Welsh people, about seventy per cent of whom were Nonconformists, that they were compelled to support an "alien church." Lloyd George, himself a Welshman and one of the most influential men in Parliament, stood forth as the ardent champion of disestablishment. The proposal was bitterly attacked by the Conservatives, who feared that disestablishment in Wales would become a precedent for a similar policy in England.

Disestablishment of the Welsh Church

A bill disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales passed the Commons, but it was thrown out by the Lords. After a delay of two years it became law in 1914 under the Parliament Act of 1911.[1] The four Welsh bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords, and the Church in Wales was "disendowed" of much of its property, the income from which was hereafter to be devoted to educational and charitable purposes; but a large fund was set aside for the maintenance of the Welsh clergy. The sudden outbreak of the World War led to the passage of an amendment which suspended the operation of the Welsh Disestablishment Act until the close of the war.

Conservative opposition to popular education

The advance of popular education in England has been greatly retarded by the powerful opposition of aristocratic and religious influences. It was feared by conservative people that, if the common man were given an education, he would become discontented, rebellious, and atheistic; ignorance, or, at best, education under religious influences, was considered a safeguard against revolutionary ideas.

The Board and Voluntary Schools

As we have already seen,[2] a system of national secular education, the Board Schools, had been established in 1870. But many children continued to attend the Voluntary Schools, which were under sectarian control and were supported largely by private contributions. In these schools direct religious instruction was given along sectarian lines, but the children whose parents objected to such teaching were permitted to absent themselves from the periods devoted to religious instruction. In the Board Schools the law required only simple Bible instruction and forbade the teaching of any "catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any denomination."

The two school systems were in constant and bitter rivalry. Support by local taxation gave the Board Schools the advantage of ample funds, and the superior equipment, which they were therefore enabled to secure, attracted to them an attendance larger than that of the Voluntary Schools. The latter, which were mainly under Anglican auspices, inaugurated a campaign for greater financial assistance from the Government. The Conservatives, always friendly to the Established Church, passed a new education law in 1902 which considerably modified the act of 1870. The local school boards were abolished, and the control of the Board Schools was vested in a committee of the county or borough council; but the Voluntary Schools were to continue under sectarian control. Provision was also made for the support of *both* systems by local taxation.

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[1] See p. 363.

[2] See p. 332.

The Education Act of 1902

This law caused widespread indignation, particularly among the Nonconformists, who were strongly opposed to public support of the Anglican schools. Many resolved on a policy of "passive resistance." For refusing to pay the local school tax some were imprisoned and others had their property seized by the Government. The Liberals, who were friendly to the Nonconformists, promised to repeal the Education Act of 1902; and when a Liberal Ministry came into power in 1906, it introduced a bill in Parliament which embodied the following principles: that no school was to be considered a part of the national system unless it was under public control; that religious instruction was to be given only to those who desired it and by persons not connected with the schools; and that there should be no religious test in the appointment of teachers. The bill passed the Commons but was defeated by the Lords, who, because of their Anglican sympathies, were determined to block every effort of the Liberals to deal with the education question.

Opposition of the Nonconformists

ADVANCE OF TRADE UNIONISM

If the introduction of machinery had the effect of separating into two camps the capitalists and the laborers, it also resulted in bringing numerous workers nearer together. Massed in one place, doing the same or similar work, getting the same wages, living in the

Concentration of labor

same barrack-like homes, the factory laborers naturally got to feel a sense of solidarity and of common interest.

Origin of trade unions

The conditions of employment — dirty factories, low wages, and long hours — imposed by the manufacturers during the Industrial Revolution made the working class realize that they would sink into a condition of abject slavery unless they found some means of protecting their interests as against those of the mill-owners. The refusal of one or of several workers to accept the terms of their employer would not seriously disconcert the latter, as he could easily get plenty of others to fill the vacant places. Out of these conditions a new institution shortly developed, the "trade" or "labor union," which is a continuous association of wage-earners in the same trade for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment through common action. The labor unions asserted the principle of "collective bargaining," by which they meant that the entire group employed at a trade or in a factory should demand better terms as a union; in case of refusal the entire group should then "strike," or cease working. As it was difficult to replace a large group of strikers, this would probably lead to a shutting-down of the factory; and, if the strike were prolonged, to the financial ruin of the employers. Many strikes accompanied by violence took place. This so frightened employers and the well-to-do classes generally that, in 1799 and 1800, Parliament passed a series of acts, known as the "Combination Laws," which forbade any combination of workingmen for the purpose of increasing wages or of shortening the hours of labor, on the ground that such associations were in restraint of trade. Trade unions were declared illegal, and strikes were classed with conspiracies against the State. "The power of making laws," wrote Arnold Toynbee in his famous book, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*, "was concentrated in the hands of landowners, the great merchant princes, and a small knot of capitalist manufacturers, who wielded that power in the interest of their class rather than for the good of the people." Workingmen were frequently convicted of the crime of combining to raise the price of their labor, and they consequently formed secret unions that resorted to violent methods.

Opposition to trade unions

The trade unions were under the ban of both law and public opinion. Employers naturally opposed them because they were continually demanding better wages; aristocrats feared them as expressions of that radical democracy which had brought on the French Revolution; the clergy denounced them as breeders of discontent among the working classes, whose lot in life had been fixed by Providence; and many people, otherwise sympathetic with the poor, feared that, if trade unions got control, British industry would be driven from the markets of the world by foreign competition.

Progress of trade unionism

In spite of poverty, ignorance, and insufficient organization, the working classes did manage to impress the general public with the essential justice of the aims of the trade unions. The growth of these associations, despite hostile laws, was very rapid, owing to the remarkable development of English industry. It was Francis Place, the London tailor, who became the leader of a movement to repeal the Combination Laws. In a quiet but effective way he brought pressure to bear on Parliament; and in 1824 the Combination Laws against trade unions were repealed to the extent of allowing unions to make wage agreements with employers. But an outbreak of violent strikes caused Parliament to withdraw most of the concessions made by the law of 1824. Under the inspiration of Robert Owen, the social reformer, a Grand Consolidated Trades Union was formed in 1834, consisting of about half a million men in all kinds of trades, whose object was to usher in a new social system by means of a general strike of all labor. The scheme failed miserably, and the Grand Consolidated soon broke up into small craft unions. Because of the rise of Chartism, the unions were for a time under the ban of public opinion; but a reaction in their favor soon followed. In 1859 Parliament gave partial recognition to the unions by permitting a person peaceably "to persuade others to cease or abstain from work, in order to obtain the rate of wages or the altered hours of labor agreed to by him and others." However, the unions were not yet fully free to pursue their activities; they were still held by law to be "in restraint of trade," and the criminal code continued to regard strikes as conspiracies.

Legal recognition of the trade unions

The Reform Bill of 1867, which enfranchised the working classes in the towns, was bound to lead to efforts by the new voters to ameliorate their condition. During the years 1867–69 there was widespread labor unrest; strikes, accompanied by violence, were matters of everyday occurrence. In order fully to understand the questions in dispute between capital and labor, a royal commission was appointed to investigate all aspects of the differences between them. The report of this commission was very notable, for its recommendations were embodied in the great act of 1871, which constitutes the "charter of liberties" of English trade unionism. The Combination Laws were repealed, and workingmen were henceforth permitted to perform those acts in combination that they could legally do as individuals. The unions were put on a legal basis, and the old theory of "restraint of trade," under which they had been prosecuted, was repudiated; hence a unionist could no longer be charged with conspiracy. Strikes were made legal, and the principle of "collective bargaining" was clearly recognized. This law was passed against the bitter opposition of the manufacturers, who stoutly contended that they alone had the right to determine the conditions of industry, and that any attempt to limit this right, either by the union or by the State, was a violation of the fundamental rights of liberty and property. Once social stigma and legal barriers were removed from the trade unions, membership in these societies began to grow rapidly. The English labor organizations became models for workingmen throughout the world; their discipline was excellent, their treasuries well filled, and their morale admirable. They showed such moderation that even the conservative classes became finally convinced of the utility of labor unions under modern conditions.

The strike of the dockers

Those who had won the fight for recognition were mainly skilled workers. Among the unskilled laborers, both in the town and in the country, there was much discontent; but the difficulties in the way of organizing poorly paid, overworked, and scattered workingmen were very great. In 1889 occurred the famous strike of the dockers, who were rapidly organized by John Burns, a resourceful and heroic leader. It was a remarkable demonstration by many thousands of unskilled laborers, whose wages were low, hours long, and employment uncertain. The strike was free from violence, and it aroused the greatest sympathy among prominent men in all walks of life, who warmly supported the dockers in their demand for better conditions. The strikers won, and the victory helped to spread the idea of unionism among the unskilled. Even the agricultural laborers organized; they formed a union of thousands of men throughout the country under another famous labor leader, Joseph Arch. But the agricultural laborers' union was short-lived, for it encountered the powerful opposition of lords, farmers, and clergy, all of whom combined to destroy it.

The Taff Vale decision

A new epoch in British trade unionism began with the Taff Vale decision of 1901. During a strike of the railway men against the Taff Vale Railway in Wales, efforts were made by the strikers to prevent the company from bringing in "black-legs," or non-union laborers, by picketing the railway stations. The union was sued by the railway company, and it was found guilty by the House of Lords, acting as a supreme court of justice, of conspiring to intimidate workingmen to break their contract and aiding and abetting acts of violence against the property of the company; as a punishment, the union was ordered to pay heavy damages.

This decision alarmed the many trade unionists throughout Great Britain, as their funds were hereafter to be placed in jeopardy in case of a strike. It was strongly denounced by a national conference representing labor unions, Socialist organizations, and radical societies, which determined to form a new party to represent the interests of organized labor and of the lower classes generally. In this way was born the Labor Party, which, at its first venture in the elections of 1906, succeeded in winning twenty-nine seats in Parliament. This group, coöperating with the radical element among the Liberals, induced Parliament to pass the Trades Disputes Act (1906), which nullified the Taff Vale decision by legalizing peaceful picketing and by prohibiting legal action against trade unions for damages on account of breaches of contract. This law placed the trade union in the privileged position of an association against which no civil suit could be entertained.

The Trades Disputes Act

Organized labor now had two weapons, the trade union and a political party, and it was not slow to use either or both, as the occasion arose, to advance its interests. The entrance of a third party in British politics had an important bearing on party government. At every succeeding election the Laborites consolidated and increased their forces until they formed, in 1914, a compact group of about forty members of Parliament, representing chiefly the trade unions, but also the Independent Labor Party, the most important socialist organization in Great Britain. Although independent as an organization, the Labor Party has generally acted with the Liberals, because the latter are more sympathetic with democratic and social reforms than are the Conservatives; and, although many of the Laborites are believers in socialism, the party has not been active in propagating its doctrines. It is largely interested in advocating specific labor demands, such as a universal eight-hour law and a minimum wage for all workers.[1] The Labor Party has had an influence in quickening the pace of British radicalism; during the reform era, from 1906 to 1914, the Liberals found the support of this party indispensable. J. Ramsay MacDonald, a moderate socialist

The Labor Party

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[1] See p. 594.

of unusual ability, and Keir Hardie, a radical socialist and popular trade unionist, were the founders and leaders of the Labor Party.

The "Osbourne Judgment"

In order to pay the campaign expenses of its candidates and the salaries of its representatives in Parliament, the Labor Party was forced to draw upon trade-union funds. But the House of Lords, in 1909, rendered a decision, known as the "Osbourne Judgment," which prohibited the use of trade-union funds for political purposes. This was a severe blow to the party, for it had no other financial resources. As a result of this decision an item providing for the payment of salaries of two thousand dollars (£400) a year to all members of Parliament was included in the budget of 1911.[1] Later, a law was passed allowing the funds of a union to be used for political action if the majority of the members should so decide, but the minority were to be exempt from contributing for this purpose.

Unrest among the working classes

In recent years unrest among the British laboring classes has been increasing. At first socialism, and then syndicalism,[2] made headway among the hitherto stolid and conservative masses. Perhaps a more potent cause for discontent than radical agitation has been the increase in the cost of living. Prices of food and rent have been advancing in Great Britain during the first decade of the twentieth century in spite of free trade. Wages, it is true, have also risen, but not so rapidly as prices; hence what are termed "real wages," or the purchasing power of wages, have actually fallen.

An era of strikes

During the years 1911–14 a series of general strikes took place that greatly alarmed both the Government and the public. A strike of the seamen and firemen belonging to the Transport Workers' Union took place in 1911, which won for its members an increase in wages. It was followed by a strike of the railway employees, numbering about a million men, who succeeded in tying up the transportation of the whole country; but only a partial victory was won by the union because of the vigorous action taken by the Government. In 1912 came a strike of the miners, which proved so serious a menace to the industrial life of the nation that Parliament enacted a minimum wage law, according to which the wages of the miners were to be fixed, not by the employers solely, as formerly, but by wage boards representing the employers, the laborers, and the Government. A second strike of the transport workers proved a failure. In 1913 a general strike of the Irish transport workers broke out in Dublin which was extremely bitter, many clashes taking place between the strikers and the police. James Larkin, the leader of the strikers, was arrested for preaching sedition and riot; but, owing to his popularity and to the general sympathy for the underpaid Irish workers, he was almost immediately released. The strike collapsed, but it led to the organization of an Irish Labor Party to represent the cause of the workingmen in the proposed Dublin Parliament. In 1914 the public employees of Woolwich Arsenal went on strike. This, and the fact that the postal employees were forming a union, raised the question whether public employees had the right to organize and to strike against the Government which represented, not a group of capitalists, but the whole people. The general strike fever infected even the agricultural laborers, who once more began to form unions and to demand better conditions.

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[1] A similar provision has been inserted in the annual budget ever since.

[2] See pp. 599 ff.

Growth of big industrial unions

A marked transformation was taking place in British trade unionism. The craft unions, composed of small groups of laborers engaged in special occupations, were giving place more and more to large industrial unions, composed of all the workers of a particular industry. Trade-union membership was continually increasing,[1] but the number of unions was decreasing. In 1914 the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Transport Workers' Federation formed a triple alliance which, in case of a general strike, would result in the calling out of over a million and a half men.

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[1] From 1895 to 1914 there was an increase of one hundred and seventy-three per cent in the membership of the trade unions.

The Land Question

System of land monopoly

So deeply have the English people been absorbed in the development of their commerce and industry that only in recent years has any serious attention been devoted to the pressing problem of landlordism. As we have already seen,[1] the enclosure movement at the end of the eighteenth century resulted in the disappearance of the yeomanry and in the establishment of vast estates owned by a small group of titled aristocrats. Two thirds of all the land in England and Wales is owned by about ten thousand persons, and nine tenths of all Scotland by about seventeen hundred persons; fully one tenth of all of Great Britain is the property of twenty-seven lords. Many of these large estates are "entailed," that is, they cannot be legally sold, mortgaged, or divided. The rural population consists of three general classes, the lords, or the owners of the land, the tenant farmers, or those who rent their farms for a definite period of years from the lords, and the agricultural laborers, or those who are employed by the farmers and the lords.

Decline of agriculture

Notwithstanding the great improvement in the methods of cultivation, the amount of food produced in England during the nineteenth century was not sufficient to supply the needs of the rapidly growing industrial population. The repeal of the Corn Laws seriously injured British agriculture, which could not stand the competition of the immense wheat-fields of North and South America. Cattle-raising, too, began to decline when the importation of beef and mutton became possible with the introduction of cold-storage methods of preserving meats in transit.

In recent years Englishmen have been deeply concerned over their agricultural backwardness. Many have questioned the wisdom of sacrificing agriculture for the sake of

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[1] See p. 55.

Revival of interest in agriculture

industrial supremacy. A country like Great Britain, which is dependent almost entirely for its food supply upon foreign imports, is in a dangerous position in case of war; should her supremacy at sea be destroyed and her shores be effectively blockaded, the inhabitants might be brought to the point of starvation in a short time. Moreover, the decline of agriculture means the decline of the rural population, the most healthy element in the life of a nation. "We wish to develop our undeveloped estates," once declared Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Prime Minister, "and to colonize our own country. The health and stamina of the nation are bound up with the maintenance of a large class of workers on the soil. The town population redundant, the country population decimated, is a subversion of healthy national life."

Exemption of the lords from the payment of rates

Land has peculiar attractions for certain classes of Englishmen, because it brings social, political, and economic privileges and advantages to the owner. The highest social rank is accorded to the owner of an estate, who is generally the local justice of the peace, controls the "living," or the appointment of the Anglican minister of the parish church, and takes precedence in all matters of consequence in his vicinity. Should the "squire," as he is called, desire to enter political life, he finds a ready-made constituency in his tenants. Landowners in England still possess great economic privileges, for they are to a considerable degree exempt from paying taxes on their estates. In general, it may be said that the English principle of land taxation is that the *occupier* pays the rates; hence the lord pays on that small portion only which he himself occupies; and he escapes payment on all the rest, which is borne by his tenants.[1] Until the budget of 1909 the unoccupied parts of the estate — game preserves, parks, lawns, gardens — entirely escaped taxation. Considerable comment was aroused when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, in a speech on the budget of 1909, instanced the case of a tailor in Cardiff, Wales, who owned eight hundred square yards of land and was assessed £947, while his neighbor, the Marquis of Bute, who owned half a million square yards, was assessed only £921. It is with good reason, therefore, that Britain has been called "the landlord's paradise."

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[1] The amount of rent paid by the tenants is to some extent, however, regulated by the fact that they pay the rates; were the lord required to pay them he might demand higher rents.

Evils of the land system

The social and political advantages of landownership in Great Britain are so great that the cultivation of the soil itself is a matter of secondary importance. Large tracts of land are given over to sport, and frequently the lord spends more on the game preserves than he does for purely agricultural purposes; and so widespread is this practice that there has come into existence a "sporting tenant," who pays handsomely for the privilege of hunting on the estate. Severe punishment is meted out to those who poach on the game preserves of the lord. Land is constantly being withdrawn from cultivation and given over to sport. It has been computed that the arable land under cultivation shrank one and one half million acres during the two decades preceding the budget of 1909.[1] The tenant farmers are slow to cultivate the soil to the best advantage for the reason that they hold their farms on short leases. The improvements that they make belong to the owner of the land at the expiration of the lease, the law holding that he who owns the surface of the land owns also everything above and below it. Compensation for improvements and for damages done to the crops by the game is allowed, but it is small in amount and generally hard to collect. Rents are constantly rising, for the lord demands more from the tenant at every opportunity; and the insecurity of tenure due to short leases forces the farmer to pay the increase rather than give up the holding upon which he has expended labor and money.

Far worse than the lot of the tenants is the lot of the

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[1] During the World War much of this waste land was put under cultivation in order to increase the food supply.

The agricultural laborers

agricultural laborers. They work long hours, receive low wages, and are forced to live in "tied" cottages,[1] the rent of which is computed in their wages. Strange as it may seem, there is a serious problem of congestion in the English countryside. The cottages, although picturesque in appearance, are often overcrowded and unsanitary, as the owners refuse to improve them or to build new ones because they are not rented on a commercial basis. The agricultural laborers, unlike the factory workers, have not been able to form powerful unions because they are so scattered throughout the country that it is difficult to organize them. All attempts to form unions have been frustrated by the lords and farmers, who have been able to inflict a double punishment upon the recalcitrants — loss of employment and eviction from their homes. In order to escape from the grip of the employers, thousands of rural laborers have crowded into the cities or have emigrated to the colonies, so that England, although it is studded here and there with teeming cities, has large areas that are thinly populated.[2]

Report of the parliamentary commission on land

A parliamentary commission was appointed to investigate the whole subject of the land; and its reports, issued in 1913-14, are of supreme importance in a study of the question. It made the following recommendations: (1) that Parliament enact a minimum wage law for agricultural laborers; (2) that rural housing conditions be reformed by the suppression of the "tied" cottages and by the building of new cottages at public expense; (3) that full compensation be paid to the tenant farmer for all improvements made by him and for damages done to his crops by game; (4) that the "sporting tenant" be abolished and the game laws be drastically altered; (5) that security of tenure be established by state regulation of leases and by a wider extension of the Small Holdings Acts;[3]

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[1] By a "tied" cottage is meant one that is a part of the estate.

[2] In 1914 only twenty-two per cent of the population of Great Britain lived in the country.

[3] In 1892 and in 1907 Parliament passed laws empowering the local county councils to purchase estates and to divide them into lots of less than fifty acres

and (6) that a Land Court be established with power to regulate the relations between landlords and tenants, to promote the well-being of the laborers, and to encourage the development of agriculture. The Liberal Party, under whose auspices the commission was appointed, favored this program.

The Conservative solution

Faced with a growing sentiment against land monopoly, many Conservatives, although belonging to the party of the landed aristocracy, favored some system of peasant proprietorship which would, at the same time, allow for the existence of large estates. They hoped that in this way a still more powerful landed interest would be established consisting of numerous small proprietors who, led by the lords, would give added strength to the Conservative Party. They also favored a protective tariff on foodstuffs which, they claimed, would result in a revival of English agriculture.

Favorable position of the English aristocracy

Although England is the most highly industrialized nation in the world, the power of her landed aristocracy has only been shaken, not broken. With the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 it was shorn of half of its political power; with the repeal of the Corn Laws it was deprived of special protection of its economic interests; with the enfranchisement of the lower classes it lost the prestige of being a political caste. But so long as land is a privileged form of property, its influence upon English life remains unbroken. The nobility still gives the social tone to the English people, fills the high offices in the State, controls the House of Lords, and has, as we have just seen, special privileges in matters of taxation. This is due partly to the high regard for caste felt by all classes of Englishmen, who have never democratized themselves socially as they have politically; and partly to the good sense of the aristocrats themselves. A striking characteristic of the English aristocracy is that it is conservative, not reactionary. It

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each, to be let to tenants on liberal terms. These Small Holdings Acts were passed with the purpose of encouraging the agricultural laborers to remain on the land by becoming tenants, not of a private but of a public landlord.

will fight progressive measures stubbornly and bitterly; but, once these have been established, it will not seek to undo them. The English aristocracy may, therefore, be trusted to maintain the *status quo*, whatsoever that may be. This attitude has satisfied both liberal and conservative elements of the nation, the former because it knew that sufficient pressure would bring concessions, and the latter because it knew that revolutionary changes would be impossible. And so the English aristocracy has been able to survive in the hostile environment of modern democracy.

SOCIAL ENGLAND

Political democracy and the problems it solved

The French Revolution gave the momentum to modern political democracy. Through agitation and reform in England, and through agitation and revolution on the Continent, the equality before the law of all classes, of all faiths, and of all opinions was to a large degree firmly established. Universal manhood suffrage was likewise granted, and the control of the State passed from autocratic and aristocratic hands to the masses of the people. But the problems that political democracy had solved were mainly those which affected the middle classes, for the Industrial Revolution, by establishing an entirely new environment for the millions of workingmen who came into being with the factory system, created far more problems than political democracy had solved.

Unequal distribution of wealth

England, the eldest daughter of the Industrial Revolution, had forged ahead of all other nations. Her manufacturers, merchants, capitalists, and shipbuilders reaped immense wealth, but the great mass of her workingmen shared only slightly in this prosperity. Few as were the benefits derived by the working classes, they, on the other hand, suffered in full measure from all the evils of the new system: unemployment, low wages, long hours, child labor, industrial accidents, and industrial diseases. Great wealth and dire poverty are strikingly evident in modern England. According to the most authoritative writers, three per cent of the population of the United Kingdom is classified as rich, nine per cent as comfortable, and eighty-eight per cent as poor.[1] About one half of the entire income of the nation is enjoyed by twelve per cent of the population and one third by three per cent. Millions live on the verge of starvation. In London this is true of as much as thirty per cent of the inhabitants. Poverty, like wealth, descends from one generation to another of the English poor, frequently resulting in physical and moral retrogression.

Agitation for social reform

Many Englishmen became deeply concerned about the condition of the masses, for they feared that the stamina of the English race would be undermined, which might possibly lead to national ruin in case of a conflict with a powerful enemy.[2] It was clearly realized that charity, whether private or public, could do but little to solve the problem of poverty. There was only one power, the State, reaching into every corner of the land and controlling every individual in the nation, that was sufficiently powerful to cope with the situation. A new school of writers, notably Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, and L. G. Chiozza-Money, appeared, who forcefully advocated that the State itself should become active in bettering social conditions in order to help those that were handicapped in the struggle for existence.

Abandonment of *laissez faire*

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed a striking change in the social and political structure of Great Britain. The liberal England of Gladstone, with her concern for political freedom, religious toleration, and individual liberty, was transformed into a radical England that was far more deeply concerned about the social and economic welfare of her people. Radical and even revolutionary forces, socialism and syndicalism, that had long been active among the lower classes, now rose to the surface of English society, and challenged the existing middle-class order, just as a century before the forces of democracy had challenged those of aristocracy. As a consequence, the historic English policy of *laissez faire* was completely abandoned, and the State became actively interested in labor, bringing the weight of its authority to bear on the solution of this problem in the interest of all classes in general and in that of the working classes in particular. The entrance of the State in the new rôle of social benefactor marked a revolution in British politics.

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[1] Charles Booth, *Life and Labor of the People in London;* L. G. Chiozza-Money, *Riches and Poverty;* and B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty.*

[2] During the Boer War the physical requirements for the army had to be lowered in order to get sufficient recruits.

The Liberal Ministry

When the Liberals came back into power, in 1906, they found an accumulation of domestic problems. During the decade of Conservative rule, imperial matters had taken precedence over domestic; and the enormous Liberal majority was partly due to the general discontent with the Salisbury and Balfour Ministries because of their sterility in the matter of social and political reform. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister in 1906; two years later he was succeeded by Herbert Henry Asquith, who remained at the head of the Government till 1916. With them were associated a remarkable group of statesmen: John Morley, the venerable historian and philosopher; John Burns, the former labor leader, now a Cabinet Minister; Winston Churchill, an aristocrat by birth, but a radical in his views; Sir Edward Grey, a Foreign Minister who was destined to play a great part in the drama of 1914; and David Lloyd George. The transformation of England into a social state was the work of this Liberal Ministry, effectively aided by the Labor Party with which it was closely allied.

Lloyd George

Chief among the architects of social England was Lloyd George (1863–), whose rise to power in British politics has been most phenomenal. The child of a poor Welsh schoolmaster, Lloyd George had none of the advantages of wealth, education, or social position to aid him; he therefore had to depend upon his own hard work and native intelligence to make his career. He became a lawyer in his little home town and was elected to Parliament as a Liberal, where he identified himself with the radicals who were urging the party of Gladstone to embark on the new path of social reform. During the Boer War Lloyd George was prominent as a bitter opponent of the Conservative Government, which he fiercely denounced for waging war against a simple, peaceful people in the interest of the capitalist exploiters of South Africa. He exhibited extraordinary powers as a popular orator, and became so influential in his party that, when the Liberal Ministry was formed, he was made a member of the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. In 1908 he was appointed to the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, second in importance only to that of the Premier. Thereafter he was the leading figure in British politics, as nearly all the great laws passed during the Asquith Ministry were inspired or fashioned by him. Few men in English politics were so enthusiastically acclaimed and so bitterly denounced as this "little Welsh attorney," as Lloyd George was called by his opponents. He became the voice and the arm of the new radical England that was bent upon a reconstruction of the social system in favor of the poor and the unfortunate. By the Conservatives he was regarded as the uncompromising enemy of their interests, and they consequently hated him most cordially. Gifted with a keen intelligence, a winning personality, burning eloquence, and, above all with a social imagination, Lloyd George became the popular idol of his countrymen, who turned to him, as they had once turned to Gladstone, to lead them in the battle for reform.

Asquith

Premier Herbert Henry Asquith (1852–), a disciple of Gladstone, has been for many years active in Liberal politics. He is a clear, forceful speaker and a man of much weight in English public life because of his experience and moderation. But as Premier his abilities lay rather in harmonizing the radical and conservative elements in the Liberal Party than in initiating new policies.

Financial problem of the Ministry

The large increase in the military and naval expenditures, as well as the need of funds to pay the old-age pensions established in 1908,[1] created a serious financial problem for the Asquith Ministry. The solution put forward by the Conservatives was a protective tariff which, they declared, would produce sufficient money; but the Liberals, being free-traders, had to find another way. Lloyd George's solution was to "lay the heaviest burden on the broadest back," or to raise money by taxing the rich; and he openly declared that the tax collector would in the future ask not only, "How much have you?" but, "How did you get it?"

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[1] See p. 365.

The budget of 1909

With this in view he introduced the famous budget of 1909. The main provisions of this measure were: (1) an "unearned increment" duty of twenty per cent on the increase in the value of land when due to site and not to improvement by the owner, on the ground that the public should get some return for the values which it creates — "luck sharing," the Chancellor called this provision; (2) a "reversion" duty of ten per cent on the increase in the value of land leased for over twenty-one years, to be paid by the lessor on the expiration of the lease; (3) an undeveloped-land duty of two per cent on idle land, and particularly on game preserves; and (4) a mineral-rights duty of five per cent on mining royalties. Land used for agricultural purposes was to be exempt from the new taxes. These taxes, although quite moderate, were important in that they constituted an attack on the economic privileges of the landed aristocracy. This was a "war budget," declared the Chancellor, the object of which was to wage warfare against poverty, which he hoped would some day be "as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."

The struggle over the budget

The budget and its author were assailed by the aristocrats with a bitterness unparalleled in English history since the Reform Bill of 1832. It was denounced in the House of Lords as a social and political revolution without a mandate from the people, as a subversion of the English Constitution, and as a demagogic attempt to confiscate private property in land. Feeling ran high on both sides. Lloyd George, as the chief protagonist of the "People's Budget," delivered eloquent speeches, both inside and outside of Parliament, which aroused the wildest enthusiasm among the middle and lower classes, who hailed him as their champion against the aristocracy. In one of his speeches the Chancellor threateningly asked these questions: "Who ordained that a few should have the land of Great Britain as a perquisite? Who made ten thousand people owners of the soil and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth? . . . Where did the table of the law come from? Whose finger inscribed it?" The budget passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority, but it was thrown out by the Lords. In defeating the measure the Lords had violated the historic precedent that required the enactment of money bills passed by the lower House. Immediately the following resolution was passed by the Commons: "The action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by the House for the service of the year is a breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons." Premier Asquith declared that the "power of the purse," once used against the Crown, would now be used against the Lords. Parliament was then dissolved and an election followed in January, 1910, with the budget as the issue beween the parties.

The Liberal-Labor-Irish Coalition

The result was a disappointment to both, as 274 Liberals, 273 Conservatives, 82 Irish Nationalists, and 41 Laborites were elected. Liberals and Conservatives being evenly balanced, a coalition was formed of Liberals, Irish Nationalists, and Laborites, which re-passed the budget in the Commons. True to the precedent of 1832[1] the Lords now also passed it. Unfortunately for the latter, however, the Liberal Ministry was dependent for its existence on the support of the Nationalists and Laborites, two uncompromising enemies of the aristocracy, who were determined to undermine its influence, the Irish because the Lords would oppose a Home Rule Bill, and the Laborites because the Lords would oppose their radical program.

During the campaign the Lords were almost as much of an issue as the budget itself. Their action in throwing out

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[1] See p. 61.

The question of the Lords' veto

the budget was denounced by the Liberals, not only as unconstitutional, but also as selfish and unpatriotic, since they refused to share in the financial burdens of the nation. The question of the relation between the two Houses now came prominently before the public. In spite of the precedent established by the Reform Bill of 1832, the Lords continued to exercise almost as much legislative power as the Commons. Though it is true that the former could not oust a Ministry, yet it could foil the plans of the popular chamber by opposing its bills. Theoretically the representatives of the people in its more sober mood, "the nation's second thought," the Lords in reality represented the economic interests of the landed aristocracy and the political interests of the Conservative Party, as at all times an overwhelming majority of the upper House was of this class and party. When the Conservatives were in the majority in the House, the Lords would pass all bills sent up by the Commons. Many frequently absented themselves from the sessions, knowing that they had nothing to fear from a Conservative Government. But when the Liberals were in power, the Lords attended assiduously to their duties. They would scrutinize bills closely, frequently make drastic modifications, and sometimes defeat important measures. Hence the Conservative Party, when out of power, always relied on the Lords to obstruct the legislation of its opponents. This so exasperated the Liberals that they often threatened "to mend or end" the Lords. But no decisive action was taken for a long time, because it was felt that, should a great issue arise such as arose in 1832, the aristocracy would yield to the will of the people.

The Campbell-Bannerman Resolution

When the Liberals returned to power in 1906 they introduced three important measures to which they were pledged: (1) the abolition of plural voting; (2) the regulation of the liquor traffic; and (3) the repeal of the Education Act of 1902.[1] These measures were all passed by the Commons, but were thrown out by the

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[1] See p. 342.

Lords. The anger of the Liberals now rose to a high pitch, and on June 24, 1907, Parliament passed the following resolution introduced by Premier Campbell-Bannerman: "That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject bills passed by this House shall be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limit of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

The Liberal and Conservative solutions of the Lords question

When the budget of 1909 came before the Lords, its most distinguished member, Lord Rosebery, although strongly opposed to the measure, advised the body to pass it on the ground that its rejection would be followed by a determined effort to reduce the powers of the upper House. In a speech to his colleagues he made the following significant statement: "The menaces which were addressed to this House in the old days were addressed by statesmen who had at heart the balance of the constitutional forces in this country. The menaces addressed to you now come from a wholly different school of opinion, who wish for a single chamber and who set no value on the controlling and revising forces of a Second Chamber — a school of opinion which, if you like it and do not dread the word, is eminently revolutionary in essence, if not in fact." After the rejection of the budget, the Liberals and their allies, the Irish and the Laborites, re-passed the resolution of 1907. The Lords now became alarmed, and they in turn adopted a resolution, introduced by the Earl of Rosebery, which declared that the existence of a strong and efficient Second Chamber was an essential part of the British system of government, but that the possession of a peerage should no longer of itself entitle the holder to a seat in the Lords. The Conservative Party, as spokesman for the Lords, proposed the following plan of reform: (1) that in case of a disagreement between the two Houses, the matter in dispute should be submitted to the people themselves in the form of a referendum; (2) that the upper House should consist of peers elected by the entire peerage, of high administrative officials, and of appointees of the Government; and (3) that the Lords should forego their constitutional right to reject or amend money bills. The Liberal solution of the House of Lords question was to reduce the powers of the House materially, but to make no change in the character of its membership; the Conservative solution, on the contrary, was to maintain the powers of the body unaltered, but to change its membership so as to admit of the possibility of a Liberal majority.

The Parliament Act of 1911

In December, 1910, Parliament was again dissolved and an exciting election followed on the issue of "the Peers *versus* the People." The result of this election was almost the same as the preceding one in January of the same year, and the Asquith Ministry continued in office. Almost immediately the famous Parliament Act was introduced in the Commons. It provided: (1) that any bill specified by the Speaker of the Commons as a money bill which passes the lower House must also pass the Lords within one month; otherwise it becomes law without their consent; (2) that all other bills, if passed in three successive sessions of the Commons, whether by the same House or not, become law without the consent of the House of Lords, provided two years have elapsed between the first consideration of such a bill and its final enactment; and (3) that the duration of a Parliament shall henceforth be limited to five instead of to seven years. The Commons passed the measure, but it was thrown out by the Lords. Once more, as in 1832, arose the problem of passing a bill in the face of the opposition of the Lords, and once more it was solved in a similar manner. Premier Asquith appealed to King George V and received guarantees from the Crown that peers pledged in support of the bill would be created in sufficient numbers to insure its passage. The Lords, confronted with the prospect of being "swamped," yielded, and the bill became law on August 18, 1911.

Importance of the act

As great a change in the British system of government was wrought by the Parliament Act as by the Reform Bill of 1832. It fixed anew the relation between the two Houses by giving almost unchecked power to the Commons and merely a suspensive veto to the Lords; in effect, it established a single-chamber government for England. Instead of following the French policy of abolishing institutions opposed to democratic ideas, the English have endeavored to preserve the continuity of their national life by keeping ancient institutions intact, but depriving them of all real power. The House of Lords, like the Crown, is now an honored appendage, not an integral part of the British system.

The Factory and Mine Codes

During the early part of the twentieth century England began a series of bold experiments in the field of social legislation which was to have far-reaching effects on the life and character of her people. The factory legislation was unified in a single code, issued in 1902, which embodied the chief factory reforms gained during the nineteenth century, and added new and more drastic provisions in order to remedy some of the worst evils of the industrial system. The employment of children under twelve in a factory was forbidden; the labor of those between the ages of twelve and eighteen was strictly regulated as to hours, holidays, overtime, and meals; in the textile industry a ten-hour day was established for all labor; and factory sanitation was carefully regulated. In 1906 Parliament adopted a Mine Code, which regulated conditions in the mines as the Factory Code did in the factories. The employment of women and children was forbidden; conditions in the mines were minutely regulated; and severe penalties were provided for infractions of the rules. Two years later (1908) Parliament established an eight-hour day for all labor in the mines.

Insecurity of the working classes

To better the conditions of employment in factory and mine was to go but a slight distance toward the solution of the social problems. Poverty due to low wages was a great evil, but a still greater evil was the insecurity felt by millions of workingmen, who might at any time find themselves utterly destitute, not because of their fault or of that of their employers, but because of accidents, illness, unemployment, and old age.

"The root trouble of our social system is the precariousness of living," declared Lloyd George. Something had to be done by the community as represented by the State "to fill up the gaps in the life of the industrial classes," by giving a sense of security to the millions who were at the mercy of modern industrialism.

Workmen's Compensation Act

In 1906 a Workmen's Compensation Act was passed which compels employers to compensate their workingmen for injury or disease sustained in the course of employment without appeal by the latter to the courts of law. Compensation is graded according to the seriousness of the injury; in case of death of an employee a sum equal to his wages for three years is paid to his dependents. This law recognizes the principle that a workingman is a part of the industrial machine; hence the responsibility for his well-being is placed on the employer.

Old-Age Pensions Act

To remedy the evil of poverty in old age, Parliament, in 1908, passed the Old-Age Pensions Act. This law provides for pensions averaging about a dollar a week to be paid by the Government to laborers who reach the age of seventy, no previous contribution being required from them. The arguments advanced in favor of this law were that it is the duty of the State to care for the veterans of industry, and that the pension, although not large enough to support a man, may yet save him from the disgrace of going to the poorhouse. The law was opposed by the Conservatives because it was noncontributory. They argued that it would tend to weaken the spirit of self-reliance of the laborer, and that it would prove a great burden on the taxpayers.

The Labor Exchanges, Trade Boards, and Housing and Town Planning Acts

The year 1909 was very fruitful in social legislation. Parliament passed the Labor Exchanges Act, establishing a national system of employment bureaus to remedy the evil of unemployment. It also passed the Trade Boards Act, providing for the establishment of wage boards in the "sweated" trades, which employ men and women at low wages and for long hours. The wage boards, representing the workers, employers, and the Government, have power to regulate wages and conditions in those trades. Another law was the Housing and Town Planning Act, the purpose of which was to reduce congestion in the large cities by permitting the local authorities to build houses for the working class.

Social insurance; the arguments pro and con

By far the most radical example of English social legislation was the National Insurance Act of 1911, fathered by Lloyd George. Its essential feature is that insurance against sickness and unemployment on the part of the workingmen is made contributory and compulsory. The act was modeled to a considerable degree on the sickness insurance law of Germany; but England extended the system by including insurance against unemployment. When the plan for national insurance was introduced in Parliament, it encountered the bitter opposition of the Conservatives, both in principle and in detail. They declared that, by making insurance compulsory, the act violated the English ideal of individual freedom and established a principle foreign to Englishmen, namely, the control of the individual by the State; they favored, on the contrary, a system of insurance based on the voluntary principle. In reply the Liberals, led by Lloyd George, asserted that sufficient provision had been made for voluntary insurance for the better-to-do workingmen, but for the very poor, who were either unable or unwilling to insure themselves, compulsion coupled with state aid was necessary, otherwise they would continue to suffer the miserable lot created for them by modern industry.

The National Insurance Act

The act finally passed after a prolonged struggle in Parliament. It is divided into two parts: (1) insurance against sickness and invalidity, and (2) insurance against unemployment. All persons engaged in manual labor, and all those engaged in work other than manual labor whose wages do not exceed £160 a year must insure against sickness and invalidity. The employers, workers, and the State all contribute to the fund on the ground that it is to the interest of all three to have a healthy contented body of laborers. Various kinds of benefits are given: (1) a sickness benefit of two and a half dollars a week for twenty-six weeks; (2) an invalidity benefit, in case of serious injury, of a dollar and a quarter a week to the age of seventy, when the old-age pensions begin; (3) free medical attendance by physicians appointed by the State; and (4) a maternity benefit of seven and a half dollars to wives of insured men at the birth of a child. Against unemployment there is a separate system of insurance. Like that against sickness, it is compulsory and applies to employed persons earning less than eight hundred dollars a year; only certain trades, however, those in which there is a high degree of unemployment, come within the scope of this law. The fund is made up of contributions from the employers, employed, and the State; and the benefit is a dollar and three quarters a week for fifteen weeks. At the age of sixty, the laborer receives back his contributions with interest, minus the sum he had received as benefit. The principle underlying this form of insurance is that society as a whole, and not the laborer alone, should bear the burden of unemployment, which is now recognized as a maladjustment created by industrial conditions.

Results of social legislation

This important social legislation of the Asquith Ministry did much to ameliorate the lot of the working classes and constitutes its chief title to fame. The effects of this legislation were made visible in the new attitude toward the State assumed by the lower classes, who now felt more strongly than ever that England was their country as well as that of the upper classes. When the World War broke out in 1914, and Great Britain found herself face to face with her great enemy, Germany, all classes, without distinction, rallied with patriotic fervor to the defense of the flag.

Economic Progress

The cotton industry

Although British commerce and industry have been continually advancing since 1870 and England has grown in wealth and prosperity, some industries have advanced but slowly, others have remained stationary, and a few have actually declined. Cotton manufacturing, constituting about one quarter of the entire British export trade, continues to maintain its supremacy. This industry is concentrated in Lancashire where Manchester, the cotton metropolis of the world, is located. Directly and indirectly about three million persons gain their livelihood in the English cotton industry, which depends for its raw material mainly on America. Recently America, Germany, and Russian Poland have become large producers of cotton cloth, which is protected from English competition by high tariffs; consequently Lancashire has been compelled to specialize in the production of the finest grades of this cloth, in which, because of the skill of her operators, she is able to defy all competition.

Shipping

British shipping has advanced remarkably in spite of the rivalry of Germany.[1] Not only do the British shipyards build vessels for other nations, but about two thirds of all the world's shipping is carried in British bottoms that earn handsome profits for their owners. The three great ship-building centers of the world are Glasgow on the Clyde, Newcastle on the Tyne, and Belfast Harbor in Ireland.

Coal and iron

During the first half of the nineteenth century England was the chief producer of coal and iron. Although England's output of coal kept increasing, she was outdistanced by the United States in the production of this commodity.[2] In her iron production England showed an actual decline both positively and relatively, and she fell far behind the United States and Germany as an iron and steel producing country.[3]

Great alarm has been felt in England because of the unfavorable balance of trade caused by the growing excess of imports over exports.[1] It is feared by some that if England continues to produce so much less than she consumes, she will, in time, cease to be the "workshop of the world," as her exports are almost entirely of manufactured goods. The unfavorable balance of trade is partly to be explained by the fact that the amounts earned by British shipowners in carrying the goods of other nations constitute "invisible exports," and partly by the fact that the income from foreign investments of British capitalists is often paid in kind and not in cash; hence these amounts figure as imports. The growth of England as an investing nation has been truly remarkable. It is estimated that in 1913 over seventeen billion dollars of British capital was invested in colonial and foreign enterprises. The national economy of England is therefore to some extent dependent upon shipping and foreign investments to earn sufficient to pay for her excess imports.

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[1] Between 1870 and 1910 the British merchant marine more than doubled in tonnage; in 1910–11 Great Britain produced forty-six per cent of the total increase in the tonnage of the world, and in 1913 more than fifty per cent of the total increase. In 1870 the British tonnage was 5,691,000, which rose to 11,895,000 in 1912.

[2] In 1880 Great Britain produced 147,000,000 tons of coal, which rose in 1910 to 264,500,000 tons. In 1875 Great Britain produced forty-eight per cent of the coal of the world, which sank to forty per cent in 1885, to thirty-three per cent in 1895, to twenty-five per cent in 1905, and to twenty-four per cent in 1911.

[3] In 1880 England produced 18,000,000 tons of iron ore, which fell in 1910 to 15,226,000 tons.

Foreign trade

During the latter part of the nineteenth century Great Britain's industrial leadership was challenged by a new competitor, Germany. The latter's inroads into British markets caused much uneasiness, and Parliament passed a law compelling German goods in England to bear the label "Made in Germany," in order to distinguish them from the domestic product. Much to the chagrin of the English, however, the label had the effect of widely advertising the German goods. The foreign trade of both nations was increasing, but that of Germany at a much faster pace,[2] which greatly alarmed British manufacturers, for the reason that England, being a free-trade

English and German business methods

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[1] In 1910 the imports exceeded the exports by about $1,245,000,000.

[2] The total foreign trade of England in 1872 was about $3,000,000,000, which, in 1913, rose to about $6,500,000,000, an increase of 120 per cent; that of Germany in 1872 was about $1,500,000,000, which, in 1913, rose to about $5,100,000,000, an increase of 340 per cent. In the matter of exports the rivalry between England and Germany in recent times has been very keen. During the decade 1903–13 the exports of England rose from about $1,450,000,000 to about $2,630,000,000; those of Germany from about $1,232,000,000 to $2,520,000,000. Germany's exports more than doubled, while those of England less than doubled; moreover, the addition to Germany's exports during this decade was actually larger than that of England.

country, depends mainly upon her foreign markets for her industrial prosperity. There are several causes for this relative decline of England's leadership. In the first place, her business men have held the industrial field for so long a time that they rely more upon prestige than upon initiative; hence they have been exceedingly slow in introducing the new scientific methods of manufacture. They hesitate to "scrap" old plants and to depart from time-honored methods. The German business men, on the contrary, have shown greater enterprise in building new factories, in installing new machinery, and in applying scientific methods to the process of manufacture and to management in spite of heavy initial costs.[1] Technical education in England, until quite recently, has been very backward, and her industries have not had the advantage of being run, like those in Germany, by highly trained experts. Secondly, there have been serious weaknesses in the English methods of marketing. English exporters put up goods in form, design, and color, to suit the English taste, with the result that many foreigners prefer to buy from the Germans, who cater to *their* tastes. The German exporters are also willing to grant the demand of many foreign merchants, particularly those in South America, for small sales and long credits, and have therefore been able to oust the English, who are less willing to do this. Thirdly, the German manufacturers, sheltered behind their high protective tariffs, have been able to "dump" their surplus goods in free-trade Britain. By "dumping" is meant the practice of selling goods in a foreign country even *below cost* in order to destroy the competition of the native product; that once accomplished, the price of the foreign article is raised to a profitable point.

Tariff reform

At the beginning of the twentieth century a powerful movement known as "tariff reform" appeared in England which aimed to substitute a system of protective tariffs for that of free trade. It was initiated by Joseph Chamberlain in a widely quoted speech delivered by him in 1903. Chamberlain "viewed with alarm" the grow-

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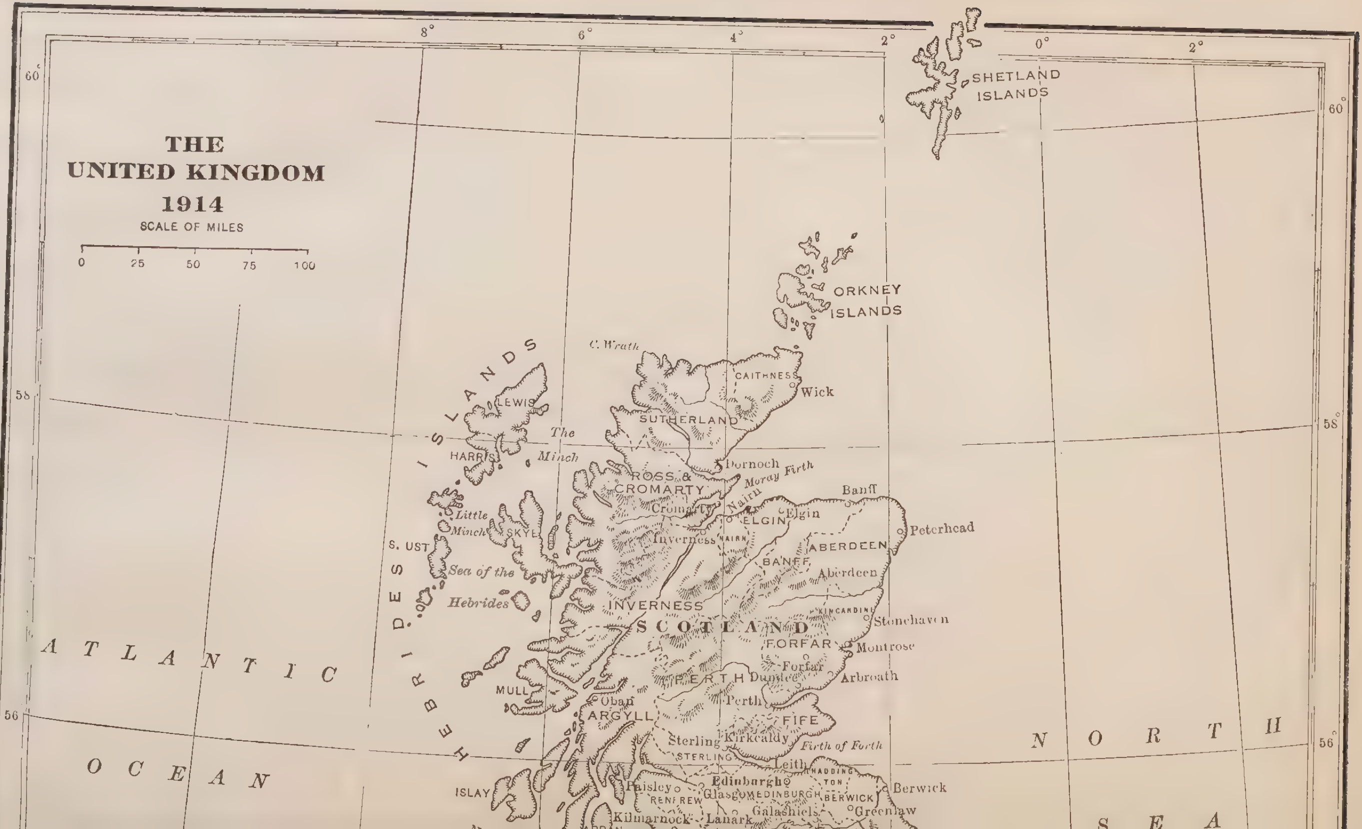
[1] See p. 303.


THE
UNITED KINGDOM
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0
25
50
75
100
8°
6°
4°
2°
0°
2°
60°
58°
56°
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY ISLANDS
C. Wrath
CAITHNESS
Wick
SUTHERLAND
LEWIS
HARRIS
The Minch
Little Minch
ISLANDS
HEBRIDES
S. UIST
SKYE
Sea of the Hebrides
Dornoch
Moray Firth
ROSS & CROMARTY
Cromarty
Nairn
Banff
ELGIN
Elgin
Peterhead
Inverness
NAIRN
ABERDEEN
BANFF
Aberdeen
INVERNESS
KINCARDINE
Stonehaven
SCOTLAND
FORFAR
Montrose
Forfar
Arbroath
PERTH
Dundee
Perth
MULL
Oban
ARGYLL
FIFE
Sterling
Kirkcaldy
Firth of Forth
STERLING
Leith
HADDINGTON
Edinburgh
ISLAY
Paisley
Glasgow
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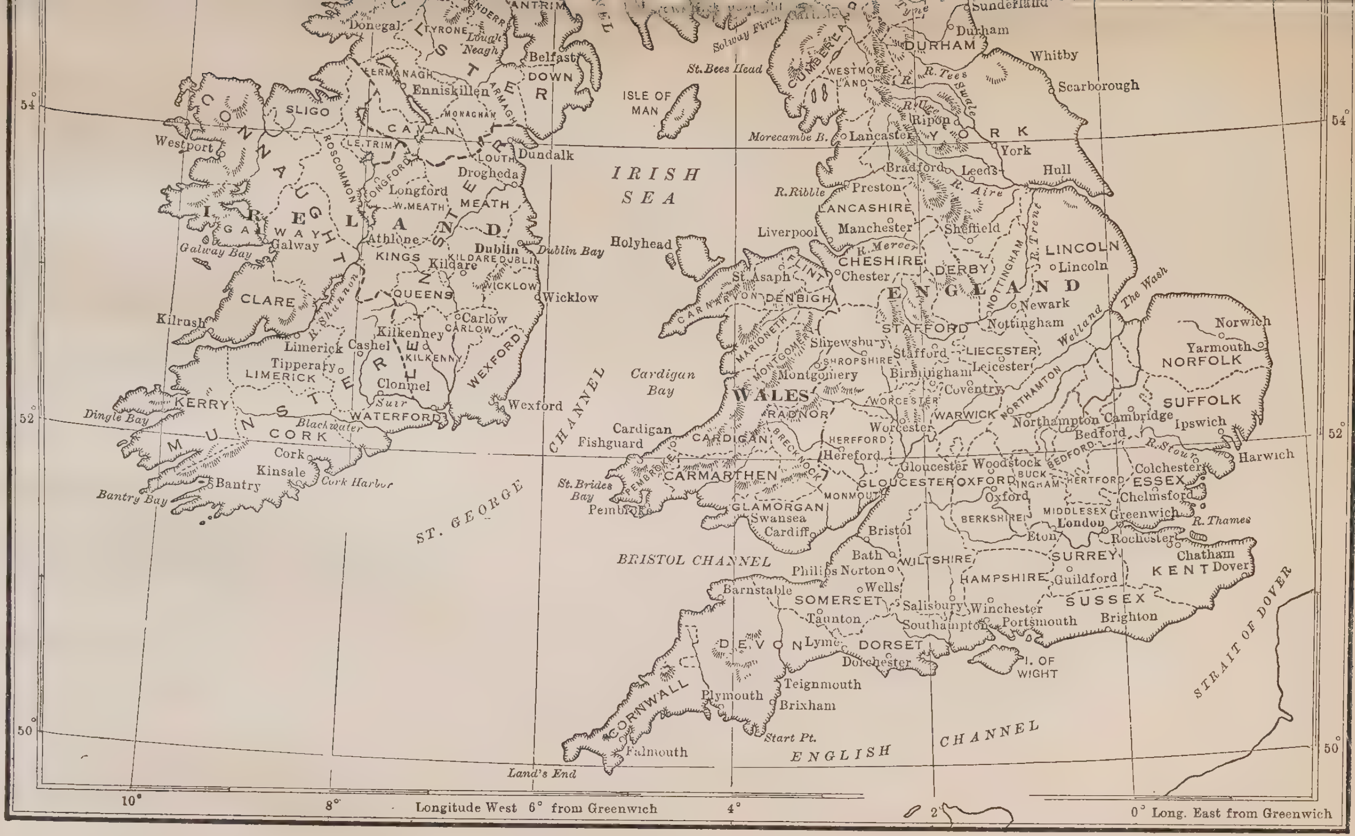
BERWICK
Berwick
RENFREW
Galashiels
Greenlaw
Kilmarnock
Lanark
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA

Donegal
TYRONE
Lough Neagh
ANTRIM
Belfast
DOWN
ULSTER
FERMANAGH
Enniskillen
MONAGHAN
ARMAGH
CAVAN
SLIGO
CONNAUGHT
Westport
LEITRIM
ROSCOMMON
LONGFORD
Longford
LOUTH
Dundalk
Drogheda
MEATH
W. MEATH
IRELAND
GALWAY
Galway
Galway Bay
Athlone
KINGS
Dublin
Dublin Bay
KILDARE
DUBLIN
Kildare
WICKLOW
Wicklow
QUEENS
CLARE
Kilrush
R. Shannon
Carlow
CARLOW
Kilkenney
KILKENNY
Limerick
Cashel
LEINSTER
Tipperary
LIMERICK
WEXFORD
Wexford
Clonmel
Suir
KERRY
MUNSTER
WATERFORD
Blackwater
CORK
Dingle Bay
Cork
Kinsale
Cork Harbor
Bantry
Bantry Bay
ST. GEORGE CHANNEL
IRISH SEA
ISLE OF MAN
St. Bees Head
Solway Firth
Holyhead
Cardigan Bay
Cardigan
Fishguard
St. Brides Bay
Pembroke
Land's End
CUMBERLAND
WESTMORELAND
Tyne
Sunderland
Durham
DURHAM
R. Tees
Swale
R. Ure
Ripon
Whitby
Scarborough
YORK
York
Hull
Morecambe B.
Lancaster
Bradford
Leeds
R. Aire
R. Ribble
Preston
LANCASHIRE
Manchester
Sheffield
Liverpool
R. Mersey
CHESHIRE
Chester
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
R. Trent
LINCOLN
Lincoln
ENGLAND
Newark
Nottingham
The Wash
Welland
FLINT
St. Asaph
DENBIGH
CARNARVON
MARIONETH
MONTGOMERY
Montgomery
Shrewsbury
SHROPSHIRE
STAFFORD
Stafford
LIECESTER
Leicester
Birmingham
Coventry
WALES
WORCESTER
Worcester
RADNOR
WARWICK
NORTHAMPTON
Northampton
Norwich
Yarmouth
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
Cambridge
Ipswich
Bedford
R. Stour
Harwich
CARDIGAN
BRECKNOCK
HEREFORD
Hereford
Gloucester
Woodstock
BEDFORD
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
Colchester
ESSEX
Chelmsford
MONMOUTH
Oxford
GLAMORGAN
Swansea
Cardiff
BERKSHIRE
MIDDLESEX
Greenwich
R. Thames
London
Bristol
Eton
Rochester
Chatham
Bath
WILTSHIRE
SURREY
KENT
Dover
BRISTOL CHANNEL
Philips Norton
Wells
HAMPSHIRE
Guildford
Barnstable
SOMERSET
Salisbury
Winchester
SUSSEX
Brighton
Taunton
Southampton
Portsmouth
STRAIT OF DOVER
DEVON
Lyme
DORSET
Dorchester
I. OF WIGHT
Teignmouth
CORNWALL
Plymouth
Brixham
Start Pt.
Falmouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
54°
52°
50°
10°
8°
Longitude West 6° from Greenwich
4°
2°
0° Long. East from Greenwich

ing excess of imports over exports; in his opinion the size of the latter was the test of the prosperity of the country. "Agriculture has been practically destroyed," he declared, "sugar has gone, silk has gone, iron is threatened, cotton will go." He advocated a scheme of imperial preference, or the economic union of Great Britain with her colonies, on the basis of free trade among themselves and a tariff on foreign goods. This system, he declared, would insure to the British a market for their manufactures and to the colonies a market for their raw material. Chamberlain furthermore stated that imperial preference would have the effect of drawing the colonies and the mother country into a closer union; otherwise, according to him, they would inevitably drift apart.[1]

Free trade *versus* protection

A Tariff Reform League was organized for the purpose of conducting an agitation to convert the British people to protection. The tariff reformers declared that the policy of free trade was adopted by England with the idea that the other nations would soon follow her example; but instead they adopted the system of high protective tariffs. The British manufacturer was, therefore, doubly at the mercy of his foreign competitor, who kept out British goods by hostile tariffs and "dumped" his surplus goods into England unhindered. High tariffs on both industrial and agricultural products to protect the British manufacturers and farmers was the plan advocated by the tariff reformers, who finally succeeded in committing the Conservative Party to this policy. The Liberals opposed protection on the ground that it would destroy the great foreign trade on which England's prosperity depended and increase the cost of living by keeping out cheap foreign food. Opposition to the "dear loaf" proved so effective that the Conservatives were compelled to hedge on the question of a tariff on food, much to the disgust of the landed interests. Unfortunately for the protectionists, England's trade in recent years has been exceedingly prosperous, which has had the effect of keeping her loyal to free trade.

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[1] See p. 421.

LITERATURE

Tennyson

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the Victorian Age at its very highest. Although lacking a supreme master like Shakespeare, it surpassed all other periods of English literature in the number of writers of the first rank that it produced. Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–92), was the poetic voice of Victorian England, for no other writer of this period expressed its moods and ideals as faithfully as did he. The spirit of Tennyson's work is a calm and serene acceptance of the order established in state, church, and society; he nowhere exhibits either the revolutionary outbursts of Byron and Shelley or the mild humanitarianism of Wordsworth. Tennyson is, above all else, a great artist, a master of color, form, and music, who "jeweled and polished" his verse into haunting meters that won him extraordinary popularity throughout the English-speaking world. His almost flawless poetic art enables him to invest conventional ideals with an enchanting atmosphere, which transforms them into very models of purity and goodness. In his great elegy, *In Memoriam*, Tennyson becomes philosophical and discourses upon human destiny and the immortality of human love with the hopeful assurance that there is

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

Browning

Robert Browning (1812–89), with whom Tennyson has often been contrasted, is the supreme philosophic poet of English literature. Browning's verse, unlike that of Tennyson, is not musical and flowing; frequently his meters are ragged and his meaning obscure. But what he lacks in melody he makes up in vigor, originality, and depth. Browning's chief interest is to stress "the incidents in the development of a soul"; little else he considered worthy of study. To seek the individual soul, to analyze its reactions upon the problems of life, and to find the moral sources of action is his favorite method. He excels in subtle — sometimes too subtle — analysis of ethical problems and in the portrayal of characters faced by moral crises. Browning was a true Victorian in that he believed that man was essentially a moral being living in a universe governed by moral laws. He therefore had a robust faith in the eventual triumph of the good and the true over the evil and the false. He describes himself as

> "One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, tho' right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."

Browning was a prophet, and like all prophets he had a tendency to be obscure, which, for a long time, prejudiced the reading public against him. But some of his poems, especially the shorter ones, give evidence of simplicity and melody worthy of comparison with the best of Tennyson's. His masterpiece is *The Ring and the Book*, a long poem in which a murder is described by different characters, each telling the same tale from his own viewpoint and in doing so revealing unconsciously his own character. The poem is a remarkable study of the moral psychology of different temperaments.

Arnold

Matthew Arnold (1822–88), essayist, critic, and poet, was one of the great intellectual influences of his generation. There could be no greater contrast than that between Carlyle and Arnold as to temperament, method, and aim, although both were censors of the men and morals of their age. Carlyle thundered against vices and shams and stridently preached his gospel of the "Everlasting Yea" and the "Everlasting Nay." But the "elegant Jeremiah," Arnold, in a spirit of "sweet reasonableness" and in a manner refined and urbane, reproached his fellow countrymen for their bad taste, provincialism, and lack of interest in ideas. The "Philistines," as he called the narrow-minded, self-satisfied people of the middle classes, the "strong, dogged, unenlightened opponents of the chosen people, of the children of the light," were his especial abhorrence

The supreme aim of life, in his view, ought to be "culture," or intellectual and moral perfection. This "apostle of culture," as Arnold was called, was temperamentally opposed to all partisanships and dogmatisms, and was tolerant toward all ideas, and especially to those that were new or foreign. Like Erasmus he firmly believed that true and lasting progress can only be made by allowing the intellect to play freely on the problems of life; "sweetness and light" would then be the outcome, and mankind would become mellow, kindly, and tolerant.

As a critic Arnold resembled the Frenchman, Sainte-Beuve.[1] Like the latter he believed that the chief duty of a critic was to "exhibit" the author in every possible way in order to stimulate the readers to think for themselves. Literature Arnold defined as "the best which has been thought and said in the world"; and the first requisite of a critic was "disinterestedness," or detachment from schools, dogmas, and systems. It should be remembered that the Victorian Age was notable for its scientific advance, and the writings of Darwin and Huxley profoundly affected the literary men of the day. Influenced by the scientific spirit, Arnold came to doubt the truths of revealed religion, though he never entirely broke away from Christianity; he sought rather to give it new interpretations and new values. Religion he defined as "morality touched with emotion"; God, as a "stream of tendency not ourselves making for righteousness." He regarded the Bible as a great work of "literature," describing the history and experiences of the ancient Hebrew people. Arnold's best-known works are *Culture and Anarchy*, *Essays in Criticism*, and *Literature and Dogma*.

Ruskin

An inspiring figure during the latter part of the nineteenth century was John Ruskin (1819–1900), art critic, social reformer, and ethical teacher. Possessed of a vivid sense for natural beauty and of a masterly descriptive power, Ruskin created a sensation in England on the publication of his art criticisms. In his opinion art, being the highest form of truth, has of necessity a moral basis, and is the exponent of the strength and weakness of the people who produce it. His overflowing enthusiasm for art led him to become the "apostle of beauty" to his countrymen; and he began a propaganda to spread a love of beauty among all classes.

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[1] See p. 165.

Ruskin's generous nature was shocked at the degradation and poverty of the lower classes. He saw nothing but ugliness, waste, and misery in the modern industrial system, and he therefore became a most ardent social reformer. The political economy of the Manchester School, with its emphasis on the "economic man" bent on profits, he regarded as false and mischievous. "There is no wealth but life. . . . That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings," he declared. The laborer, according to Ruskin, was only incidentally a profit producer, but essentially a soldier of industry, working for the welfare of the whole community; he should therefore be trained, honored, and pensioned like a soldier in the army. Believing that culture should be diffused among all the people, he went among the London poor lecturing to them on art and life and founding educational societies to spread his ideals. Ruskin's influence was widespread, and he may be considered as the spiritual forerunner of the great social reform movement that took place in England at the beginning of the twentieth century. His chief works are *Modern Painters*, *Sesame and Lilies*, and *Unto this Last*.

Meredith

The Victorian Age ended gloriously with a galaxy of brilliant and original writers. George Meredith (1828–1909) might fitly be described as a novelist's novelist, as his books are admired mainly by those initiated in the craft. Meredith's extraordinary gift for analyzing human character and motives suggests Browning; but, unlike the latter, he possessed a subtle irony and a sharp wit that he used like fine instruments with which to probe human problems. The Comic Spirit, with its "silvery laughter of the mind" hovers over his pages, darting here and there to expose egoism, hypocrisy, and selfishness. Meredith's most important books are *The Egoist*, *Diana of the Crossways*, and *Beauchamp's Career*.

Another master of fiction is Thomas Hardy (1840–), the greatest realist among the Victorians. Hardy's descriptions of nature are so extraordinary that sometimes his characters sink into the landscape which itself then becomes the hero of the book. He took Wessex and its rural inhabitants for his literary province and succeeded in making that region famous in English literature. Hardy is a pessimist. He generally depicts the individual pitted in an uneven struggle with nature and society, with a sardonic God looking on pitilessly. Failure or death is frequently the outcome of the struggles of his heroes and heroines. According to Hardy, man is a feeble creature in the hands of inexorable fate and therefore cannot be saved either through God's grace or through his own works. He is therefore pagan rather than Christian in spirit, hence not a true Victorian. Hardy's most important books are *The Return of the Native*, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, and *Jude the Obscure*.

Hardy

Far different from Hardy in outlook was Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94). A lifelong invalid, Stevenson was nevertheless a brave and cheery spirit, whose buoyant optimism and boyish romanticism gained him wide popularity. He possessed a literary style of such rare charm and simplicity that it captivated his readers, particularly the young. Stevenson's most important books are *Treasure Island*, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and *Virginibus Puerisque*, the last being a series of essays addressed to girls and boys.

Stevenson

Samuel Butler (1835–1902), a satirist of extraordinary power, died wholly unrecognized by his contemporaries. In recent years, however, his writings have come prominently to the front and reveal him as a forerunner of George Bernard Shaw. Butler is the sworn foe of tyranny in all forms, particularly that which thrives on mental stupor and social convention in church, school, and family. His book, *The Way of All Flesh*, is a satirical novel describing the havoc caused in the life of a young man by his conscientious father and devoted mother because of their determination to bring him up according to their

Butler

conventional ideas. His other famous book, *Erewhon*, is a Utopia wherein the author mercilessly satirizes the institutions of his day. Moral delinquencies are there considered physical ailments and are treated as such by physicians; and, on the contrary, physical ailments are considered moral delinquencies and are sternly punished.

The New Spirit, imperialism

During the last decade of the nineteenth century a new era began in English literature which was in marked contrast to the Victorian Age. England was outgrowing the liberalism of the middle classes who, for two generations, had fashioned her ideals. New forces came to the fore, imperialism and socialism, which, though utterly dissimilar in spirit and aim, were nevertheless united in protest against the narrowness and contentment of Victorian England. Imperialism was, in one sense, a challenge to the insularity of the English people, who then cared little for affairs beyond their island shores, even for those of their Empire; and Kipling's voice, speaking for the Greater Britain beyond the seas, stimulated the imagination of the English and made them conscious of their vast influence in the world.

Socialism

Victorian England exhibited its narrowness in the lack of interest shown by the triumphant middle classes in the fate of the submerged masses of the people. This spirit of class insularity is reflected in the writings of the Victorian novelists who seldom, if ever, treated of the problems of the working class or introduced any but "gentlemen" as heroes. In the works of the writers of the new era, the gentleman of leisure, long the undisputed hero in the play or novel, is retired to the background or even shown as the villain of the piece; into his place steps the toiler by brain or by hand, the man from statecraft, from the professions, from business, from the plow, from the machine. Social reform, socialism, efficient government, feminism, trade unionism, these are the absorbing themes of the writings of the new time. One must go back to the days of Milton to find a similar identification of literature with life. Conviction of original sin and the need for grace did not determine the law and the prophets of old more imperiously than did the conviction of preventable human waste and the need for social readjustment determine the laws and prophets of twentieth-century Britain. These newer writers are not mere social revivalists in the manner of Carlyle and Ruskin; they focus and direct public opinion in the manner of Wells and Shaw. In short they are active publicists and propagandists as well as artists, and their writings might be described as sociology clothed — sometimes thinly — in the garb of fiction.

Kipling

No modern English writer has enjoyed such prodigious popularity as Rudyard Kipling (1865–), story-writer and poet. The revival of imperialism which began in England at the end of the nineteenth century found in Kipling its supreme literary spokesman. Born in India, widely traveled, and knowing every part of the British dominions, he was well qualified to be the "Poet Laureate of the Empire." Moreover, Kipling intensely believes that the "Sons of the Blood," as he called the Anglo-Saxons, are the best fitted of all Europeans to rule the "lesser breeds," and he has constantly exhorted his fellow countrymen to take up "the white man's burden" and bring Western civilization to the colored peoples of Asia and Africa.

Kipling's literary power lies in his mastery of a racy, colloquial style which is vigorous to the point of audacity; as a writer of short stories of adventure he is unsurpassed. His favorite characters are soldiers and adventurers, and he has immortalized "Tommy Atkins," whose praises he sings in prose and in verse. Violent action, vividly felt and vividly described, is Kipling's forte. Seldom does he show the power of subtle analysis of problems, or of unraveling the tangled skein of human motives; hence his characters merely live; they do not grow. Of the social problems which dominated the writings of his contemporaries, Kipling betrays neither knowledge nor interest in the slightest degree.

Kipling first attracted considerable attention with his book, *Plain Tales*, a series of short stories dealing with life in

India. The introduction of this novel field in English literature played an important part in enhancing his popularity. His volume of poems, *Barrack-Room Ballads*, has the vigor and directness of his tales and deals with the character and adventures of English soldiers in India. Curiously enough, this literary imperialist occasionally exhibits another side, a dreamy mysticism. In *Kim* he describes sympathetically the gentle spiritual life of the native Hindus. In his fascinating animal tales for children, *The Jungle Book* and *The Just So Stories*, Kipling shows rare power in transforming the jungle into an animal fairyland.

Shaw

The drama as a vehicle of radical agitation reached unusual influence and power in the hands of George Bernard Shaw (1856–). The essential fact about Shaw is that he is a socialist. Even before he became famous as a writer of plays, he had become well known as a trenchant writer and expounder of socialistic ideas. Shaw, therefore, entirely repudiates the present social and economic system; there is hardly a modern social problem which has not engaged his busy pen. As he himself once declared, "I am up to the chin in the life of my times." Shaw is even more revolutionary in the sphere of morals; and he has criticized severely the established standards of conduct in the earnest desire to effect a radical change in the moral code, in order to give people a justification for their newly born desires. His method is satire, which he employs with such daring, brilliance, and wit that cherished institutions and ideals emerge from his hands ragged and ridiculous. Family, church, state, property, and educational systems are judged as being founded on class interests and prejudices compounded with stupidity. Philistine morality, according to Shaw, has for its chief virtue Duty, which is not "the Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," but a means of enslaving the souls of the people that they may accept willingly an outrageous system of society. Hence the first step of those who would be free is to emancipate themselves from "duties," the workingman from those to his employer, the citizen from those to the State, the communicant from those to the Church, and the married from those to the family. The highest duty is to one's self. Shaw also inveighs against sentimental romanticism. He believes firmly in a cool, common-sense view of all relations in life, and considers romanticism as very harmful because it creates illusions by covering reality with a golden haze.

A Shaw play is not a drama in the ordinary sense, with a plot involving the fate of the leading characters. There is no plot, hero, heroine, or villain in a Shaw play; instead, there is brilliant and witty conversation concerning a grave social problem, which the various characters discuss according to their temperament and ideals. The problem itself is the plot, hero, heroine, and villain. Shaw has performed a remarkable feat in the dramatic field, for he holds the rapt attention of his audiences through sheer intellectual power. His best known plays are *Widowers' Houses*, satirizing income-holders; *Arms and the Man*, romantic idolators of war; *Man and Superman*, conventional love; *Getting Married*, marriage; *Candida*, egoistical social reformers; *Major Barbara*, hereditary abilities and virtues; *Pygmalion*, conventional good breeding; *Fanny's First Play*, the good influence of a good home; and *Androcles and the Lion*, the early Christians.

Wells

Herbert George Wells (1866–) has shared with Shaw the literary hegemony of the new age. Although a socialist like Shaw, Wells's views are the expression of a temperament quite different from that of his brilliant contemporary. Shaw is clear, cool, unemotional, and unromantic in his expositions, but quite dogmatic in his solutions. Wells, on the contrary, is temperamentally a "dweller in the innermost." He analyzes social problems in quite a spiritual-romantic manner, sometimes wondering at the stupidity of mankind in not solving them, sometimes wondering whether they can be solved at all. He is essentially a sociologist touched with emotion. Although a superb story-writer, his best work has been done in a field partly created by himself, the sociological novel, in which the heroes and heroines struggle to escape from the evil effects of bad education, outworn ideals, and cramping institutions instead of the evil machinations of their enemies.

Wells calls himself a socialist, but he would scarcely be classified as such by the strict adherents of socialism. In his view present society is in a sad state of "muddle"; inefficiency, planlessness, and stupidity have done their very worst to make life unbearable for the major portion of humanity. He therefore desires to see an educational process generated, which he calls "love and fine thinking," that will set people to reorganize their institutions on a more humane and intelligent plan. This must be done without class hatred and without rancor of any kind; those who profit from the present evil system must be made to see that they could lead a larger and richer life in a world from which poverty and its attendant evils are banished. Few writers of the day are as *suggestive* as Wells. His novels and essays are likely to set the reader to thinking of social problems in a new way and, what is more, to make him see his own relation to these problems. Wells is also endowed with abundant humor, not the sparkling wit of Shaw's repartee, but the humor that is woven into the construction of a character or a situation that exposes incongruities and absurdities.

Wells's great search is the future. His test of a moral act is its consequences for individual and social welfare, not its relation to a code of morals; of an idea, its bearing upon a new view of life, not of its truth or falsehood; of an institution, its value to a new society, not to an old one. He never tires of reiterating the sentiment that the chief business of mankind ought to be to prepare itself, its ideals, and its institutions for the great future that is soon to dawn upon us. On this theme he has written many books, the most notable of which are *Anticipations*, *New Worlds for Old*, *A Modern Utopia*, *The Great State*, and *The World Set Free* and a remarkable essay, *The Discovery of the Future*. His most famous novels are *The New Machiavelli*, *Ann Veronica*, *The History of Mr. Polly*, and *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE IRISH QUESTION

INTRODUCTION

THE history of Ireland is a sad record of misery, oppression, and wrong. For centuries Ireland has been a problem to England; and, although their histories have been closely intertwined, a deep and bitter hatred on the part of the Irish for England has persisted for many generations. For this there are several explanations. In the first place, the Irish are a conquered people who, for centuries, have been governed by their masters, the English. The hatred that would naturally arise between conquered and conqueror is aggravated by racial and religious antagonisms; the Irish are largely of the Celtic race and devoted adherents of the Catholic Church, whereas the English are mainly of Saxon stock and strongly Protestant in faith. But what has intensified the antagonism between the two peoples is that the soil of Ireland, once the property of the natives, was appropriated by the English invaders and the Irish reduced to destitution in their own household.

Causes of Irish disaffection

The English conquest began in 1169 when a company of adventurous Norman knights invaded Ireland. This expedition was in the nature of a private enterprise; and three years later an official overlordship was established over Ireland by King Henry II of England. The English settled in the region around Dublin, which became known as the "Pale." Throughout the Middle Ages Ireland, in theory, was under English rule; in fact, however, almost the entire island was under the control of native chieftains who ruled the various clans. It was only in the "Pale" that English law was recognized; between the "Pale" and the rest of the island there

Conquest of Ireland

was continuous warfare characterized by almost inhuman cruelty and ferocity.

Ireland under the Tudors

With the accession of the Tudor dynasty to the English throne, in 1485, there began a movement to consolidate the power of the monarchy. The Tudors wished to be masters in Ireland as well as in England; consequently the famous Poynings Act was passed in 1494, which declared that no law could be submitted to the Irish Parliament without the approval of the King and the English Privy Council. Efforts were also made to Anglicize the Irish by introducing among them English customs, language, and law; and special efforts were made to force them into the Anglican Church, a branch of which was established in Ireland by King Henry VIII. The Irish bitterly resented these attempts to Anglicize them, and rose in rebellion at every favorable opportunity, but they were suppressed each time with savage cruelty. In this way was Ireland continually being "pacified."

Ireland under the Stuarts

During the rule of the Stuarts a new policy toward Ireland was adopted, which did more than anything else to create the Irish problem, the solution of which has been so difficult a task for British statesmanship. The English decided to "plant" a Protestant population in Ireland in order to secure native support for their side. A rebellion in the northern province of Ulster gave the Government the needed opportunity. The land of the rebels was confiscated and the title deeds of many others were declared invalid according to English law. In this way about three quarters of a million acres were taken from the native Irish, who were driven out of the province. Scottish settlers, mainly Presbyterians in religion, were sent over by the English Government to establish themselves on the lands of the dispossessed natives. This Plantation of Ulster took place in 1608. In 1652 a second great confiscation, known as the Cromwellian Settlement, was consummated as a punishment for the Irish support of Charles I as against Parliament. Large sections of the provinces of Leinster and Munster were confiscated and given to Englishmen. The third great confiscation followed the victory of King William III over the Irish at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, when large tracts of land were given to the favorites of the King. By these methods many of the Irish people became refugees and outlaws in their own country, or tenants on the land which had previously been theirs.

Anti-Irish legislation

A system of legislation was devised by the English Government which had for its object the degradation, if not the destruction, of the Irish people. No Irish Catholic could inherit or buy land from a Protestant or lease it for a period longer than thirty-one years. If the eldest son of a Catholic became a Protestant, he could oust his father from his property; if a relative of a deceased Catholic landowner turned Protestant, he inherited all the property to the exclusion of the rightful heirs. A special tax was laid on all Catholics engaged in industry, and they were forbidden to employ more than two workingmen. As no Catholic could vote or hold office, the Dublin Parliament was entirely in the hands of the Protestant minority. All education had to be under Protestant auspices, and Catholics were not permitted to enter any liberal profession except that of medicine. Worship according to the Catholic religion was greatly hampered; monks and the higher clergy, like bishops, were banished on pain of death; secular priests had to be registered and their number was limited by law; high rewards having been offered to informers, priest-hunting became a lucrative profession. In the words of Edmund Burke, these laws constituted "a complete system . . . as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the ingenuity of man." Driven from the land, the Irish turned to cattle-raising, for which the country is exceptionally well fitted; but the English Government put a high export duty on cattle and so destroyed that industry. The Irish then began to build up a prosperous trade in wool, but the English put a high export duty on wool, and this industry, too, was ruined. "The law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic," once declared an English Lord Chancellor.

Impossibility of enforcing the Anti-Irish laws

Had the anti-Catholic legislation been rigidly enforced, the Irish race would undoubtedly have been destroyed or reduced to a state of hopeless degradation. But it was impossible for the small Protestant minority to carry out the harsh code, even though it had the support of the military power of England. Moreover, the natural kindness inherent in human nature prevented many Protestants in Ireland from taking full advantage of these laws; therefore much of this anti-Irish legislation became a dead letter.

Act of Union (1800)

It was the American Revolution that first roused the Irish to organized discontent. Secret societies like the "Whiteboys," the "Hearts of Oak," and the "United Irishmen" started a vigorous agitation against English rule. "England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities!" was the cry. Discontent was so rife all over the island, in Protestant Ulster as well as in the Catholic section, that the Government was forced to repeal many of the harsh laws against the Catholics. Those of the latter who had the property qualifications were given the franchise, but they were not permitted to hold office. In 1782 the Poynings Act was repealed, and the Dublin Parliament became independent of the one in London. Although it was composed exclusively of Protestants, the Dublin Parliament, under the leadership of the famous orator and statesman, Henry Grattan, enacted legislation for the benefit of the whole Irish people. Stimulated to further discontent by the French Revolution, the Irish, in 1798, once more rose in revolt against the English Government, only to be speedily suppressed. William Pitt, then Prime Minister, resolved on the abolition of the Irish legislature. By resorting to the most flagrant corruption, he succeeded in having the Act of Union (1800) adopted by the Dublin Parliament. By this act the latter was abolished, and Ireland was given representation in the British Parliament, where an overwhelming anti-Irish majority could always be relied upon to continue the repressive policies.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Ireland made many attempts to free herself from the evils inherited from past ages. Ireland has faced three great general problems: the economic, to restore the land to its original owners; the religious, to establish equality between Protestants and Catholics; and the political, to repeal the Act of Union and reëstablish the Irish Parliament.

The chief problems of Ireland

Among the Irish people two parties appeared that proposed to solve these problems in two entirely different ways. One may be described as moderate and constitutional, as it desired to conduct a peaceful agitation to induce the English Government to repeal the anti-Catholic laws, to buy out the landlords, and to establish Home Rule, or self-government, in Ireland under the British Crown. The other party was revolutionary in character. It cared nothing about Home Rule, but cherished the hope of national independence, and wished to confiscate, not to buy, the estates of the English landlords. This revolutionary element strongly believed in the doctrine of "physical force," namely, that only by terrorism and revolt could England be compelled to do justice to Ireland. Unfortunately, the attitude of indifference on the part of the English people to the wrongs of Ireland and their lack of sympathy with the Irish people aggravated the situation, and so gave a color of truth to the claims of the "physical force" party. Ireland has been called the one conspicuous failure of British statesmanship.

The constitutional and revolutionary parties

The population of the island consists of three groups. First come the descendants of the original inhabitants, largely Celtic in race and Catholic in religion, who constitute about seventy-five per cent of all the people, most of whom are peasants or industrial laborers. The second group, known as the "Ascendancy" or the "Garrison," are of English origin and members of the Anglican Church. To this element belong the landlords, civil and military officials, and the middle classes of the towns. In Ulster there exists a third and distinct group,

The racial elements

the descendants of the Scottish settlers of the seventeenth century, nearly all of whom are Presbyterians in religion and strongly hostile to the Catholics. Between the Ulsterites and the Catholic Irish bitter feuds have raged down to this day. The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne has been celebrated in Ireland by street fighting between the "Orange" and the "Green." [1] Ulster, once a purely farming region, has since become a thriving industrial center, devoted to shipbuilding and to the development of the linen industry.

Catholic Emancipation

The Irish Church

The first problem actually to be solved was the religious one. We have already seen how the "Liberator," Daniel O'Connell,[2] who was a believer in "agitation within the law," succeeded in bringing about Catholic Emancipation. Nevertheless, religious inequality still continued because the Established Church remained entitled by law to public support. She was splendidly endowed, having large revenues and giving princely incomes to her bishops. The law required that every one, irrespective of his religion, who held land either as tenant or as owner was to pay a special tax called the "tithe" for the support of the English Church. Out of about eight million inhabitants, only about one half million were Anglicans, and they were almost exclusively English or of English descent. "On an Irish Sabbath morning," once wrote Sydney Smith, the English humorist, "the bell of a neat Parish Church often summons to worship only the parson and an occasional conforming clerk, while two hundred yards off a thousand Catholics are huddled together in a hovel, and pelted by the storms of Heaven."

The poor Irish peasant, already burdened by his voluntary support of the Catholic Church, often refused to pay the tithe to a church which he hated as alien. Whenever the Anglican clergyman, accompanied by a police officer, attempted to take away the peasant's cow or pig for non-payment of this tax, a riot followed. In 1831 a "tithe war," or general riot, occurred throughout Ireland. It became so difficult to collect the tithe that, in 1838, it was converted into a land tax to be paid by the landlord; but the latter dodged the burden by promptly increasing the rents of his tenants.

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[1] The Orangemen are so called in memory of William of Orange (King William III) who won the Battle of the Boyne. The Orange Society, which is a powerful secret organization opposed to the Irish Catholics, was organized in 1795.

[2] See p. 79.

The "tithe war"

The working classes who were enfranchised in 1867, being mainly Dissenters, were naturally hostile to the Established Church. In the election of 1868 the Liberals, to which party the newly enfranchised had flocked, were overwhelmingly successful. Under the leadership of Gladstone a law disestablishing and disendowing the Anglican Church in Ireland was passed by Parliament in 1869, not however without a bitter struggle. All taxes for the support of the Church were abolished, and its landed property was taken by the Government; partial compensation, however, was made by the creation of a special fund for the support of some of the Anglican clergy in Ireland.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND ITS SOLUTION

Ireland always has been, and still is, essentially an agricultural country, her people depending mainly upon the land for their sustenance. Her industrial development has been slow because there is very little coal and iron to be found on the island. To secure prosperity and contentment among an agricultural people, it is essential that the system of landholding be liberal and the methods of farming progressive; otherwise the people, having no industries to fall back upon, must sink into hopeless poverty. Up to recent times the Irish system of landholding was exceedingly bad, for it contained many vicious features with scarcely any redeeming ones.

Ireland an agricultural country

As has been described above, the ownership of the soil was vested, not in those who tilled it, but in those whose

Absentee landlordism

ancestors had profited from the confiscations in former years. These Irish landlords, mainly of English origin, regarded their estates merely as sources of revenue and cared little about the condition of the tenants, whom they greatly despised. Many of them were "absentee landlords" living in England; their properties were managed by agents, who, in order to please their employers, would raise the rents of the tenants on every possible pretext.

Evils of the land system

Improvements on the farm had to be made by the peasant. If he drained a marsh, built a fence, or improved his cottage, his rent was immediately raised by the landlord; if he refused to pay it, he was promptly evicted and the improvements, as well as the farm, became the landlord's property without compensation to the tenant. From 1849 to 1882 no fewer than 363,000 peasant families were evicted from their homes. Often the fear of losing the money invested in the improvements compelled the peasant to suffer the greatest privations in order to satisfy the greed of the landlord. In this way the latter used as a means of coercion the very values created by the peasant. Owners refused to improve their properties, and the tenants were naturally slow to invest labor and money for the benefit of the former; hence the land was wretchedly cultivated. This system of "rack-renting," as it was called, became notorious the world over and excited the greatest sympathy for the Irish peasants. Because of the absence of industry competition for land was keen, and an evicted family was replaced without difficulty. Many farms were too small to support a family. "As poor as an Irishman" became a proverb. Living almost exclusively on potatoes and in wretched huts which sheltered alike human beings and animals, the Irish peasants were in a state of indescribable poverty and misery. The failure of the potato crop in 1845–47 produced unimaginable suffering. Many thousands died of starvation during those years, and over a million Irishmen emigrated to America during 1846–1851.

While the population of every other country had greatly increased, that of Ireland was reduced by *one half* between 1845 and 1891.

The Land League

The hatred of the Irish peasants for their landlords found expression in acts of violence and terrorism. Many landlords and their agents were murdered, their cattle were killed or maimed, and their houses burned. A system of "boycotting" landlords and their hirelings was instituted; no one would buy from or sell to them; no servants would seek employment in their homes; no physicians would attend them in sickness; no one would recognize them when meeting on the streets. In 1875 the celebrated Land League was formed by Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell. It demanded the three "F's," "free sale, fixity of tenure, and fair rent"; that is, that a tenant who desired to leave his holding should have the right to sell to his successor the improvements which he had made; that eviction should not be at the will of the landlord solely; and that rents should be fixed by public authority. The return of the soil to its original owners was the ultimate solution advocated by the League. The far-reaching agitation set on foot by this organization enlisted almost the entire peasantry of Ireland in its ranks. Though violence was often resorted to by the tenants, it was not openly advocated by the League.

Gladstone's Land Acts

For the British Government the problem presented itself as an issue between general anarchy and reform. Gladstone, whose interest in Ireland began about this time to dominate his political thought, resolved to attack the Irish agrarian question with earnestness. Already, in 1870, he had been instrumental in the enactment of a law that established throughout Ireland the land system of Ulster, which recognized the principle of "tenant right" by giving compensation for improvements to tenants in case they were evicted for causes other than the non-payment of rent. In the Land Act of 1881 Gladstone showed his great power as a constructive statesman, for it marked the beginning of the solution of the most difficult of Ireland's problems. The chief feature of this law was the public regulation of land through the appointment of a Land Commission with powers to adjust relations between landlord and tenant; evictions were to be made on reasonable grounds only; rents were to be regulated by the Commission; a tenant was to be free to sell his holding to another; and full compensation for improvements was to be given to an outgoing tenant. Although this Land Act was at first denounced by its opponents as a combination of "force, fraud, and folly," in a short time its influence became apparent in the growing contentment of the Irish peasantry.

The Land Purchase Acts

The most radical step in land reform was taken, however, by the Conservative Party when it passed the celebrated land laws of 1891 and 1903, the main object of which was the gradual transfer of the soil of Ireland from the landlords to the tenants. The Conservatives believed that the Irish would cease to be revolutionary when they became property-owners. Large sums of money were put at the disposal of the Land Commission by the Imperial Government; landlords were offered a bonus of one eighth of the selling price as an inducement to sell; and tenants were offered money on easy terms as an inducement to buy. Many thousands of Irish peasants have been enabled by this law to become proprietors of farms. John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, declared that these laws were "the most substantial victory gained by the Irish race in the reconquest of the soil of Ireland." The prosperity of the Irish peasant was greatly advanced by a coöperation movement, founded in 1894 by Sir Horace Plunkett. This organized the farmers into coöperative societies that bought expensive machinery for the common use of members, loaned them money at low interest, acted as middleman for the sale of their products, and in other ways aided the peasants by directing and utilizing their efforts. A contented, hard-working peasantry struggling for improvement took the place of the wretched, rebellious tenants of former days. Emigration stopped almost entirely; drunkenness decreased markedly; and dire poverty became the exception instead of the rule.

HOME RULE

One more problem, Home Rule, remained to be solved. The revolutionary currents of the middle of the nineteenth century brought forth the Young Ireland movement of 1848. A group of idealistic young Irishmen, headed by Charles Gavan Duffy, William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and John Mitchel, organized an agitation for national independence. They founded a paper called the *Nation*, which expressed their views with great force and eloquence, and aimed to stir the Irish people into revolt against England. A small uprising did occur in 1848, but it was quickly suppressed, and the leaders were exiled or imprisoned.

Young Ireland

A far more dangerous movement was Fenianism (from *Fiana Eirean*, national militia), which was organized by Irish refugees in America at the close of the Civil War. The Fenians were a secret, revolutionary brotherhood that determined to establish an independent Irish Republic by a policy of terrorism. Riots were organized, prisons were blown up, officials were murdered, and an attempt was made by the Irish in America to invade Canada. On May 6, 1882, there occurred the Phœnix Park murders in Dublin which shocked all England. Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and an associate were assassinated by members of a Fenian group known as the "Invincibles." The English authorities, greatly frightened, adopted an energetic policy to uproot Fenianism; *habeas corpus* was suspended, and many of the Irish terrorists were executed or imprisoned. Nevertheless, the activity of the Fenians, according to Gladstone, "produced among Englishmen an attitude of attention and preparedness which qualified them to embrace, in a manner foreign to their habits in other times, the vast importance of the Irish controversy."

Fenianism

The policy of the Fenians was strongly condemned by those Irish who believed in constitutional methods of agitation. Accordingly, in 1870, a political party, called the

Parnell

Irish Nationalists, was organized to demand Home Rule for Ireland. Shortly after its birth the party came under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, one of the most remarkable political leaders of his day. A man of cool temper, scorning rhetoric, haughty and aristocratic in temperament, Parnell, although a Protestant, received the enthusiastic support of the Catholic Irish. In his opinion the great mistake of England was that she governed Ireland according to English ideas and in the interest of the Protestant landowning minority; the plan which he advocated was to reverse this policy in favor of the Catholic peasant majority. All his life Parnell was dominated by hatred of English rule, and he went so far as to declare: "No man has a right to set bounds to the march of a nation — to say thus far thou shalt go and no farther."

Parnell's policy of "filibustering"

Parnell's one policy was ceaseless agitation for Irish reforms, inside and outside of Parliament. With that in view he made an alliance with the more radical element under Michael Davitt, and helped to organize the Land League, whose propaganda, as we have seen, kept Ireland in a constant state of turmoil. In Parliament, Parnell developed a vexatious system of obstructing legislation, or "filibustering," by taking advantage of the rules of the House: he would make interminable speeches, demand a roll-call on all bills, present numerous resolutions, and, in these ways, constantly retard the business of Parliament. Disorderly scenes were of frequent occurrence in the House, and occasionally the Irish members had to be forcibly ejected.[1]

The first Home Rule Bill

In the elections of 1885 the Liberals and Conservatives were evenly balanced, hence Gladstone could not hold office without the support of Parnell. Besides, he was sincerely trying to find some solution of the Irish Question other than coercion. He therefore joined hands with the Nationalists. He introduced in 1886 the first Home Rule Bill, providing that a Parliament be established in Dublin with power to legislate on purely local affairs, but that Irish representation in the British Parliament come to an end. Opposition to the bill was very bitter. In the first place, a cry went up that the British Empire was in danger, for Home Rule was but the first step toward secession and the ultimate disintegration of the Empire. In the second place, an appeal to religious prejudice was made by the opponents of the bill, particularly by the Ulsterites, who declared that *Home* Rule meant *Rome* Rule because the Catholic majority in a Dublin Parliament would undoubtedly take advantage of its power to revenge itself upon the Protestant minority. So deep-rooted was English distrust and dislike of the Irish that some of Gladstone's most influential followers, like John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, united with the Conservatives to defeat the bill, and the Cabinet was compelled to resign. Elections took place soon afterward in which the Conservatives were overwhelmingly successful. To give self-government to Ireland was evidently not yet the intention of the British people. The new Conservative Ministry, with Lord Salisbury as Premier and Arthur James Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland, determined upon a course of consistent and pitiless repression of every disorderly manifestation in Ireland. Additional Crimes Acts were passed and vigorously enforced.

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[1] The House of Commons, to offset these tactics, modified its rules of procedure by introducing "closure," or the practice of shutting off debate.

The second Home Rule Bill

In the elections of 1892 the Conservatives won about fifty seats more than the Liberals. Again the Irish, who numbered eighty-one members, held the balance of power. Parnell's leadership had been repudiated by most of his followers and by Gladstone, owing to the fact that he was named as corespondent in a divorce case. He had died in 1891, a disappointed and broken-hearted man. In 1893 the second Home Rule Bill was introduced. The chief difference between this and the first bill was the continuance of Irish representation in the British Parliament in addition to the provision for an assembly in Dublin.[1] This bill was denounced with as much vehemence as the first, and Gladstone was ridiculed as "an old man in a hurry," whose foolish work was endangering the country. After long and heated debates leading at times to open violence, the measure finally passed the Commons by a vote of 301 to 267, but it was defeated in the Lords by 419 to 41. When, two years later, the Conservatives again returned to power, it was with the resolve "to kill Home Rule with kindness." A law was enacted in 1898 establishing county and district councils in Ireland to be elected by popular vote, which gave a degree of local self-government not hitherto enjoyed by the Irish. This concession was followed by the Land Act of 1903 already described.

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[1] It was, however, provided that the Irish members in the British Parliament could vote only on bills affecting Ireland.

John Redmond pledges Irish loyalty

Discontent was bound to exist as long as the Irish people were dependent upon the British Parliament for their legislation. John Redmond, who became leader of the Nationalist Party in 1900, aimed to convince the British people that Ireland would be all the more loyal to England if self-government were granted to her, and that the Irish Catholics had no wish to persecute the Protestant minority with whom they desired to be united to form an Irish nation.

The third Home Rule Bill

There was to be still another attempt to pass a Home Rule bill. In the elections of 1910 both parties in Parliament were evenly matched, and again the Irish Nationalists found themselves in the strategic position of holding the balance of power. The Asquith Ministry, depending upon Irish support, introduced, in 1912, the third Home Rule Bill. Conservative opposition to this measure was, if anything, even more bitter than that to its predecessors, and on the same grounds, namely, that it would lead to the disruption of the Empire and to persecution of the Protestant minority in Ireland. In Ulster there was frantic opposition to Home Rule; a wave of "Ulsteria" swept the province, and it determined to resist the measure, even to the point of rebellion. Sir Edward Carson, a Conservative leader, organized the Ulster Volunteers, a popular military organization which, in open defiance of the authorities, recruited and drilled its forces with the proclaimed purpose of resisting the application of a Home Rule Act to Ulster. Although religious antagonism was a powerful factor in keeping Ireland divided, there was another cause, not so apparent but much more real, for Ulster's opposition to Home Rule. This province is the wealthiest part of Ireland on account of its shipping and linen industries, and fears were entertained by the people of Ulster that, as a majority of the Irish Parliament would come from the poorer sections of the island, it would lay the burden of taxation upon them.

The Amendment Clause

The Asquith Ministry was in a quandary. Should it yield to Ulster? That would lead to a loss of Irish support in the Commons and to the consequent defeat of the Liberal Government. Should it firmly prohibit the activities of the Ulster Volunteers? That would mean civil war with its attendant evils, and the danger of a consolidation of Protestant opinion in Great Britain powerful enough to disrupt the Liberal Party. True to the English tradition of compromise, Premier Asquith introduced an Amendment Clause which provided that those counties in Ulster which so decided by a referendum vote would be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule Act for a period of six years; but that, at the end of this time, they would automatically come under its operation.[1]

Home Rule enacted into law

But this did not satisfy Ulster, which wished to be totally and permanently excluded from control by a Dublin Parliament. Encouraged by the weakness displayed by the Government in the face of threats of rebellion, the Ulsterites continued their warlike preparations with increased energy. There was much astonishment and alarm when a group of British army officers stationed in Ireland openly declared that they would refuse to "coerce" Ulster. However, in spite of the seriousness of the situation, Parliament, on May 5, 1914, passed the Irish Home Rule Bill for the third time without the Amendment, and it became law under the Parliament Act of 1911 [1] notwithstanding its rejection by the Lords.

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[1] Ulster is by no means wholly Protestant, as about forty-four per cent of the inhabitants of the province are Catholic. The Catholics are in the majority in some of the counties.

The Irish constitution

The new constitution provided for a parliament composed of two Houses with jurisdiction over purely Irish affairs. It was prohibited from legislating on matters concerning the United Kingdom as a whole, such as the army, the navy, the tariff, or foreign affairs; it was especially forbidden to establish or to favor any church, directly or indirectly. The executive authority was vested in a cabinet to be chosen by and to be responsible to the lower House; in addition, there was to be a Lord Lieutenant appointed by the Crown with power to veto acts of the Irish Cabinet. Ireland's representation in the British Parliament was continued.

Preparations for civil war

The final passage of the bill did not stop Ulster's preparations for rebellion. Recruiting and drilling of soldiers increased, and arms were smuggled into the province in open defiance of the Government. The Catholic Irish, fearing that the British army would take the side of their opponents in case of a conflict, organized a military body, called the Nationalist Volunteers, in preparation for the coming struggle. In July, 1914, King George V took the unusual step of calling, on his own initiative, a conference of political leaders to discuss the situation. This aroused a storm of criticism on the part of the Home Rulers, who charged that the King was persuaded by the Conservatives to overstep his constitutional functions in order to defeat the purpose of the Home Rule Act. The conference, however, accomplished nothing. Civil war was imminent in Ireland when, suddenly, the World War broke out. Both Redmond and Carson immediately declared their loyalty to the British flag, and a resolution was passed by Parliament postponing the operation of the Home Rule Act until the end of the War.

While Home Rule was languishing in Parliament from 1893 to 1910, Irish national culture and economy were undergoing profound modifications. The Catholic Church, almost the only surviving institution with a strongly national coloring, had slowly reached a favorable position in respect to education in all grades. The system of rural coöperation and credits, established by Sir Horace Plunkett, was flourishing. The Gaelic League, under Douglas Hyde, fostering everywhere the almost vanished language and customs of the Gael, produced an extensive literature, and established the Gaelic language as an optional subject in many of the national schools. An Irish renaissance was in progress; economic and fiscal history were investigated; the ancient dances, music, and crafts were revived; plays, lyrics, and novels — in English — were poured forth in a bewildering variety of moods. Ireland became a "nest of singing birds." William B. Yeats, John Synge, George Russell, to mention only a few, by means of drama, poetry, and essays set forth the ideals of the Irish.

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[1] See p. 363.

The Irish Renaissance

Meanwhile the political atmosphere was slowly changing. The constitutional movement for Home Rule was confronted by a more ardent and more ambitious form of nationalist propaganda called by the Gaelic words Sinn Fein, meaning "ourselves." The society was founded, in 1906, by Arthur Griffith, who popularized an ingenious project of a quasi-independent state, which was to develop peacefully and openly on the basis of existing local bodies and of a national assembly. This voluntary and unofficial state would provide for a protective tariff, a civil and consular service, shipping, and banking. The existing revenue system was to be attacked by a boycott of taxed articles; and the existing political system, by a boycott of the British Parliament. The agitation of the Sinn Fein was directed not only against the British but also against the Irish Home Rulers because the latter desired to maintain the British connection. Ireland, they declared, was "by natural and constitutional right a sovereign state." The Sinn Fein succeeded in attracting the support of the rising generation of Irishmen with the result that revolutionary nationalism looking toward an Irish republic began to displace constitutional nationalism looking toward Home Rule.

The Sinn Fein

CHAPTER XV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Characteristics of the British Empire

NOT since the days of the ancient Roman Empire has there been a political organism so vast as the British Empire of to-day. In 1914 fully one quarter of the world's population and one fifth of its area were under the British flag, so that a Briton could truly boast that the sun never set on the British dominions. Within its confines are to be found almost every race and every stage of civilization, from naked savages in Africa to cultivated residents of Oxford, all bound together by the common tie of British allegiance. In the main, the British Empire is the outcome of an expansion of territory rather than of population, as only 65,000,000 out of its estimated population of 425,000,000 are of the white race — 45,000,000 living in the United Kingdom and the remaining 20,000,000 elsewhere in the Empire. Of the latter about 3,000,000 are of non-English stock, such as the French in Canada and the Dutch in Africa. The English colonies vary greatly in their systems of government, but they can be classified in three general groups: (1) India and Egypt, which are governed autocratically by British administrators; (2) Crown Colonies like Ceylon and Guiana, where there is an element of popular control; and (3) the five self-governing dominions, Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and South Africa, which have complete local autonomy.

The fleet and the Empire

In nearly every corner of every sea Great Britain possesses a naval base or a convenient place where British warships may get coal and other supplies; in this way the British fleet is in control of nearly every waterway and is therefore in a position to secure the safety of the "far-flung" Empire. In the Mediterranean, Gibraltar at one end, Suez at the other, and Malta in the middle give the British control of this sea. In Asiatic waters, Aden, Ceylon, India, Singapore, Hongkong, and Wei-hai-Wai mark the pathway of the fleet. In American waters the various West Indian islands and Canada accomplish a similar purpose to a limited degree.

INDIA

The British East India Company

It is to the activities of a trading corporation, the British East India Company, that England owes the acquisition of India, an extensive region inhabited by about three hundred million people. This company established trading-posts in India during the early part of the seventeenth century. According to its charter the British East India Company was given a monopoly of the British trade with India and the right to rule over the natives in its jurisdiction, subject, however, to the oversight of the British Government.

Rivalry of the French and English

Early in the sixteenth century India had been conquered by Mongolians who founded what was called the Empire of the Great Mogul with the capital at Delhi. This empire, after lasting for about two centuries, finally disintegrated, and India was broken up into rival principalities that continually waged war against one another. This gave an opportunity to the Europeans of which they made excellent use. Dupleix, the head of the French East India Company, allied himself with some of the princes against others in order to extend the influence of his Company. But in this he was outdone by Clive of the English Company, who showed remarkable abilities as an organizer and a soldier. At the battles of Plassey (1757) and Wandewash (1760) the French and their Indian allies were badly beaten by the English and their Indian allies, with the result that the hegemony of India passed to the English Company.

For some years this corporation exercised the powers of a great state, supporting armies and navies, making treaties, and annexing territory with practically no control by Parliament. Huge fortunes were made by the members of the

Company and its agents in India. Charges of corruption and oppression against the officials of the Company brought the matter before Parliament, and in 1784 a change was made in the government of India by the appointment of commissions in England and in India with power to supervise the actions of the Company.

Control of the Company by Parliament

Not all of what is the present Empire of India was under British control at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A large region in the central and western parts was ruled by the Mahratta Confederacy, a loosely organized union of Indian princes who disputed with the English for the control of India. After years of intermittent warfare the Confederacy was finally overthrown in 1818, and their lands annexed to the British possessions. The warlike inhabitants of the mountainous regions of Punjab, on the northern frontier, gave trouble to both the English and the natives of the plains. In 1849 Punjab was conquered and annexed by Lord Dalhousie. The inhabitants, known as Sikhs, have since furnished the British army in India with excellent soldiers. A series of wars in the eastern part resulted in the conquest of Burmah and its final annexation in 1886. Toward the end of the nineteenth century British influence made itself felt among the warlike tribes in Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the northwestern frontier.[1]

Extension of British domain in India

The rapid growth of British authority in India could not but arouse great dissatisfaction among the natives, who beheld a handful of Europeans in control of their destiny. It needed only some incident to cause the smouldering discontent to flame up into open rebellion. This incident was furnished by the introduction in the army of a new kind of cartridge, wrapped in greased paper, the ends of which had to be bitten off before being inserted into the gun. The authorities had not taken into account the religious scruples of the Sepoys, as the native soldiers are called, who were horrified at the thought of putting grease

The greased cartridges

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[1] In 1903 Baluchistan came under British control and is now a province of India.

to their mouths. The Mohammedans among them thought that the grease was the fat of pigs, animals which their religion forbids them to eat, while the Hindus thought it was the fat of cows, animals sacred to their religion.

The famous Indian Mutiny of 1857, which grew out of this incident, began with an uprising of a native regiment. Most of India was soon seething with rebellion, and there were only about forty thousand British soldiers to uphold the Government. The mutineers committed frightful cruelties on the English residents, many of whom were massacred outright. Reinforcements were hurried from England, and the Mutiny was completely crushed two years later. The British took a fearful vengeance: hundreds of rebels were shot and others blown from the mouths of cannon.

The Mutiny

The uprising led to an important change in the government of India. In 1858, an act of Parliament abolished the East India Company's control of India, which passed completely into the hands of the Crown. It was henceforth entrusted to a Cabinet Minister, called the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a council. The actual administration in India was put into the hands of a Viceroy assisted by two bodies, an executive and a legislative council, all of them appointed by the British Government. Large sections of the population were not put under the direct rule of the Viceroy, but under that of their own princes, who, however, were "advised" by British officials. In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India as a recognition of the importance of that country in the British Empire. In 1912 the capital was moved to Delhi, the ancient city of the Moguls.

Abolition of Company rule

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there began a nationalistic movement among the Hindus, who desired not so much independence as local autonomy. This movement was largely directed by the educated young men who had studied abroad, and who had become imbued with Western ideas. Seditious journals and secret societies kept up a vigorous agitation, which led

The Nationalist movement

to assassinations of British officials and to a systematic boycotting of British goods. Under Lord Morley, the British Secretarv of State for India, the Government on the one hand took measures against the nationalistic movement. On the other hand, it inaugurated a more liberal policy by giving the natives greater recognition in the government. Indians were appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India and to that of the Viceroy. The various Indian legislative bodies were reorganized and Indians were given greater representation. British rule in India persists mainly because the vast population is broken up into mutually hostile racial and religious groups, who are unwilling to unite even against their British masters. The warlike Mohammedans are feared and hated by those of the Brahmin faith, who constitute about two thirds of the population. Other important religious groups are the Buddhists, the Jains, and the Sikhs.

Benefits of British rule to the Hindus and to the British

Although heavily taxed and arbitrarily governed, India has derived undoubted benefits from British rule. It has brought internal peace to a land once distracted by tribal wars, established an enlightened civil and criminal code, and abolished barbarous practices, such as the *suttee*, or the self-immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her husband. Gigantic irrigation works have been constructed to the great benefit of agriculture; railways and factories have been built; and India's commerce, both domestic and foreign, has increased by leaps and bounds. England, too, has profited greatly from her control of India. English ships carry three quarters of the latter's oversea commerce, and English merchants get the benefit of a large part of her trade. Enormous quantities of cotton and iron goods are annually exported to India from Great Britain. English capital, by investing in Indian railways and factories, has done much to develop the country industrially. From the English upper classes come the numerous officials in India who secure profitable employment as a result of British control. The Indian nationalists assert that India has been exploited for the benefit of the English and not of the Hindus; that the native industries were destroyed by the importation of manufactured products from England; and that the factories, mines, and railways are owned or controlled by English capitalists. Restrictive excise taxes have been laid by the English Government on the production of cotton goods designed to prevent India from establishing cotton factories of her own which would lessen her cotton imports from England. They furthermore assert that India is heavily taxed by the alien rulers, whose first consideration is for themselves; hence they spend little on the country, especially on education.[1]

EGYPT

Egypt and Turkey

Since the days of the Pharaohs, Egypt has been under the rule of foreigners. Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Arabs, Turks, French, and English have in turn ruled the country. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was organized as a province of the Ottoman Empire, and was ruled by a governor sent by the Sultan of Turkey. Egypt remained subject to the Sultan until the early part of the nineteenth century, when she gained national independence under a remarkable adventurer named Mehemet Ali, who conquered the country and compelled the Sultan to recognize him and his heirs as its rulers under Turkish suzerainty.

England buys Canal shares from the Khedive

When the construction of the Suez Canal was begun in 1859, it was generally recognized that Egypt was the key to the control of the Eastern Mediterranean because the canal lay wholly within her borders; hence the European powers, especially England and France, became interested in her future. The Egyptian Khedive, or ruler, Ismail I, was incompetent and extravagant, and he was hopelessly involved in debt to European bankers, who had encouraged his borrowings. In order to pay off part of his debt he offered for sale in 1876 a large number of shares of his Suez Canal stock. Disraeli, who was English Prime Minister at the time, realizing the political possibilities that lay in this offer, availed himself of the opportunity, and made the purchase for the British Government. In this way England secured an interest in Egypt.

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[1] See p. 757 for important changes in India.

The rebellion of Arabi Pasha

The country's financial condition grew worse and worse, the natural outcome of the extravagance, corruption, and incompetence of its rulers. As a result the Dual Control was established in 1877, according to which England and France took over the management of Egyptian finances. There was great discontent among the people in Egypt, who suspected that financial intervention would inevitably lead to political dependence. A rebellion broke out in 1882 under Arabi Pasha against the Khedive and his financial backers. The cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians!" was raised by the patriotic rebels, who bitterly resented the idea of being governed by Christian Europeans. The Khedive was too weak to cope with the rebellion, and he appealed for help to his financial advisers. France refused, but England decided to aid him; the Dual Control, therefore, came to an end, leaving England alone in control. A British army was sent into Egypt, which quickly suppressed the uprising of Arabi Pasha. It was to remain in the country, the British Government declared, until Egyptian affairs became more stable, when it was to be withdrawn. The British assumed full control of the military as well as of the financial affairs of the country. British officers reorganized the army, the supreme command of which was entrusted to a British general, and the Khedive became merely a tool in the hands of the latter.

The Mahdi

The English occupation aroused the Moslem population to fury. A great revolt was soon under way among the fanatic tribes in the Sudan, the region of the upper Nile. They found a remarkable leader in Mohammed Ahmed, known as the "Mahdi," or Leader, who preached a Mohammedan crusade against the Christians and who cherished the ambition to found a new Mohammedan Empire. The city of Khartum was garrisoned by Egyptian and British troops under the command of General

Charles Gordon, a brave soldier who had distinguished himself in China.[1] In 1885 Khartum was besieged by a large army of "dervishes," as the Mohammedan tribesmen were termed, and, after a gallant defense which aroused great enthusiasm in England, the entire garrison including General Gordon was massacred, just before a relief expedition reached the city. Great indignation was aroused against the Gladstone Ministry, which was accused of being dilatory in coming to the defense of General Gordon. The Ministry was overthrown, and the Conservatives under Lord Salisbury came into power determined to put down the Mahdi and to hold Egypt as a part of the British Empire. In 1896 an Anglo-Egyptian expedition was dispatched to the Sudan under General Herbert Kitchener, who showed marked ability both as an organizer and as a general. He succeeded in defeating the "dervishes" at the Battle of Omdurman (1898). The Sudan was recovered for the Khedive, and it is now a "condominion," or under two flags, Egyptian and English.

Benefits of British rule

The British then set about reorganizing the country completely, which practically became a protectorate of the Empire, though nominally it was under the rule of the Khedive and under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Lord Cromer, the British Commissioner sent over to take charge of affairs in Egypt, greatly distinguished himself by inaugurating reforms of a far-reaching kind. Taxes were now fairly levied, and the *fellahin*, or peasantry, were assured of peace, justice, and equity to an extent that they had not known for centuries. Splendid irrigation works were built, the most famous of which is the Assuan Dam, completed in 1902; and railways and factories were introduced which brought a degree of prosperity to the once poverty-stricken land.

Nevertheless, there has been much discontent with English rule. As everywhere else, the Egyptians were more eager for self-government than for good government, and a widespread demand for home rule arose. "Egypt for the

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[1] See p. 660.

Egyptians!" once more became the cry. The Nationalists founded papers and societies which conducted a vigorous agitation for political freedom. Riots and assassination of English officials sometimes took place. In 1913 a concession was made by the British Government in the establishment of an Egyptian representative assembly with partial control over the taxes; but the government of the country was still mainly in the hands of the British Commissioner. On the outbreak of the World War in 1914 and the entrance of Turkey into the conflict, the slender tie which connected Egypt with the Ottoman Empire was broken, and Egypt was formally declared a protectorate of the British Empire.

The Nationalist movement

THE CROWN COLONIES

The government of the group of British possessions known as the Crown Colonies is not unlike that of the royal colonies in America before the Revolution. The governor and his council are appointed by the British Cabinet; an assembly which is for the most part elective constitutes the popular element in the government and has power to vote the taxes. Typical Crown Colonies are Ceylon, Guiana, Jamaica, Malta, and Cyprus.

Rhodesia, a large region in Africa north of the Transvaal, was acquired by the British South Africa Company, a chartered corporation organized by Cecil Rhodes, which governs the region. North Borneo is also under the control of a chartered company. There is a tendency to transform these colonies and similar ones into protectorates or Crown Colonies.

CANADA

Canada was originally a French settlement, and her white inhabitants were almost exclusively French at the time of the English conquest in 1763. On the eve of the American Revolution the British Parliament, in order to hold the loyalty of the French, passed the Quebec Act (1774), which recognized the French language, law, and

The Quebec Act

customs, and which gave special privileges to the Catholic Church, to which the French inhabitants were devoted. As a consequence the latter remained loyal to the British Crown during the Revolution.

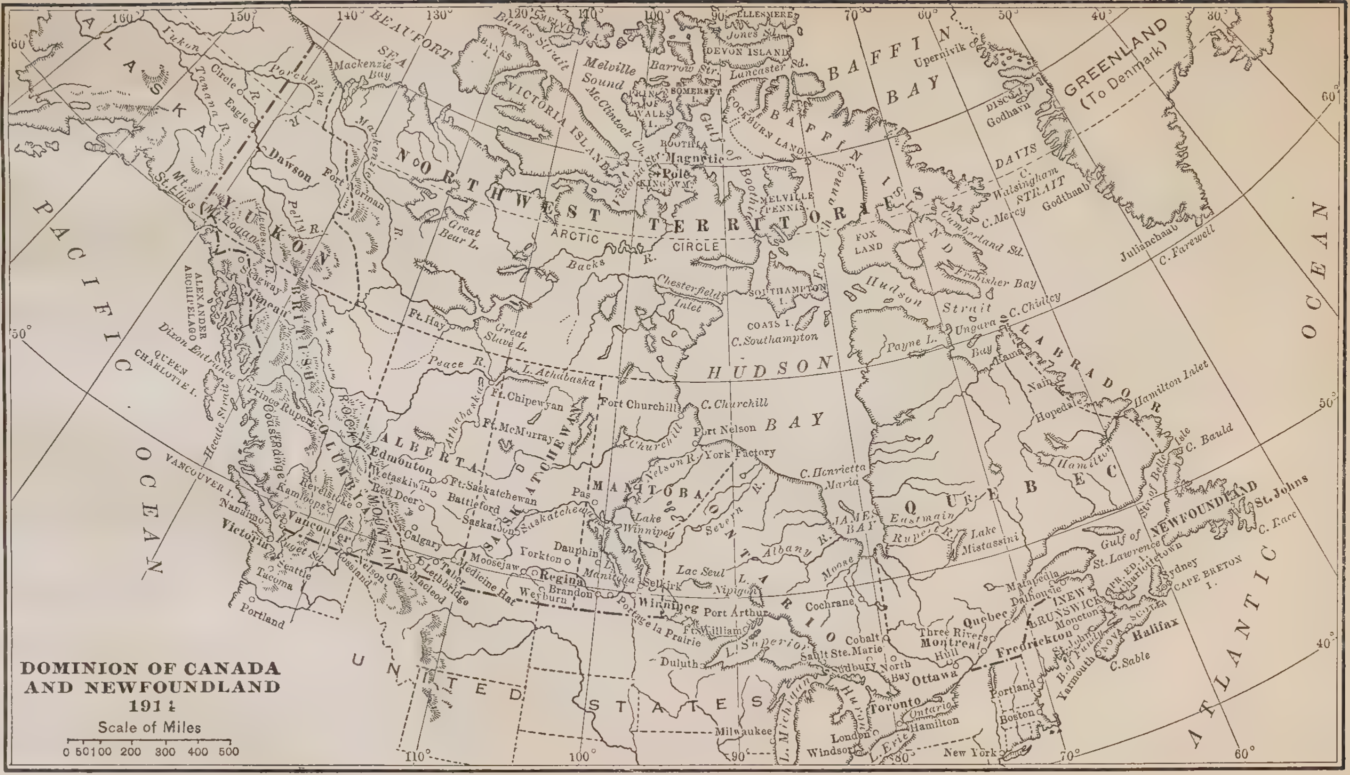
Discontent with the system of government

An English-speaking element was introduced into Canada from two sources, loyalists from the American colonies and emigrants from Great Britain, who settled the region then called Upper Canada, now Ontario. The French dwelt in Lower Canada, now Quebec, where their language, law, and customs prevailed. In both provinces there was considerable discontent with the system of government, in which the governor and his council appointed from England predominated over the popular assemblies. The latter insisted on being supreme, and there arose serious quarrels between them and the governors, which were intensified in the case of Lower Canada by racial antagonism between the French inhabitants and the English officials. In 1837 this dissatisfaction resulted in an uprising. Though it was easily put down, the British Government, having the American Revolution in mind, was greatly alarmed. A special commissioner, Lord Durham, was sent to Canada to examine into the Canadian grievances and to suggest reforms.

Lord Durham's Report

The Report of Lord Durham, issued in 1839, is the most famous document in British imperial history. It has been called the Magna Charta of the colonies, for its liberal recommendations became the fundamental principles of England's new colonial policy. Lord Durham recommended: (1) that complete autonomy be granted to the colonies having representative institutions by the establishment of ministerial responsibility to the legislatures; and (2) that the various colonies in Canada should be united in a federal union under the Crown. These suggestions, if acted upon, would replace dependence of the colonies on the mother country by association with her in the Empire.

Lord Durham's recommendations were promptly translated into law. In 1840 Parliament united Upper and Lower



DOMINION OF CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND 1914

Canada by giving them a common legislature. Seven years later Lord Elgin, Governor of Canada and the son-in-law of Lord Durham, established the principle of responsible government by choosing a Cabinet having the confidence of the legislature. Responsible government once established, it was rapidly extended to all British colonies where white inhabitants predominated.

Spread of self-government

In 1867 another important step was taken by Parliament in the passage of the British North America Act, which united all the Canadian colonies except Newfoundland into a federal union called the Dominion of Canada. The new Government resembles the American system inasmuch as the nine provinces are allowed local government, though not to the same degree as the States in the American Union. The central Government consists of a Parliament of two Houses: a Senate with limited powers over legislation, the members of which are appointed for life by the Governor-General; and a House of Commons elected by popular suffrage with control over the Cabinet. Except in the matter of foreign affairs, which are still largely in the hands of the British Parliament, Canada has all the powers of an independent nation. It may and does enact tariffs even on English goods. The only visible connection between the Dominion and the mother country is the Governor-General, an official appointed by the King as his representative and, like him, merely a figurehead.

The British North America Act

Since the passage of this law Canada has made notable progress. The vast regions in the West, at first under the control of the Hudson Bay Company, were taken over by the Dominion Parliament and carved into new provinces. In 1886 the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, and as a consequence the fertile lands in the West were rapidly settled and developed so that the region is now one of the granaries of the world. Under the leadership, first of Sir John Macdonald and later of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden, Canada has come forward as the most important of the British dominions.

Progress of Canada

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Settlement of Australia

During the middle of the seventeenth century a Dutchman, Tasman, made an extended exploration of the coasts of Australia and New Zealand. Later, at the end of the eighteenth century, an Englishman, Captain Cook, came to these islands and took possession of them in the name of King George III. In 1788 the English established a penal settlement at Botany Bay, in Australia, to which English convicts were sent. When, in time, free white settlers arrived from England, they objected to the convicts as an undesirable class of colonists; so, in 1840, the penal colony was officially abolished. Population grew slowly, for the island continent, although about as large as the United States, afforded few economic opportunities besides sheep-raising. Immense regions were, and still are, arid wastes unfit for human habitation. In 1851 rich gold deposits were discovered, and the influx of settlers which followed caused the colony to grow rapidly. The Australians are now engaged mainly in grazing and mining; and they export large quantities of wool, mutton, and gold.

The Australian Union

Until 1900 there were six distinct colonies, each with its own government: New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, and the neighboring island of Tasmania. In that year they organized themselves into a federal union through an act of the British Parliament, and they adopted a constitution closely modeled on that of the United States. Each of the six states in the union has a considerable degree of home rule. Common affairs are managed by a Parliament composed of two Houses, a Senate to which each state sends six members, and a House of Representatives elected by popular suffrage. The administration is in the hands of a cabinet responsible to the House. The British Crown is represented by a Governor-General sent from England. As in the case of Canada, Australia has complete autonomy in everything except foreign affairs.

For some years social reform has occupied the attention of the Government, which at one time was under the control of a radical Labor Party. Laws were enacted regulating the relations between capital and labor in the matter of hours, wages, and conditions of employment. Workingmen's compensation and old-age pension laws were passed in the interest of the laboring classes. In 1902 the franchise was extended to women, permitting them to vote for members of the Federal Parliament.

Social reforms

New Zealand is the name of a group of islands southeast of Australia which were formally annexed to the British Empire in 1839. As early as 1852 local autonomy was granted to the colony through the establishment of the cabinet system of government. In 1907 it was organized as a Dominion and put in the same class with Canada and Australia.

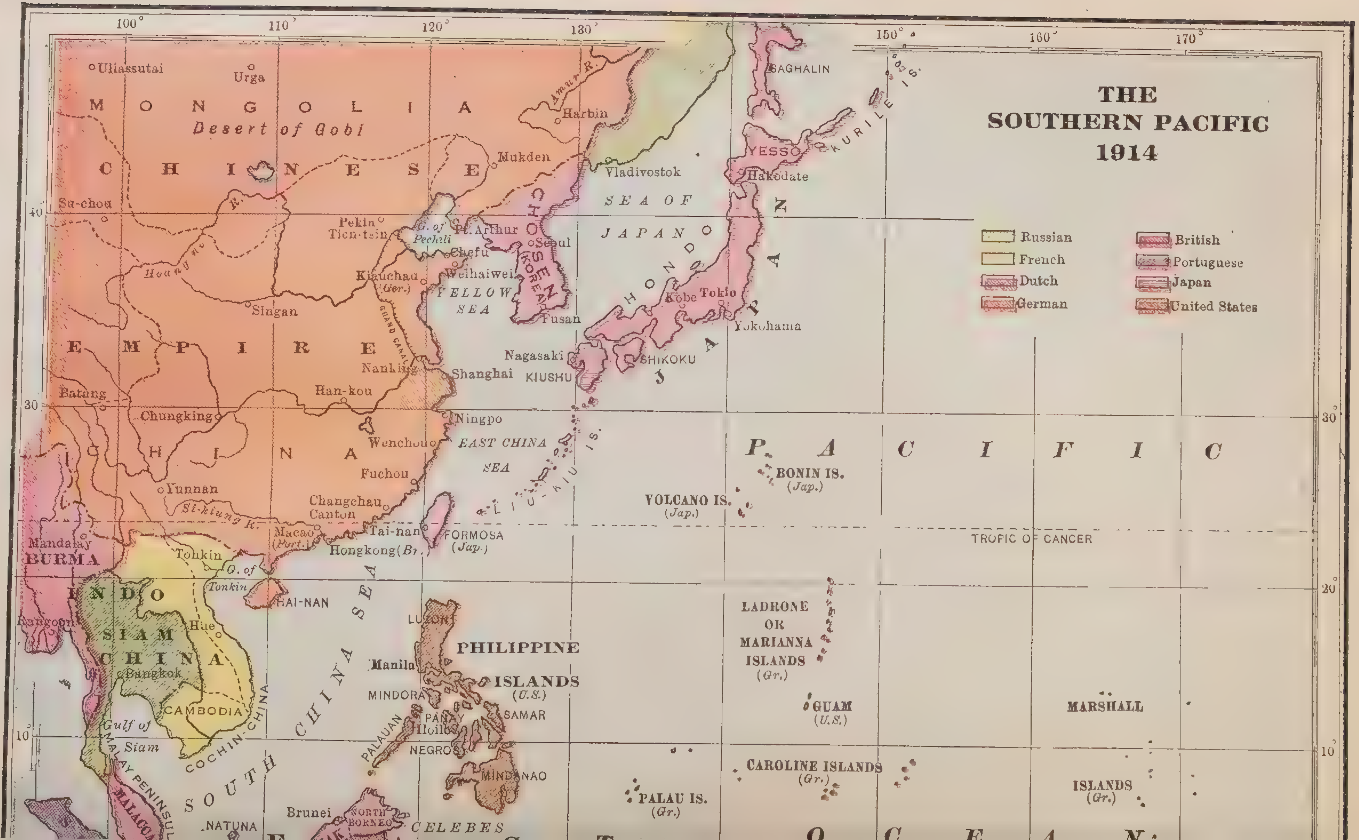
New Zealand

This far-off place, with only one million inhabitants, began to attract world-wide attention as a laboratory for experiments in political and social democracy. A radical party entered the field in 1890, and it has dominated the politics of the islands ever since. Both Houses of Parliament were made completely democratic through the popular election on the basis of proportional representation. Women were granted full parliamentary suffrage in 1893.

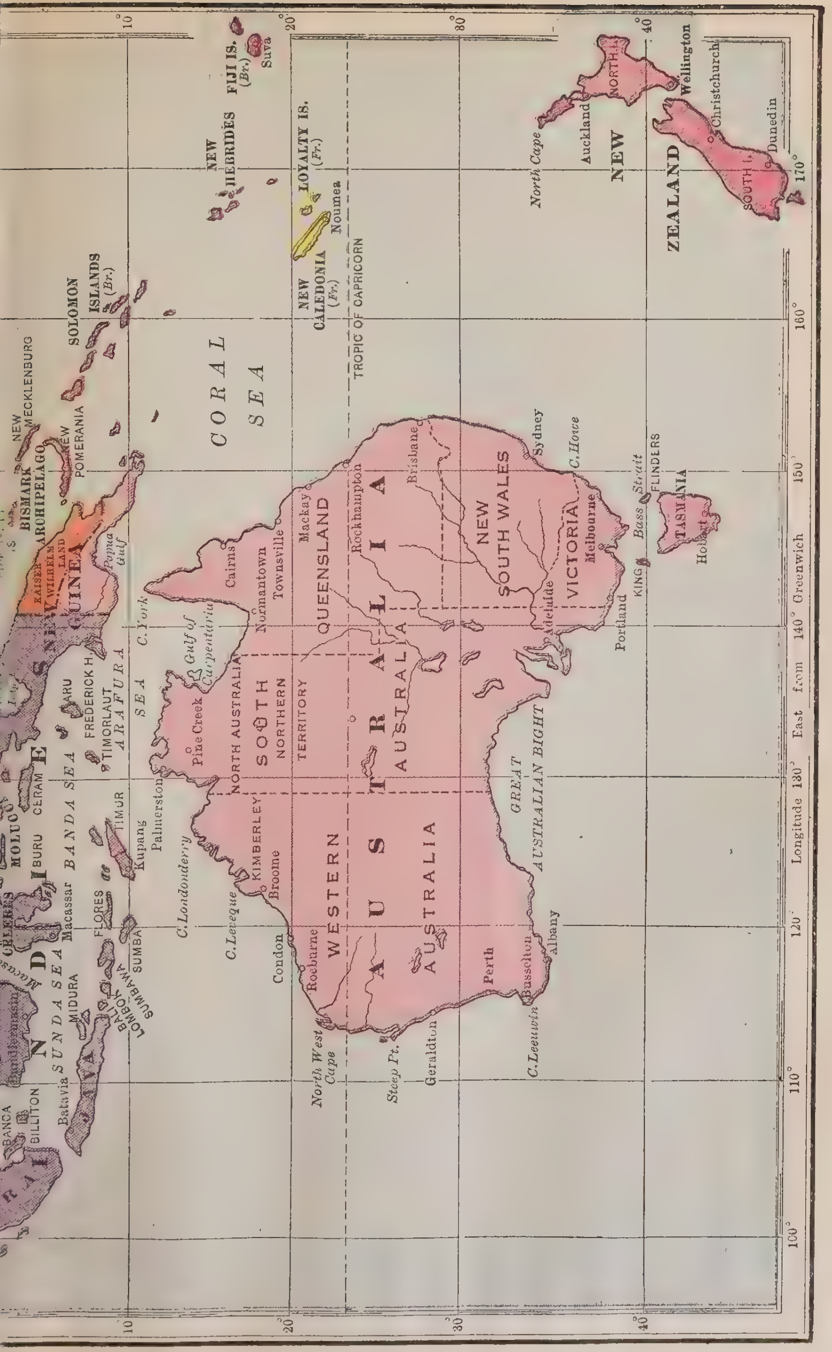
Political democracy in New Zealand

Most interesting are New Zealand's experiments in state socialism. The Government owns and operates all railways, telephones, and telegraphs, which are administered not primarily for profit, but for the general welfare. The Government also provides fire and life insurance, loans money at reasonable rates, grants old-age pensions, and rents model homes to workingmen. In 1898 a notable law was passed making arbitration of labor disputes compulsory, so that New Zealand has been called "the land without strikes." As most of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, the radical party determined to prevent the growth of a landed aristocracy. Heavy taxes were laid on large estates, and some of them were taken over by the Government and leased in small parcels to farmers.

Social democracy in New Zealand



THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC 1914


AUSTRALIA
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
NORTH AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
KIMBERLEY
NEW ZEALAND
NORTH I.
SOUTH I.
NEW GUINEA
KAISER WILHELM LAND
BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO
NEW MECKLENBURG
NEW POMERANIA
SOLOMON ISLANDS (Br.)
NEW HEBRIDES
LOYALTY IS. (Fr.)
NEW CALEDONIA (Fr.)
FIJI IS. (Br.)
Suva
Noumea
CORAL SEA
ARAFURA SEA
BANDA SEA
SUNDA SEA
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
Gulf of Carpentaria
Papua Gulf
C. York
Cairns
Townsville
Normantown
Mackay
Rockhampton
Brisbane
Sydney
C. Howe
Melbourne
Adelaide
Portland
Bass Strait
KING I.
FLINDERS
Hobart
Albany
Perth
Busselton
C. Leeuwin
Geraldton
Steep Pt.
North West Cape
Roeburne
Condon
Broome
C. Leveque
C. Londonderry
Palmerston
Pine Creek
Kupang
TIMOR
TIMORLAUT
FREDERICK H.
ARU
CERAM
BURU
MOLUCCAS
CELEBES
Macassar
FLORES
SUMBA
SUMBAWA
LOMBOK
BALI
MIDURA
JAVA
Batavia
BILLITON
BANCA
Bandjermasin
Auckland
North Cape
Wellington
Christchurch
Dunedin
Longitude 130° East from Greenwich 140°
10°
20°
30°
40°
100°
110°
120°
150°
160°
170°

South Africa

Friction between British and Boers

South Africa was originally settled by Dutch colonists in the seventeenth century. French Huguenots, fleeing from persecution, also came there. It remained a Dutch colony till 1814, when it was given to the English by the Congress of Vienna. Almost immediately immigration from Great Britain set in. Friction arose between the Government and the Boers, as the Dutch were called, over the introduction of the English language, laws, and customs. In 1834 the Boers were greatly angered because the British Parliament abolished negro slavery in South Africa; and, furthermore, most of the compensation allowed to the Boer masters went into the pockets of the bankers through whom the financial transaction was conducted. So incensed were the Boers at British rule that, like the Children of Israel of old, they decided to wander forth into the wilderness to seek other homes.

Foundation of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State

In 1836 there began an exodus of Boers known as the "Great Trek." About ten thousand men, women, and children took their household possessions and migrated northward in order to get away from the British. Some settled in Natal, some in the Orange River country; but the British army followed them and took possession of these places. In disgust many of the Boers "trekked" still farther north and finally settled in a place called the Transvaal, where they organized a state which they named the South African Republic. The independence of this Republic was recognized by the English in 1852; two years later the independence of the other Boer Republic, the Orange Free State, was also recognized. For about a generation the Boers lived in peaceful isolation, gaining their livelihood by pastoral and agricultural pursuits like the patriarchs in the Old Testament whom they greatly admired.

But their dream of independence was rudely shattered in 1877, when Great Britain announced the annexation of the South African Republic on the ground that her harsh treat-

War between England and the Boers

ment of the natives was arousing the latter to war against all whites and was therefore endangering the peace of the British inhabitants. Angered by this action the Boers sent a delegation to London to plead for the restitution of their independence, but no attention was paid to them. In 1881 they rose in rebellion and defeated a detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill. Imperialist feeling in England ran high, and demands were made upon Gladstone, then Prime Minister, to avenge the defeat by sending a British army to Africa. But Gladstone, who had little sympathy with imperialism, was most conciliatory to the Boers. In an agreement known as the London Convention, concluded in 1884, the British Government recognized the independence of the South African Republic. However, a clause was inserted which guaranteed the right of all white men to reside and to trade in the Republic, and which also guaranteed fair treatment in regard to taxes to the inhabitants who were not citizens. In England this settlement aroused great criticism, and Gladstone's action was denounced as having lowered the prestige of the Empire. There was elation, however, among the Boers, who felt that they had humbled the pride of England.

The *Uitlanders*

Everything now pointed to a final settlement of the South African problem when, in 1885, gold was discovered in the Rand, a region in the Transvaal. A large immigration, chiefly of Englishmen, set in to this isolated place, so that in a few years the population of the Republic almost trebled. The little town of Johannesburg suddenly found itself a bustling city of one hundred thousand people. A troublesome situation now arose in the Boer Republic, as the majority of its inhabitants were *Uitlanders*, or foreigners, a restless, adventurous element despising the simple, old-fashioned Dutch folk who ruled over them. In the eyes of the latter the discovery of gold was a great calamity, for they rightly feared that it would lead to the disruption of their country. The *Uitlanders* were anxious to get control of the Government and, being

English, to hand it over to Great Britain, whose policies were more in harmony with their interests. The Boers, on the contrary, were determined to prevent this at all costs. Restrictive laws were passed which made it practically impossible for a foreigner to become a citizen. Although the majority of the population was in this way disfranchised, it was, nevertheless, compelled to bear all the burdens of citizenship, such as taxation and military service. The Republic discriminated against the *Uitlanders* in many other ways, and they appealed to the British Government, as British citizens, to redress their grievances. Moreover, the Boer administration was incompetent and unprogressive, which irritated the non-Boers who desired a more progressive government for the rapidly increasing population of the Republic.

Rhodes and Kruger

There appeared a remarkable man in South Africa, a capitalist-statesman named Cecil Rhodes, who became the leading protagonist of British interests. Rhodes was an Englishman who early in life had emigrated to South Africa, where he became immensely wealthy by getting control of diamond and gold mines. He was an enthusiastic believer in the extension of British influence over all Southern and Eastern Africa, which was to be united by a railway from the Cape to Cairo in Egypt. Rhodes was a man of great practical ability and foresight, and a typical millionaire in politics, bold, daring, and unscrupulous. Opposed to him was the leading protagonist of the Boers, Paul Kruger, the President of the South African Republic. Kruger had been in the "Great Trek" as a child of ten, and he naturally grew up to distrust the English, whom he suspected of constantly plotting the destruction of Boer influence in South Africa. Kruger was like a character out of the Old Testament, patriarchal, simple in his ideas and in his manner of living, and a stern, unflinching Calvinist in religion. Although not a statesman in the accepted sense of the term, he proved himself to be no mean antagonist to the masterful Rhodes.

The latter was in close touch with Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary. They agreed that the Boers were a danger to British supremacy in South Africa[1] and they determined to bring on a war which would result in the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire. In 1895 a conspiracy known as the "Jameson Raid" was engineered by Rhodes. Dr. Jameson, a British official, led a raid into the Transvaal with the declared object of helping the *Uitlanders*. The Boers succeeded in capturing the raiders, and they handed them over to the British authorities for punishment. But the British treated the raiders very leniently and actually shielded Rhodes, the arch-conspirator against the independence of the Republic. The infuriated Boers now believed that the British Government cared little about the rights of the *Uitlanders* but was merely using them as a pretext to destroy the Republic. They consequently prepared for war with England.

The Jameson Raid

In 1897 Great Britain sent a special commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, to investigate the grievances of the *Uitlanders*. His report was a severe denunciation of the Boer Government which, he declared, was keeping British subjects in the position of helots. He also charged that the Boers were aiming at nothing less than the destruction of British influence in all of South Africa. Great Britain thereupon demanded that the suffrage be extended to the *Uitlanders* on more liberal terms. The Republic refused this demand, a step approved by the Orange Free State.

The Boer War

In October, 1899, war broke out between the two tiny Boer Republics and the British Empire. Contrary to expectations, it lasted for almost three years. In England the war was unpopular with a large section of the people, particularly with the Liberals, who denounced it as an act of aggression against the inoffensive Boers in the interest of South African capitalists. Large mass-meetings of "pro-Boers" were held all over England, at which the Conservative Ministry was severely criticized for being the tool of interested financiers.

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[1] A Boer organization, known as the *Bond*, was conducting an agitation for Dutch supremacy in South Africa.

Defeat of the Boers

During the war the British armies suffered humiliating defeats inflicted on them by the Boer generals, De Wet and Botha, whose skillful strategy won the admiration of the whole world. England was finally forced to send large armies under the command of her ablest generals, Lords Roberts and Kitchener, before she succeeded in vanquishing the Boers. Peace was concluded in May, 1902, when the two republics lost their independence and became colonies in the British Empire.

Boers granted self-government

There was great disgust in England with the Conservative Party because of its conduct of the war, and, in the elections of 1906, the Liberals were overwhelmingly successful. The new Ministry determined to spare no pains to bring about a reconciliation of the Boers to British rule. Accordingly, responsible government was granted in 1906 to the Transvaal; and a year later it was extended to the Orange Free State. The Dutch language was put on an equality with English, and everything possible was done to make the Boers feel that the English did not regard them as a conquered people.

The South African Union

In 1909 the four South African colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Natal, organized themselves under an act of the British Parliament into a federal union on the model of Canada. They adopted a constitution which gave limited home rule to the "provinces," as the colonies were now called. The central Government consisted of a Parliament of two Houses and a Cabinet responsible to the lower House. The first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa was none other than Louis Botha who, but a short time before, had fought so valiantly against the British. As the Boers were a majority of the white population in the Union, its administration fell under their control. They were, however, grateful for the confidence and generosity of the English in giving them responsible government, and they have proved themselves to be loyal citizens of the Empire.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

The Mercantile theory in regard to colonies

The world-wide Empire of Great Britain had been built up with but little conscious effort on the part of the Government. For centuries Englishmen had left their country for other lands, some to seek homes in new continents, as in America, others to seek fortune and adventure among ancient peoples, as in India. These adventurous children of England had planted her flag in every clime, but it was not till the end of the eighteenth century that England realized that she was an empire. She then set about binding the various colonies more closely to her. This she did in two ways, by asserting the full control of Parliament over them, particularly in the matter of taxation, and by economic legislation which subordinated the interests of the colonies to those of the mother country. This economic policy was dominated by the then prevailing Mercantile theory, according to which the chief function of a colony was to supply raw materials to the mother country in order to make her independent of foreign nations; and the colonists were to buy manufactured articles from her only. In accordance with this theory legislation was passed by Parliament which forbade the colonies from trading with other countries and from establishing manufactures of their own. This, combined with the efforts of Parliament to tax them without their consent, resulted in the American Revolution and the consequent loss of the thirteen colonies.

The Manchester theory in regard to colonies

The American Revolution undoubtedly did much to inaugurate England's new colonial policy, of which Lord Durham's Report is the culmination. But even more important in the establishment of the new policy was the breakdown of the mercantile theory due to the Industrial Revolution, which made England "the workshop of the world." Her great need now was numerous customers for her surplus manufactures, and she therefore cared far more for the trade of Germany and France than she did for that of her sparsely inhabited colonies. The Manchester School,[1] whose influence displaced that of the Mercantilists, taught that a country, in order to be prosperous, ought to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest, irrespective of political affiliations. The great prosperity that England enjoyed after her adoption of free trade convinced her of the truth of the Manchestrian doctrines.

Lack of interest in the colonies

A changed attitude toward the colonies was the result. They were now regarded as more of a burden than an asset to the mother country, for she was obliged to tax herself heavily in order to maintain a large navy for their protection. A general opinion began to prevail that a colony was like a fruit which, when ripe, drops from the tree; hence the colonies should be allowed to develop into independent states whom England would recognize in a spirit of good-will. The Liberal Party that controlled the Government during the greater part of the nineteenth century were "little Englanders," as they neglected the Empire and concentrated all their attention upon domestic reforms. There was so little interest in the colonies that the cabinet position of Colonial Secretary had come to be regarded as a sinecure with merely perfunctory duties. Curiously enough, the colonies were more anxious to be with England than she was to be with them; they feared that independence might lead to their being conquered by foreign nations who would force upon them an alien civilization. For a long time only the slender tie of sentiment held the British Empire together.

The new imperial spirit

At the end of the nineteenth century, a marked change appeared in England's attitude toward her colonies. The dissolution of the British Empire was no longer viewed with complacency; on the contrary, a powerful imperial sentiment grew, both in England and in the colonies, which demanded closer bonds of union. This new imperialism was warmly championed by the Conservative Party, and its leader, Disraeli, made eloquent appeals to the imagination of the English people by picturing to them the greatness of their dominions. Imperial societies were formed to foster a love for the Empire. Many enthusiastic Imperialists, notably the poet Kipling, preached that it was England's duty to "take up the white man's burden," namely, to carry Western civilization to the "lesser breeds," or savage races, and to the backward peoples of Asia, in order to bring greater happiness in the world. In 1897, on the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, there took place a celebration known as the "Diamond Jubilee," to which representatives from every corner of her world-wide Empire came to do her homage. In the streets of London there was a wonderful pageant of races, Malays from the Straits Settlements, Chinese from Hongkong, negroes from Africa, French and Indians from Canada, Dutch from the Cape, Hindus, Australians, Canadians, all happily mingling to show the unity as well as the diversity of the dominions. It was felt by many at the time that the British Empire had experienced a new birth.

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[1] See p. 43.

Causes of the new imperialism

There were several causes for this change of sentiment. In the first place, the colonies were rapidly developing economically and therefore offered a most attractive field for the investment of British capital. Millions of dollars were invested in building railways and factories, and in opening mines. These investments were safe because order was well maintained even in the uncivilized parts of the Empire. The growth of population in the self-governing colonies and the demands for European products in India gave a great stimulus to British manufactures, so that the colonial trade of Great Britain began to rival her foreign trade.[1] Another reason was the change in the international situation. After 1870 every great Power in Europe except England became a member either of the Triple or of the Dual Alliance. England prided herself on her "splendid isolation" in international affairs, feeling sure that her insular position could be well defended by her powerful fleet. But the rivalry of Germany, particularly in the matter of naval expansion, made her feel more and more uneasy and she began to consider the help that the colonies might render in case she were involved in war. On their part, the self-governing colonies had become all the more loyal to the mother country because of the greater freedom granted to them. They dreaded nothing so much as falling into the hands of an alien Power, and they therefore desired to be more closely identified with the mother country than ever before.

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[1] From 1885 to 1913 the British exports to her colonies of articles wholly or mainly manufactured rose from £71,300,000 to £172,000,000, an increase of 141 per cent. From 1885 to 1913 British imports of food from her colonies rose from £19,800,000 to £60,300,000, an increase of 204 per cent. See P. and A. Hurd, *The New Empire Partnership* (1915), p. 234.

Loyalty of colonies during the Boer War

The crisis came in the Boer War, in the outcome of which the future of the British Empire was largely involved. To the English, the war was one for the defense of the Empire; for, had the Boers won, the British would have been driven out of South Africa; and this might have led to serious consequences in other parts of the Empire. The colonies rallied loyally and devotedly to the mother country: Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders fought side by side with Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen for the unity of the Empire.

Imperial Federation

The imperial consciousness which followed the Boer War gave strength to a new idea, Imperial Federation. Its father was Joseph Chamberlain, who in 1895 had become Colonial Secretary in the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury. Thereafter he tirelessly devoted his energies and talents to the furtherance of this idea; and he succeeded in converting many of his fellow countrymen, who had seldom if ever thought much about the Empire. To draw the colonies and the mother country into a closer and more perfect union was the main principle of Imperial Federation. In harmony with this movement a series of Imperial Conferences was held, the first one in 1887 and the second in 1897, under the presidency of Chamberlain; other gatherings were held in 1902, 1907, 1911, and 1917. The Conference of 1907 provided for regular quadrennial sessions of the

Premiers of the colonies and of England. As a result of these conferences the following plans for closer union were discussed: (1) that the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies form a federal union by creating an Imperial Parliament to represent them; (2) that a *Zollverein*, or customs union, be formed according to which preferential tariffs were to be established between England and the colonies, and a protective tariff on all foreign goods, on the ground that the Empire as a whole was self-sufficient economically, the colonies being rich in agriculture and raw material and England in manufactures and capital; and (3) that a common system of imperial defense be organized, the expense to be borne by the colonies as well as by England.

Difficulties in the way of federation

There are great difficulties in the way of reconstituting the British Empire on a federal basis. What about the position of the "predominant partner," England, in the union? Are her great world interests to be at the mercy of representatives from Canada or New Zealand? What about the position of India and Egypt in the new scheme? Would it be wise for England to give up her historic free-trade policy and so sacrifice much of her great foreign trade in order to gain that of her colonies? Would the colonies be willing to remain purely agricultural in order that England manufacture for them? These are some of the questions asked of those who favor Imperial Federation.

Preferential tariffs

In spite of the difficulties in the way, there was so much enthusiasm for the idea that important steps have been taken to realize it. In 1897 Canada allowed a reduction of one eighth of her tariff on English goods; later, in 1898, it was further reduced by one fourth; and, in 1900, by one third. Australia followed suit by allowing a reduction of thirty per cent, and New Zealand, fifty. It was hoped that this policy of Imperial Preference pursued by the colonies would cause England to abandon free trade and to enter into an economic union with them; but tariff reform, or protection, championed by the Conservatives, failed to win over the British voters, who continued to elect Liberal majorities.

Colonies and the British navy

The staggering cost of maintaining the huge British navy induced the colonies to make some effort to lighten the burdens of the British taxpayer in order to show themselves active partners in the Empire. New Zealand contributed a warship; South Africa began to make annual contributions to the British naval budget; Australia began building a navy of her own, to be put under the supreme command of the British naval authorities; Canada could not decide whether to make annual contributions or to build a separate navy, though eager to help in imperial defense.

Loyalty of colonies in World War

The liberal attitude of Great Britain toward her colonies was vindicated during the World War. The colonials responded to the call of the mother country with magnificent loyalty and devotion; they spared neither men nor money in giving aid to England in her struggle against Germany.

CHAPTER XVI

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

1850–1914

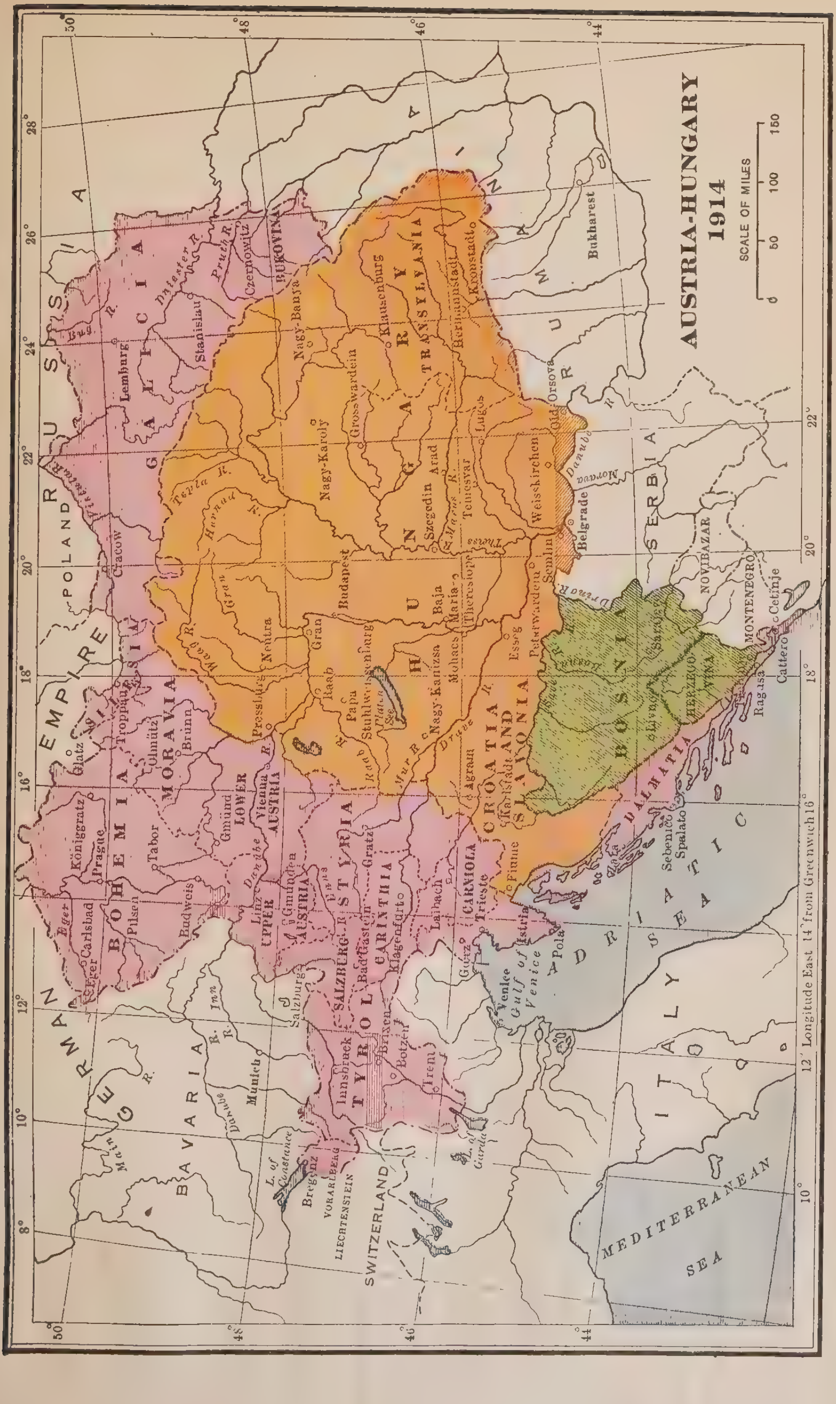
Establishment of the Dual Monarchy

For many centuries Austria has been a dynasty rather than a nation. There is hardly a people in East-Central Europe that has not at one time or another been under the sway of the Hapsburgs, whose antiquity and renown so filled the courts of Europe that a marriage with a member of this House became the great ambition of the other reigning families. By means of marriage and conquest the Austrian dynasty succeeded in establishing an enormous polyglot empire which was ruled autocratically from Vienna. As in many other countries containing a heterogeneous population, absolute monarchy was considered to be the best means of maintaining harmony, order, and stability among the various races. Absolutism became a passion, almost a propaganda, among the Austrians, just as democracy was among the French. As we have already seen, Vienna was the citadel of reaction in Europe during the Period of Restoration, for whenever a blow at democracy was to be struck, Austria could be depended upon to strike it.

Autocratic rule of the Hapsburgs

Austria's leadership in Germany was unquestioned for centuries. The element of romance in the Holy Roman Empire greatly appealed to German sentiment, even though the Empire was but a tradition and the Emperor but a shadow. When the Hapsburgs became Emperors of Austria after Napoleon had abolished the Holy Roman Empire, their influence among the German people sensibly diminished; and it vanished almost completely when Prussia came forward as the doughty wielder of the German sword. The political history of Austria during the nineteenth century may be

The Holy Roman Empire



AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
1914

summed up as the gradual weakening of her influence in Western and its gradual strengthening in Eastern Europe.

The "February Patent"

The Austro-Sardinian War of 1859 resulted in the loss of Lombardy.[1] Defeat in war has always been considered an unanswerable criticism of absolute monarchy, and the Austrian Government was forced to make some concessions to democracy in order to forestall a possible uprising. Accordingly, Emperor Francis Joseph I granted a constitution, called the "Diploma of 1860," which, as amended in the following year, was known as the "February Patent." This document introduced a modified parliamentary régime by establishing a representative assembly for the whole Empire known as the Reichsrat, composed of two chambers. One, the House of Lords, consisted of hereditary nobles, high officials, dignitaries of the Church, and others whom the Emperor appointed; the other, the House of Representatives, consisted of members elected, not directly by popular vote, but by the local diets of the various regions. These diets were chosen by electors divided into four classes, landowners, merchants, the mass of city dwellers, and the inhabitants of the rural districts. Property qualifications for voting were so arranged that preponderance was given to the landed nobility and the wealthy merchants who dominated the local diets. The apportionment of delegates to the Reichsrat was also arranged so as to give a preponderant voice to the German-speaking regions, in order to insure their control of the Imperial Legislature.

Hungarian opposition to Austria

No arrangement could be permanent in the Hapsburg dominions which was unsatisfactory to the Magyars, or Hungarians, the most militant element in the Empire. The Hungarians were unalterably opposed to the constitution of 1861, for by treating their country as a province it did not recognize what they claimed were the historic rights of Hungary as a separate nation. They even threatened revolution, but they were held in check by Francis Déak, the one time associate of Louis Kossuth and now the trusted leader of the Hungarian people. What Déak desired was not independence, but complete autonomy which would allow Hungary to live her own national life and yet permit her to coöperate with Austria in matters which directly concerned them both; in short, an *intimate* alliance between the two countries. The Government at Vienna refused to concede to Hungary's demand, and there began a deadlock between the two which lasted for five years. But the crushing defeat of Austria in the Seven Weeks' War and the consequent loss of Venetia changed the mood of the Government. "What does Hungary want?" now asked the Emperor of Déak. "Only what she wanted before Sadowa," was the reply.

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[1] See p. 214.

The *Ausgleich*

In 1867 the "February Patent" was abrogated, and, instead, a new constitution, known as the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, was promulgated. This famous document was the work largely of two Hungarians, Déak and Count Julius Andrássy, and of Emperor Francis Joseph and his Minister, Count Beust. According to the Compromise of 1867, a unique political system, the Dual Monarchy, was established, consisting of the Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary. The two countries were to be separate states under one flag; each was to have its own constitution, parliament, ministry, courts, administration, and official language, but they were to be united in a personal union through a common sovereign, who was to be known as Emperor in Austria and as King in Hungary. Interests common to both, such as foreign affairs, war, and finance, were to be conducted by a common Ministry and supervised by a body known as the "Delegations," two committees of sixty members each, one chosen by the Parliament of Austria and the other by that of Hungary. The Delegations were to sit separately and to meet alternately at Vienna and at Budapest. There was also a provision for a customs and trade alliance, requiring a common tariff policy for both countries, to be renewed every ten years by an agreement between the two Parliaments. Subsequent to this union the fortune of each nation followed its own path, and a comprehension of their development will best be obtained by treating the history of the two nations as independent entities.

AUSTRIA AND HER RACE PROBLEMS

The Czechs

Austria has been described as "a Slav house with a German façade," as only a minority of the inhabitants of the Empire are of German-speaking stock.[1] These live mainly in Upper and Lower Austria, Salzburg, and in the Tyrol. Excepting the Tyrolese, who are peasants, the Germans are generally of the middle and upper classes, the prosperous and educated element, who have long dominated the government and society in Austria. About half of the population consists of Slavs, who are divided into many groups speaking diverse Slavic dialects. Most important among these groups are the Czechs who live in Bohemia, although many are constantly migrating to German-speaking parts of the Empire. Until recently the Czechs were poor peasants, but the economic development of Bohemia has produced among them a middle class which is intensely race conscious, with the result that a serious problem has been created for the German-speaking rulers of the Empire. The Czechs maintain that Bohemia, like Hungary, is a historic unity; hence they are entitled to the same degree of independence as the Hungarians. There exists in Bohemia, however, a minority of Germans, who are strongly opposed to home rule which, they declare, would mean the total suppression of the German language and influence; they, therefore, favor a continuance of Austrian rule. Between the Czechs and the Germans there has grown up a very bitter feeling which frequently finds expression in violent language and riots. The problem of the Germans in Bohemia is not unlike that of the Ulster Protestants in Ireland.

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[1] According to the census of 1910 the population of Austria was about 28,500,000. Of these 10,000,000, or thirty-five per cent, were German; 16,250,000, or fifty-eight per cent, were Slav; and 800,000, or three per cent, were Italian. Of the Slavs there were 6,500,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 5,000,000 Poles, 3,500,000 Ruthenians, 1,250,000 Slovenes, and 800,000 Croats and Serbs (those in Bosnia and Herzegovina not included). There were also about 2,000,000 Jews, who were included among the German-speaking inhabitants.

The Poles

The Poles live in their historic home, Galicia, which was once a part of the old Kingdom of Poland. Unlike the other partitioners of Poland, Russia and Prussia, Austria has been most generous in her treatment of the Poles, who are allowed considerable local autonomy and the use of their language in the schools. In gratitude, the Poles have become the stoutest supporters of the Hapsburg régime, without, however, losing sight of a possible restoration of their fatherland.

The Ruthenians

A large part of the population of Galicia consists of Ruthenians, or Ukrainians, who are of the same blood, language, and culture as the Little Russians in Russia.[1] These Ruthenians are generally peasants who work on the lands of the Polish nobility. The Vienna Government, out of fear that Russia might desire to incorporate the Ruthenians, whom she regards as Russians, has tried to curry favor with them by granting subsidies to their schools and by appointing some of them to public office. There are also in Galicia many Jews, who are in the main small shopkeepers and handicraftsmen. Both Ruthenians and Jews are discriminated against and oppressed by the masters of the province, the Poles.

The Southern Slavs

The Slavs in Southern Austria are not so highly developed as those in the North, and are separated from their kinsmen by a wedge of Germans and Hungarians. Most of them are peasants, and many are even in the pastoral stage of development. The most important groups of these Southern Slavs, or Jugo Slavs as they are called, are the Slovenes, who speak a Slavic dialect which they call "Illyrian," and the Serbs and Croats, who are of the same group and speak the same language as the people of Serbia.

The Italians

Istria and Trentino comprise *Italia irredenta* (Unredeemed Italy), provinces inhabited by the Italians who remained subject to Hapsburg rule notwithstanding the formation of the Kingdom of Italy. Trieste, the principal seaport of the Dual Monarchy, is predominantly

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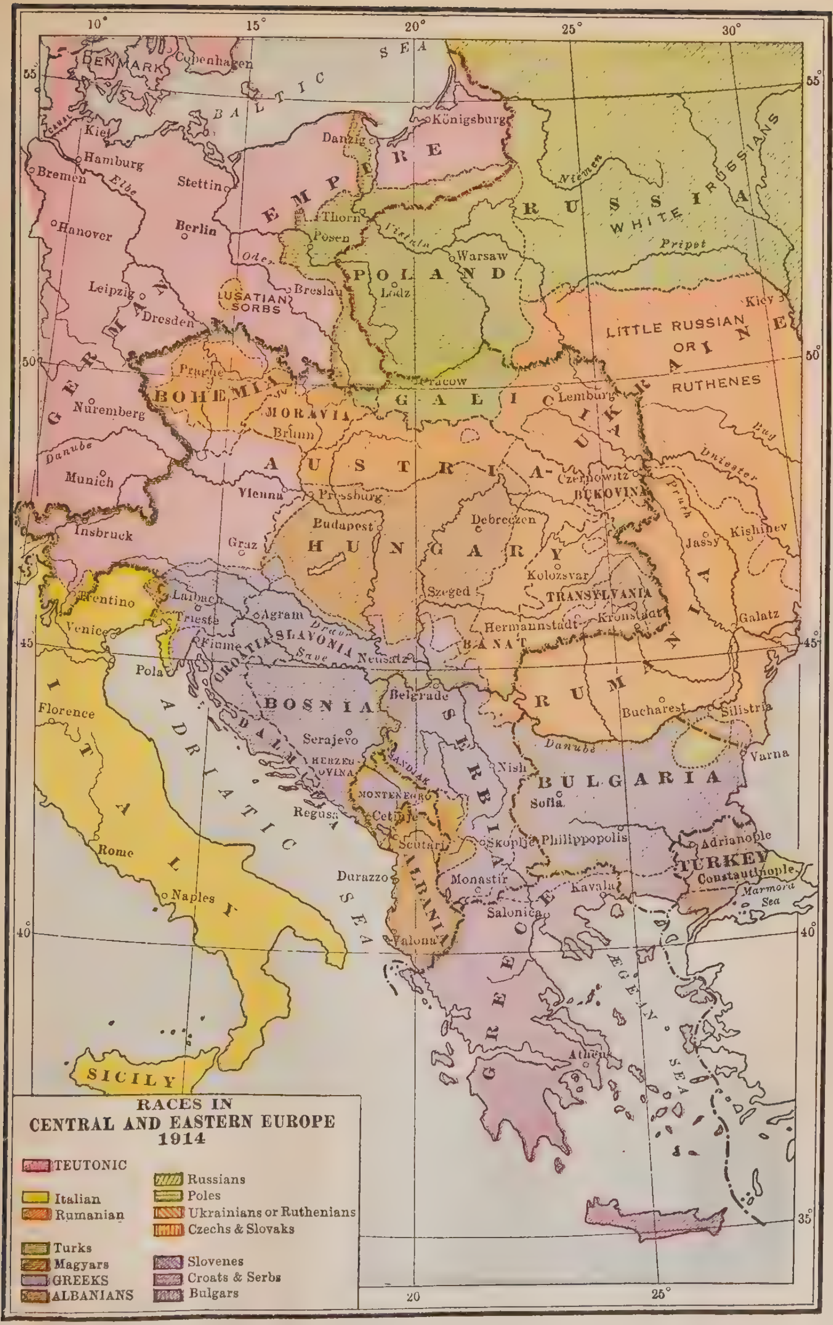
[1] See p. 529.



RACES IN
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
1914

Italian. The Italians look forward to the day when they shall be "redeemed" from Austrian rule and be incorporated with Italy, and they frequently organize "irredentist" demonstrations against Austria. To lose Trieste would almost destroy Austria as a maritime nation and would, moreover, give Italy complete control of the Adriatic. In order to weaken Italian influence the Vienna Government has encouraged the settlement of Slavs in Istria, so that the latter are rapidly becoming the majority in this old Italian region, once a part of the Republic of Venice. In the quarrels between the Italians and Slavs which continually take place, the influence of the Government is thrown on the side of the latter in the hope of so weakening the former that Italy may have no "national" claim to the region.

The national movement among the subject races

The "dualism" established in 1867 was really an alliance between the dominant races in each country, the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary, in order the better to keep the Slavs in subjection. During the latter part of the nineteenth century there began a revival of nationalism among the submerged races which, at times, threatened the very existence of the Dual Monarchy. This took the form of a desire for the recognition of their languages in the Government and in the schools. Each "nation" in the Empire demanded the establishment by the Government of a national university, where its language and history would be taught in order to preserve the "national culture." This demand was a part of a political agitation in favor of "federalism," or the establishment of Austria-Hungary as a federal empire, based upon race units and united only for international purposes. Even the most enthusiastic nationalists in the Dual Monarchy did not advocate its dissolution into separate nations, for fear that powerful neighbors, like Russia and Germany, would absorb them. Although there is no love for Austria among her subject races, they yet feel that she fulfills an important function in uniting a heterogeneous population that could be united in no other way. "If Austria did not exist, it would have been necessary to invent her," is the opinion of a Bohemian historian.

Bonds of union

What are the bonds which unite this many-nation Empire, which seems ever on the point of dissolution, and yet has managed to survive for so many centuries? First and foremost is the Hapsburg dynasty itself which is the pivot and center of all the unifying forces. As there is no common nationality, the Dual Monarchy has developed a kind of dynastic patriotism, which has found expression in loyalty to the person of the Emperor-King. The bureaucracy is another powerful bond of union. Although it is not so efficient or so honest as that in the German Empire, it is far less rigid and more in touch with the mass of the people. It has been an established policy of the Government to appoint as officials representatives of the various races, so that Germans, Magyars, and Slavs are to be found in Austrian officialdom. This policy has softened the antagonism to the monarchy among the most influential elements in the Empire. Another unifying force is the Roman Catholic Church, which unites in one great religious society millions of Germans, Magyars, and Slavs.[1] The Church is favored by the Government in many ways, for the Hapsburgs have been ardent champions of the Catholic faith ever since the Protestant Revolution. Church influences are powerful in the politics and government of the Dual Monarchy. Strong clerical parties have come to the front in recent years that emphasize the unity of the Catholic Empire as against the separatism of the various races.

Division among the races

A most potent cause of the continued existence of Austria has been, strange to say, the very struggle between the races. *Divide et impera* has been the policy of the Hapsburgs, as it has been that of other dynasties ruling over heterogeneous populations. It so happens that each region is inhabited by a dominant and by a subordinate race; in Bohemia they are Germans and Czechs; in Hungary, Magyars and Slavs; in Galicia, Poles and Ruthenians; in Istria, Italians and Slovenes. This results in intra-racial struggles which are often encouraged by the Government to distract the non-German nationalities from an anti-Austrian propaganda. It also tries to placate them by timely concessions, conducting a species of internal foreign policy by making alliances with some races as against others. If the dominant race in a region becomes too arrogant and threatens to secede, then the Government begins to favor the subordinate race. More than once have the haughty Magyars been brought to terms by a threat from Vienna to rouse the Slavs against them. In this way the Dual Monarchy has been able to lead a charmed life. Disruption, if it ever comes, can come from two sources only, the secession of Hungary or the active interference of Russia in behalf of the subject Slavs.

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[1] The majority of the inhabitants of Austria-Hungary are Roman Catholics. Many of the Slavs, however, belong to the Orthodox, or Russian, faith; many others are Uniates.. See p. 506.

AUSTRIA (1867–1914)

Power of the Emperor

The Reichsrat established in 1861 continues to be the Parliament in Austria, although it no longer has any authority in Hungary. Its powers are, in theory, like those of any other European parliament, but its influence is in reality considerably less than that of the Emperor. Ministers are nominally responsible to the Reichsrat, but the factional and racial struggles within this body have so weakened it that the Emperor frequently decides on the appointment of the Cabinet. An extraordinary power is given by the constitution to the Emperor, who may issue decrees that have the force of laws when the Reichsrat is not in session.

The German Liberals

During the first decade after 1867 the Reichsrat was controlled by the German Liberals. The main policy of this party was "centralism," by which was meant that the authority of the Vienna Government should continue unimpaired. They also advocated that German should be the only official language in all parts of the Austrian dominions, and that it should be the only language taught in the schools. These German Liberals were opposed to clericalism, and they demanded that the influence of the Church in the Government should be eliminated. In 1868 they succeeded in passing a series of secularizing laws. Civil marriage was permitted under certain circumstances; the public elementary schools were taken away from the control of the Church and put under that of the local authorities; and civil equality was decreed between Catholics and non-Catholics. These laws were denounced by Pope Pius IX as "damnable and abominable," and as violating the Concordat of 1855. A *Kulturkampf* was, however, avoided by timely concessions on both sides.

The Czechs

Race conflicts and language issues have constituted the sum total of Austrian politics during the last generation. The advance guard of militant Slavism was the Czechs, who, because their national demands were not granted, resolved on a policy of "passive resistance," namely, to refuse to send delegates to the Reichsrat and so to destroy its moral authority. During the German Liberal Ministry of Prince Adolf Auersperg (1871–79), severe measures were taken against the Czechs: their journals were suppressed, the editors fined or jailed, and patriotic associations and public meetings were broken up by the police.

The Young Czechs

A demand for universal suffrage was voiced by the Socialists and a group calling itself the Young Czechs. The latter were radical democrats as well as nationalists; they were opposed to the feudal and clerical tendencies of the Old Czechs, as the one-time Bohemian nationalists were called, as well as to their policy of "passive resistance"; they, on the contrary, wished to participate actively in Austrian politics in order to wring concessions for Bohemia. A new electoral law, passed in 1871, abolished the indirect election of members to the Reichsrat by the local diets, and established direct election by the voters themselves; but the old division of the electors into four classes, with the predominance of the landlords and merchants, was continued.[1]

The Taaffe Ministry favors the Slavs

A financial panic which broke out in 1873 discredited the German Liberal Government, which was held responsible for it. It had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor also by its uncompromising "Germanism," which, he feared, might disrupt the Empire. In 1879 a new Ministry, headed by Count Taaffe, came into power which was supported by the Conservatives, Clericals, and the various Slav groups. It remained in office for fourteen years and marked a growing tendency of the Empire to shift from a German to a Slavic basis. In Bohemia the Czechs were favored as against the Germans, who were now rapidly losing their influence. In 1882 the ancient German University of Prague was divided into two, one German, the other, Czech. Further concessions were made to the non-German tongues; even the "Illyrian" speech of the Slovenes was to some extent recognized. These concessions were made in return for the support given to the Taaffe Ministry by the Young Czechs, who had triumphed over the Old Czechs in Bohemian politics.

Germanism in Austria

When Austria had been detached from Germany after the Seven Weeks' War, the Germans found themselves a minority in the Hapsburg dominions. They now felt that their language and culture were in danger of being wiped out by a flood of Slavism, and they determined to resist desperately any concession to the non-German tongues. In 1880 they organized an association known as the *Schulverein*, or School Union, which grew rapidly and became a powerful weapon with which to defend the German language. The Slavic languages were despised by the Germans as barbarous dialects without a literature or history and unknown to the world of letters and science. In derision of their claims for recognition a German once entered a local Slovene assembly carrying the whole of Slovenian literature under his arm.

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[1] In the election of 1890 the results showed one deputy for every sixty landlords, one for every twenty-five merchants, one for every three thousand inhabitants of the towns, and one for every eleven thousand and six hundred of the rural districts.

Some of the militant partisans of German culture formed an association, known as the "National German Union," which had for its object the unswerving maintenance of *unverfälschtes Deutschtum*, or "undiluted Germanism." This organization fought every element which was not strictly German: it was naturally anti-Slav; it was also anticlerical, because the Catholic Church, having adherents among all the races in the Empire, was averse to being "national"; it was anti-Semitic, because it looked upon the Jews as foreigners incapable of assimilating German ideals. The members of this organization even went so far as to advocate the incorporation of the German parts of Austria with Germany; in order to be more welcome to the latter, they proposed to convert themselves to Protestantism. "*Los von Rom!*" was their cry.

The language struggle in the Reichsrat

The crisis came in 1897, when Prime Minister Badeni, a Pole, proposed to grant full equality to the Czech and German languages in Bohemia. Pandemonium broke loose in the Reichsrat. The German members decided to show their disapproval of this innovation by parliamentary obstruction and by physical violence. One member spoke continuously for twelve hours. Members denounced each other in violent and even in obscene language. Inkstands were hurled at the Czechs by the excited Germans. At one time the platform of the assembly was stormed, the President seized and held, while the official papers on his desk were torn to pieces in his presence. The street soon took the cue from Parliament, and riots between the various racial factions broke out. These tactics and riots succeeded in their object, for the objectionable decrees were withdrawn the following year. Then it was the turn of the Czechs to become violent, and the scenes of the previous year were repeated. Parliamentary life became intolerable; and the Government decided to rule without the Reichsrat, which it did for six years. During this period Parliament was virtually suspended, and imperial decrees took the place of legislation.

Many patriotic Austrians were of the opinion that the introduction of democracy would tend to weaken the intense "racialism" of the various national groups by giving them a wider horizon and, especially, by bringing to the front new voters and new issues. Already, in 1896, a beginning had been made by introducing universal suffrage for one sixth of the members of the Reichsrat. Finally, in 1907, an entirely new electoral law was passed which established equal, direct, universal manhood suffrage for the election of members to the Reichsrat. In the distribution of seats care was taken to limit a constituency as much as possible to people of one race in order to avoid race politics. At last, democracy came to Austria, and the result of the elections of 1907 was most striking; the two interracial parties, the Socialists and the Christian Socialists, made large gains, and the purely race parties, like the Young Czechs, lost heavily.[1]

Universal suffrage

But universal suffrage did not prove a complete solvent of Austria's race problems. Before long, the new electors, too, began to divide along national lines; racial fissures were observed even among the Socialists. The conflict between Czechs and Germans in Bohemia was not stilled; on the contrary, it went on with ever-increasing fury. Riots by Germans were succeeded by riots by Czechs so that, in 1913, the Bohemian Diet was suspended by the Government; for a time the country was governed by a commission appointed from Vienna. Many attempts at compromise were made, but nothing would satisfy either party except the supremacy of its own language.

Persistence of racial antagonisms

Since 1907 the chief supporters of the Government have been the Christian Socialists and the Poles. The advent of the former marked an interesting phase of Austrian politics, for it was an interracial party organized to fight the influence of the Jews in economic and political life. Anti-Semitism was the main

The Christian Socialists

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[1] Out of 516 members, the Socialists elected 87, the Christian Socialists 96, the Young Czechs 82, the Poles 72, the Germans 62, the Ruthenians 30, and the Southern Slavs 37; the rest were scattered among many small groups.

principle of the Christian Socialists, but they also advocated social legislation in favor of the working classes. This party gained enormous popularity under the leadership of Dr. Karl Lueger, the famous Burgomaster of Vienna, who dominated the politics of the capital for many years. Although at first holding aloof from the clerical parties, it finally joined them to make common cause against the Jews and the big capitalists.

The Army Bill of 1911

A proposal in 1911 to increase the army encountered vigorous opposition in the Reichsrat which led to a dissolution of that body. In the elections that followed, the Christian Socialists, who had favored the bill, suffered a crushing defeat; and the German Liberals, who had opposed it, gained many seats. But the international crises arising out of the Morocco Affair and the Balkan Wars[1] compelled the newly elected Parliament to pass a law increasing the army.

Economic conditions

Although the Dual Monarchy possesses rich natural resources such as coal, iron, and oil, good inland water routes insuring cheap transportation, and an abundant labor supply, it is still largely an agricultural country.[2] This is partly due to the fact that, excepting for the strip of Adriatic coast, Austria-Hungary is an inland country. Her overseas trade is small compared with her continental or inland trade; and more than half of the foreign commerce is with Germany. Most of Austria's exports are agricultural products, but it also sends abroad large quantities of glass and earthenware, the excellent quality of which is well known in the markets of the world. Bohemia is the home of the great brewing interests, and the beer of Pilsen and Budweis are famous throughout the world.

Expansion of Austria

Austria, like Russia, is in need of more seaports. As we have already seen, she possesses but one important port, Trieste, which may at any time be taken from her by Italy; in such a case Austria would become almost completely landlocked. Because of this her foreign policy has been directed more and more toward the Balkans, the *Drang nach Osten*, with the object of advancing to Saloniki, the great port on the Ægean Sea. When, in 1878, the Congress of Berlin[1] empowered Austria to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was a great step in that direction; and when, in 1908, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Von Achrenthal, announced the formal annexation of these provinces, it was generally understood that the "advance to Saloniki" had begun, and a general European war was almost precipitated.[2] But the time was then not quite ripe.

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[1] See p. 708.

[2] There are only nine cities with a population of over a hundred thousand in Austria-Hungary.

HUNGARY (1867–1914)

Limited power of the King

The *Ausgleich* of 1867 gave Hungary the status of a quasi-independent state. The Emperor is crowned separately as King of Hungary with the ancient crown of St. Stephen at the capital, Budapest. He has far less power in Hungary than in Austria, for the parties in the Hungarian Parliament generally present a solid front against Austrian interference; he therefore has little influence in the appointment of the Cabinet, which is responsible to Parliament.

Government

The Hungarian Parliament consists of the Table of Magnates, composed in the main of the great landed aristocrats, and an elected Chamber of Deputies, chosen according to a complicated franchise law which insures the ascendancy of the Magyar race and of the upper classes. This franchise law contains so many restrictions, property, educational, and occupational, that, out of a population of 20,500,000, there are only about 1,000,000 voters.

Hungary, like Austria, contains a *mélange* of races ruled by the dominant Magyars, who constitute a minority of the population of the country.[3] The policy of the Hungarian

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[1] See p. 634.

[2] See p. 645.

[3] According to the census of 1910 the population of Hungary was about 20,500,000, divided according to speech into 10,000,000 Magyars, 5,500,000 Slavs (2,000,000 Slovaks, 3,000,000 Croats and Serbs, and 500,000 Ruthenians),

Government toward the subject races has been one of ruthless Magyarization. The warlike Magyar minority is intensely nationalistic and is determined to root out all other national influences irrespective of the just claims of the subject races.[1] Slavic and Rumanian associations and journals have been arbitrarily suppressed. The Magyar language is the only one allowed in the public schools; private schools, established by the other nationalities to maintain their languages, are closed on one pretext or another; old established geographic and historic names, many of them German, have been changed to Magyar. In order to prevent the other nationalities from electing the few representatives to Parliament to which they are entitled under the unfair electoral law, the Magyar officials resort to gerrymandering, coercion, ballot-box stuffing, and physical violence. Although the mass of Slavs and Rumanians in Hungary are subject economically as well as politically to their Magyar lords, they have managed, in one way or another, to maintain their national sentiments, and Hungary still remains very far from being completely Magyarized.

Magyarization of Hungary

Hungarian politics since 1867 have been concerned chiefly with two questions, the relations with Austria and the Magyar ascendancy. On the first question, Hungarians have divided into those who wish to maintain the Compromise of 1867 on the ground that their country has all the independence that it wishes and, in addition, the military protection of Austria in case of war; and those who favor nationalism and wish to loosen, if not actually to sever, the few ties that bind the two countries. The periodic revision, every ten years, of the economic alliance has given an opportunity to these militant nationalists to oppose it; and it has been renewed

Hungarian political problems

3,000,000 Rumanians, and 2,000,000 Germans. There are about 1,000,000 Jews, who are included among those of Magyar speech.

[1] The only exception is that of Croatia-Slavonia which is permitted to have its local diet and the use of its own language. The Croats are the most warlike of the Slavic groups and, as will be recollected, greatly assisted Austria in reconquering the Hungarians during the Revolution of 1848.

several times with the greatest difficulty. The question of maintaining Magyar ascendancy has consolidated all political opinion on matters of internal policy; hence there are no political parties in Hungary even in the loose Continental meaning of that term. Political strife is, therefore, largely along personal lines. The great Hungarian families, such as the Tiszas, Andrássys, Kossuths, and Hedérvárys, have their personal followings; hence the struggle is mainly one for political offices and honors.

Demands of the Independence Party

From 1875 to 1890 Count Kálman Tisza was Prime Minister. His policies were those bequeathed by Déak, namely, to maintain the *Ausgleich* with Austria and the Magyar ascendancy in Hungary. There was growing up, however, a powerful movement known as the Independence Party, led by Francis Kossuth, the son of the great revolutionist, which boldly declared for "nationalism" as against "dualism." It demanded, first, the economic independence of Hungary; and secondly, the complete Magyarization of the Hungarian army, by substituting the use of Magyar for German in all commands.

Opposition to Austria's control of the army

In 1897 the decennial economic agreement came to an end, and the Independence Party decided to oppose its renewal. So strong was the obstruction to the measure organized by Kossuth that it came very near being rejected by the Hungarian Parliament. Another struggle took place in 1903 between "dualism" and "nationalism" over the question of the language of command in the army. Austria had voted her share of the army budget, but the Independence Party insisted on the use of Magyar in the Hungarian army as a condition of its being passed by the Hungarian Parliament. This was refused by Austria, and Kossuth's influence was sufficient to defeat the project and to overthrow the Hedérváry Ministry which favored it. The matter was a serious one for the Dual Monarchy, and the Emperor-King stepped forward and declared that under no circumstances would he permit the unity of the Austro-Hungarian army to be broken and demanded that Hungary fulfill her part of the

Compromise of 1867 and vote for the budget. Count Stephen Tisza, the new Prime Minister, finally succeeded in passing the army bill, but he found the opposition of the Independence Party very strong and the obstructionist tactics of Kossuth almost unbearable. Rioting frequently took place in the Hungarian Parliament, and a special police force had to be organized to keep the members in order. Parliament was dissolved, but the new election was a complete triumph for Kossuth, as his party won a sufficient number of seats to control the House.

Threat of universal suffrage quiets opposition

This brought about the most critical situation for the Dual Monarchy since 1848. Should Kossuth form a Ministry, backed as he was by popular support, the connection between Austria and Hungary might be sundered. Austria had recourse to the same remedy now as in 1848, namely, favoring the Slavs. The Emperor-King threatened to use his influence in favor of universal suffrage which would result in taking the control of the Hungarian Parliament from the Magyar and giving it to the non-Magyar races. The threat was sufficient. A Coalition Ministry was formed under Dr. Wekerle which decided to uphold "dualism." The army budget was passed and the economic alliance renewed in 1907.

But the conflict between Hapsburg imperialism and Hungarian nationalism was irrepressible. It broke out afresh in 1910, when the question came up of renewing the charter of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, which unifies the financial relations between the two countries. The Coalition Ministry was disrupted by the Independence Party, which favored a separate national bank for Hungary. Obstruction and rioting again took place in Parliament, and more than once the parliamentary police had to be called in to eject riotous members. Finally, Count Khuén-Hedérváry succeeded in forming a Cabinet which renewed the charter.

The suffrage question

Over the other question which has agitated Hungarian politics, namely, universal suffrage, there has also been serious conflict. In 1907–08 riotous demonstrations took place in the streets of the capital, Budapest, against the unfair electoral law. A franchise bill was introduced which made a few concessions to universal suffrage but contained nothing which would "compromise the Magyar character of the Hungarian state." In 1912 more rioting took place, and a similar bill was again introduced which was entirely unsatisfactory to the advocates of universal suffrage. Great demonstrations against the bill were made by the Socialists, who threatened a general strike, but the bill was passed by Parliament. Universal suffrage, therefore, still remains to be established in Hungary.

Fear of Russia brings peace between Austria and Hungary

As the war clouds were beginning to gather over the European skies, there began a *rapprochement* between Hungary and Austria. Even the recalcitrant Independence Party realized that a war which involved Russia might be disastrous to Hungary, which lies open to direct invasion by Russian armies. The bird call of Pan-Slavism, occasionally sounded by Russia, was heard by the Slavs of Hungary as well as by those in Austria and in the Balkans. Out of fear of Russia Magyars and Austrians were now inclined to bury their differences in order to present a solid front "to the dread power of the North."

CHAPTER XVII

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

1870–1914

Government and Political Parties

The King

The constitution of United Italy is based on the *Statuto* of 1848 granted by King Charles Albert to Sardinia. It establishes in the kingdom a "representative monarchical government" and provides for a parliament to enact laws and for a king and cabinet to execute them. The position of the King of Italy is not unlike that of the King of England; he, too, "reigns, but does not rule." Nevertheless, his influence permeates the Government, particularly in the conduct of foreign affairs, far more than does that of his fellow monarch in England. In domestic affairs the Italian King interferes but rarely, and then only in times of crisis; he does not veto bills and appoints to office only those recommended by his Ministers. The House of Savoy is very popular in Italy, because it is truly a democratic dynasty, having been freely accepted by the people through the popular mandate of a plebiscite.

Parliament

Parliament is composed of two Houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The former is a body of great dignity but of little legislative authority, and it seldom, if ever, opposes the wishes of the Chamber. Senators are appointed for life, generally for distinguished service in various fields, such as public service, literature, science, and commerce. The Chamber is elected by popular vote for a term of five years, unless it is sooner dissolved by the King on the advice of the Ministry. As in England and France, the principle of ministerial responsibility is fully recognized and the Cabinet is appointed and dismissed by the Chamber. The suffrage has undergone important changes since unification. Until 1882 a citizen, in order to vote, had to be at least twenty-five years of age, to be able to read and write, and to have sufficient property on which to pay a direct annual tax of at least five dollars. An important change was introduced by the Suffrage Law of 1882 which gave the vote to all literate male citizens, reduced the property qualification by one half, and the age limit to twenty-one. This reform raised the number of electors from about 628,000 to about 2,050,000; but universal suffrage was not yet established, as many of the lower classes were illiterate and consequently unenfranchised. In 1912 Parliament passed an electoral law which abolished all property qualifications and gave the vote to all literate male citizens over twenty-one, and to all illiterates over thirty. This law practically established universal manhood suffrage, for it raised the number of voters from about 3,250,000 to about 8,635,000.

Local government

Local government in Italy is closely modeled on that of France. The country is divided into artificial areas called provinces which are presided over by prefects with large powers, appointed by the central Government. Historical units were deliberately ignored in the process of centralizing the administrative system in order to counteract the separatist tendencies which had kept Italy divided for so many centuries. "Italy is made. Let us now make Italians," was the dictum of the patriot, D'Azeglio.

Political parties in Italy hardly deserve the name. Excepting the Socialists, they are loosely organized factions without any definite body of principles and are largely the personal followings of political leaders. Generally speaking, the political groups in the Chamber may be classified as Constitutionalists, or Liberals, who inherit the traditions and ideals of Cavour; Radicals, who come mainly from the South and who favor advanced legislation in a vague sort of way; Republicans, who stoutly uphold the traditions and ideals of Mazzini, but who are constantly losing in numbers and influence and for that reason are ridiculed as "four nuts rattling in a bag"; Catholics, who uphold the influence of the Church in public life and consequently oppose the tendencies of the day toward secular education, separation of Church and State, and divorce; and Socialists, who stand for the same things as their brethren the world over.

Problems after Unification

Conditions in the North and South

The unification of 1870 brought to a close an era of revolutionary violence and established internal peace as well as unity. But the new nation inherited many of the grave problems of the past, which it has been bravely trying to solve ever since. By far the most serious problem confronting the nation was the South. Italy has been described as "a country in which two stages of civilization exist in the same state," so markedly different are conditions in different parts of the peninsula. The North is highly developed industrially, with many large cities inhabited by a progressive and prosperous middle class and by a spirited and independent working class. In the rural districts the land is cultivated largely by peasant proprietors who manage to live well, though frugally. Once south of Tuscany the scene changes. Few large cities are to be found, and one beholds dreary, desolate regions that are uncultivated and only partially inhabited. Most of the land in the South and in Sicily is owned by large proprietors and cultivated by half-starved peasant tenants, who manage to eke out an existence with the greatest difficulty. Centuries of bad government under the Bourbons had produced a contempt for the orderly administration of the laws, so that many became accustomed to substitute private vengeance for public justice. Murder and violence of all kinds were of common occurrence and secret criminal societies, like the *Mafia* of Sicily and the *Camorra* of Naples, gained a demoralizing influence over the inhabitants. Illiteracy was so common in the region that, in 1870, fully ninety per cent of its inhabitants were said to be unable to read and write. A large section of the population of the city of Naples, known as *lazzaroni*, half-criminals, half-beggars, who had been one of the chief mainstays of the Bourbon régime, were now a grave problem to the authorities.

The new Government began energetically to remove some of the most flagrant evils. Brigandage was entirely suppressed, and a systematic effort was made to uproot the secret criminal societies. The trial and conviction, in 1913, of the *Camorra* chiefs partially disrupted this terrible organization. Although considerable sums were spent in draining the swamps and irrigating the arid lands in the South, it was not sufficient to make the region fertile and healthy.

Suppression of disorder

In 1870 fully seventy-three per cent of all the inhabitants of the kingdom were illiterate. Italian patriots were ashamed of this blot on their country, and a law was passed in 1877 making education free and compulsory. But no adequate provision was made to enforce this law. Schools were few and badly equipped, teachers were poorly paid, and the school year was short. Italy was poor; and the cost of maintaining the army and navy consumed so much of the public revenues that economy was practiced on education. The middle classes, who came into power after 1870, were rather averse to spending money on the common schools lest the lower classes become more dangerous through being better educated. But the vast areas of ignorance in Italy were becoming a matter of common reproach. A new law was, therefore, passed in 1904 which required every commune to provide for one or more public schools to be supported by local taxation supplemented by grants from the Government. Provision was also made for educating the recruits in the army. A marked decrease in illiteracy took place, so that in 1914 it had fallen to about twenty-five per cent.

Illiteracy

Heavy taxes have been laid in order to get money for the necessary public improvements and for the support of a large military establishment. The brunt of it is borne by those least able to do so, the peasants and the working classes, as the articles taxed are breadstuffs, sugar, and cheese. Land taxes are so high that they amount, in some cases, to twenty-five per cent of the entire yield of a farm. Peasant farms are frequently seized and

Taxation

sold for non-payment of taxes. The taxes on salt and sugar are so high that these necessities have become almost luxuries to the very poorest Italians. In spite of the heavy taxes, the poverty of the country, and the great outlays of the Government, the management of the finances was so bad that Italy was always on the verge of bankruptcy. A great reform in the finances was inaugurated in 1905–06 by the well-known Italian statesman-financier, Luigi Luzzatti, with the result that the national treasury began to show a surplus instead of a deficit.

Emigration

In spite of the expansion of industry, the increase in population was so large[1] that many were forced to seek homes elsewhere and a considerable number of Italians sought new homes in the United States, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic.[2] Many also went to Northern Africa, to France, and to Germany. Entire districts in the South became depopulated through emigration. Modern means of cheap and rapid transportation have made possible the transfer of large numbers of laborers from one country to another and, in a way, the Italian has become the common laborer of the industrial world. Most of the emigrants are from the South, though many Northerners of the middle class emigrate to South America where they become prosperous merchants. In some ways this vast emigration was beneficial to Italy for it drained off the surplus population; besides, the money sent from abroad to relatives and friends at home was the means of bettering conditions for thousands of families. Many emigrants returned to Italy bringing with them higher standards of comfort and of education which stimulated a demand for better conditions at home.

Church and State

For a time the most serious question that confronted Italy after 1870 was the hostility between Church and State. Parliament passed in 1871 the famous Law of Papal Guarantees, which proposed to solve the question on Cavour's principle of a free church in a free state. The Pope was declared an independent sovereign and, as such, was entitled to receive and to send ambassadors and to conduct diplomatic affairs without any interference from the Italian Government. His territory, however, was limited to the district in Rome known as the "Leonine City," over which floated the Papal flag, and into which no Italian officer could enter without permission from the Papal authorities. As indemnity for the loss of his domains the Pope was voted in perpetuity an annual sum of $645,000; in addition, the palaces, churches, museums, offices, villas, and gardens in the Leonine City were to be exempt from taxation, and the Papal Government was to have free use of the Italian railway, postal, and telegraph systems. The Church was guaranteed full freedom of self-government, and the old interference by the State in church affairs was declared terminated.

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[1] Between 1870 and 1914 the population of Italy increased from 25,000,000 to 35,000,000.

[2] During 1878 about 96,000 Italians emigrated; in 1906, the number rose to 788,000; but it fell to 450,000 in 1913.

"The Prisoner of the Vatican"

Pius IX, however, indignantly refused to accept the terms of the "sub-Alpine" Government, as he termed the House of Savoy, whom he regarded as the despoiler of "God's vicar." Parliament has regularly voted the annuity since 1871, but it has never been accepted; to accept it would be to recognize the Kingdom of Italy as a legitimate Government, which no Pope since 1871 has been willing to do. Pius IX shut himself up in his tiny domain and refused to leave it under any circumstances, regarding himself as the "Prisoner of the Vatican";[1] his successors to this day have followed this policy and have never set foot outside the Vatican once they were elected Pope. An encyclical was issued, known as the *non expedit*, forbidding Italian Catholics to vote at the elections for Parliament or to hold office under the Crown.

At first the situation was embarrassing and even dangerous to the Italians, who feared that France or Austria might champion the cause of the Pope and compel them to evacuate Rome. But the defeat of these two Catholic nations by Prussia and, especially, the establishment of an anticlerical Republic in France, made such an event only a remote possibility, and the "Prisoner of the Vatican" became a polite fiction. As time went on there began a *rapprochement* between the Vatican and the Quirinal,[1] though, in theory, the successors of Pius IX continued to advocate the restoration of their temporal power.

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[1] The Vatican is the palace of the Pope, but it is used figuratively to mean the Papacy.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Agriculture

Italy is still largely an agricultural country, but, unfortunately, it is not the land of laughing plenty overflowing with corn and wine that it has so often been pictured. Large areas in the South consist of barren rocks, bleak, deforested mountains, and unhealthy swamps. The Italian peasants are hard-working and frugal to almost an unbelievable degree, but they are too poor and too conservative to apply modern scientific methods to farming; hence the yield per acre is small compared with that in Germany, England, or France. Many agricultural coöperative societies, organized by the Socialists and the Catholics, have endeavored to remedy conditions by establishing rural banks which loan money to landholders at low interest and by introducing better methods of tilling and marketing. Great attention is paid to wine culture, and "vine-clad hills" are a common sight in some parts of Italy; thus she is rapidly becoming the leading wine-producing country in the world.

Industry and commerce

Although Italy lacks the two essentials of a modern industrial nation, coal and iron,[2] she has made astonishing industrial progress through extensive utilization of "white coal," or the many and rapid streams which have been harnessed and transformed into electrical energy. The revival of Mediterranean trade[3] at the end of the nineteenth century gave Italy an opportunity, once more as in the Middle Ages, to become commercially important, and her merchant marine has expanded very rapidly.[1] Foreign capital, mainly German and French, began to pour into the country, because it was attracted by the possibilities of Italian economic development.

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[1] The Quirinal is the palace of the King, but it is used figuratively to mean the Italian Government.

[2] Italy's output of coal is insignificant, and she imports nearly all that she needs from England. Her iron production is small; in 1913 she produced only about 663,000 tons. Her greatest mineral production is that of sulphur which is mined in Sicily; the yield in 1913 was almost 2,700,000 tons.

[3] See p. 652.

In recent years Italy has risen to be the leading silk-producing nation of Europe, and Milan has displaced Lyons as the silk capital of the world.[2] Cotton manufacturing, too, has made surprising progress, and numerous cotton factories are now to be found in the North.[3] A protective tariff, adopted in 1888, led to a tariff war with France, with disastrous results for Italy: the South, which lost thereby a valuable market for her agricultural products, was almost ruined. But good relations were later reëstablished through new commercial treaties. A growing trade has also developed with the Balkan States and with South America, but most of Italy's commerce is with the other European countries and with the United States. Germany is by far the leading nation in Italy's foreign commerce.[4] Italian exports are mainly wheat, silk and cotton goods, wines, olive oil, fruits, and artistic products in marble and alabaster; her imports are coal, iron, machinery, raw cotton, and raw material generally.

Inadequate protection of the workers

The position of the industrial worker in Italy is worse than that of any other Western nation except Spain. Factory laws have been passed regulating the labor of women and children in industry, but these laws are inadequate and little provision has been made to enforce them. In 1908 a law was passed providing for a weekly day of rest for industrial laborers.

With regard to social insurance Italy has made some progress. An accident insurance law was passed in 1898 (amended in 1903) compelling employers to insure their workingmen against industrial accidents. Compensation to injured workingmen was to be given in proportion to the gravity of the injury, the funds for which were to be provided by the employers. A law of 1898 (amended in 1906) established an old-age and invalidity fund for workingmen, membership in which is voluntary. This fund is made up of contributions by members, and is supplemented by subsidies from the Government. At the age of sixty a member receives a pension varying in amount according to his contributions. This is not really a system of old-age pensions, but a government savings bank in which the poor are encouraged to save for their old age.

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[1] In 1913 the total tonnage of Italy's merchant marine was 1,137,000, of which fully 762,000 was under steam. Many vessels are engaged in the fishing industry which employs about 130,000 men.

[2] Between 1876 and 1906 Italy's silk production more than quadrupled and it is estimated that she now produces about one fifth of the world's silk output.

[3] In 1913 the cotton exports of Italy were valued at about $40,000,000.

[4] In 1913 the total foreign trade of Italy was valued at about $1,200,000,000, which was almost three times that in 1870.

Social insurance

There is no Italian law making sickness insurance compulsory. In 1910 Parliament passed an act making maternity insurance compulsory for workingwomen, who receive a benefit of forty *lire* ($7.72) in case of childbirth. The fund is made up of contributions from employers, workers, and the State.

Maternity insurance

POLITICAL HISTORY (1870–1914)

Once unity was achieved, the vibrant idealism so characteristic of the Italians during the *Risorgimento* began to abate. Italian politics since 1870 is a sorry tale of parliamentary intrigue, office-seeking, and political corruption. Up to 1876 the Government was in the hands of the Right, led by Minghetti, Sella, and Ricasoli, all from the North, who governed in the tradition of Cavour. Their main work was to unify Italy internally; they reorganized and centralized the administration, nationalized the railways, and established universal military service. But there was great dissatisfaction with the rule of the Right because of the heavy taxes they imposed on foodstuffs; it was also charged that they were more Piedmontese in sympathy than Italian and exploited the South for the sake of the North.

Rule of the Right

The elections of 1876 were a triumph for the Left, which came into power as a result of the general demand for universal suffrage, the abolition of the hated grist-tax on cereals, and a system of compulsory education. New political leaders were now at the helm, Agostino Depretis and Francesco Crispi, who controlled Italian politics for almost a generation. Once in power, the Left failed to perform as much as it had promised. Those in office devoted most of their energies to keeping themselves in power through corrupt bargains with the factions in Parliament and through debauching the electorate. The South was now in the saddle, and it was "solid" for whoever was at the head of the Government; and politics became scandalously corrupt. National elections were manipulated by the Ministry, which used patronage, coercion, and bribery to elect its supporters. Party lines in the Chamber broke down completely in the general scramble for office, and for a time there was practically no opposition to the Ministry except by the Socialists and Republicans. Nevertheless, the Left did make some effort to redeem its radical promises, for it enacted the education and suffrage laws already described.

Rule of the Left

Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878 and was succeeded by his son, Humbert I, a man of moderate abilities and colorless character. Depretis had been Prime Minister almost continuously from 1876 to 1887 when he was succeeded by Crispi, a fiery Sicilian, brilliant but erratic, who directed political affairs during the next decade. Crispi proved himself a master at the game of managing elections, and Italian politics became largely a matter of personal and factional intrigue. In 1893 Italy had its "Panama" in the Bank of Rome scandal. An investigation of this institution revealed peculation on an immense scale, involving many prominent men in public life, among them Crispi and Giolitti. A feeling of disgust swept over Italy and many began to abstain from voting altogether, while others turned to socialism as a protest against political corruption.

Crispi

Serious labor troubles continually broke out during the

Crispi régime which, at times, threatened the very existence of the social order. Poverty and heavy taxes drove many into advocating revolutionary social changes; socialism and anarchism found many adherents among the working classes, and not a few among the lower middle class. Unions of agricultural laborers were formed in Sicily which began a widespread agitation for better conditions. This so frightened the landed proprietors that they appealed to the Government to dissolve the unions. Crispi filled Sicily with troops and martial law was declared. During 1893–94 serious labor riots took place on the island, which were suppressed with a savage fury that recalled the worst days of Bourbon rule. Hundreds were arrested and given long prison sentences; freedom of speech and of association were abolished for a time, greatly to the indignation of the liberal elements.[1]

The Sicilian labor riots

"Bread riots" were of frequent occurrence in the industrial centers, and the middle classes became badly frightened at what seemed to be an approaching social revolution. An insurrection of the workingmen broke out in Milan in 1898 which threatened to grow to the proportions of a revolution. Barricades were erected in the streets, and fighting took place between the proletariat and the military much in the manner of the "June days" in Paris. When order was restored, the Government meted out severe punishment to the insurgents and to those who had abetted them. Men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for "exaggerating the sufferings of the poor" and for "attacking the monarchy with subtle irony." So frightened were the governing classes at the growth of the socialist and anarchist propaganda that a proposition was actually considered by Parliament to suppress by statute any organization having for its object the subversion of the present social order. King Humbert, having become very unpopular because of his sympathy with Crispi's harsh methods, was assassinated in 1900 by an anarchist. He was

The Milan strike

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[1] Many of those convicted were later pardoned or released after a short imprisonment.

succeeded by his son, Victor Emmanuel III, whose democratic spirit and expressed sympathy with the working classes have gained him widespread popularity.

Giolitti

Giovanni Giolitti became Premier in 1903, succeeding Crispi as the leading figure in Italian politics. His attitude toward the workingmen was conciliatory, and he issued a statement saying that henceforth the Government would remain neutral in the struggle between capital and labor. Giolitti favored the extension of the franchise and the enactment of social legislation as a means of quieting discontent. Nevertheless, an epidemic of strikes took place during his Ministry which greatly disturbed the economic life of the nation. In politics socialism was making rapid strides and every election brought an increase in the Socialist delegation to the Chamber. Syndicalism, too, was making headway, and the Italian workingmen were organizing "Chambers of Labor" on the model of those in France.[1]

Truce between Church and State

In 1904 a general strike, which spread rapidly throughout the North, paralyzed the economic life of that industrial region. At times Italy seemed to be living on the edge of a social volcano, so widespread and so fiery was the radical agitation. The conservative forces in the nation, realizing their peril, began to harmonize their differences in order to present a solid front to the revolutionists. A truce was called in the war between Church and State; and the *non expedit* was partially removed in 1905 by Pope Pius X. Catholics were permitted to vote, but only by special permission and under the guidance of the hierarchy; and they gave their support to those parliamentary candidates that stood for the preservation of the social order.

Elections of 1913

Partly to increase the illiterate vote which the Government hoped to control, and partly to pose as the champion of democracy, Premier Giolitti secured the passage of the great electoral reform of 1912. Although the number of those qualified to vote almost trebled, few of the newly enfranchised took part in the elections of 1913, which were a triumph for the Socialists and the clericals at the expense of the conservatives.[1] In these elections the Catholics played a prominent part for the first time, and they voted for Constitutionalists when the election of clericals seemed hopeless.

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[1] See p. 268.

The general strike of 1914

The year 1914 witnessed a remarkable demonstration by the Italian workingmen. The labor unions, having organized a General Confederation of Labor like that in France, voted a general strike of all labor in Italy as a protest against the shooting of a workingman by the police during a local strike. For forty-eight hours industrial life was virtually suspended: factories, shops, mines, railways, and stores were at a standstill, and even newspapers ceased publication. The authorities, terrified, hesitated to take energetic measures lest the general strike, which had been called as a protest, might develop into a social revolution. At the end of two days the men quietly returned to their work.

Foreign Policies

Expansion in Africa

The unification of their country had generated a colossal national pride among Italians, who began to think of Italy as the heir and successor of Imperial Rome. To convert the Mediterranean into an "Italian lake" became the dream of Italian statesmen, notably of Crispi, who was chiefly responsible for the acquisition of the region in Eastern Africa since known as Eritrea. The extension of Italian influence in this region roused the hostility of the Abyssinians, and under Menelek, their King, they almost annihilated an Italian army of fourteen thousand men at the Battle of Adowa (1896). This defeat led to the fall of Crispi's Ministry and to the decline of his influence, but it did not put an end to Italian ambitions in Africa. Taking advantage of the confusion engendered by the revolution in Turkey,[1] Italy declared war on the latter in 1911 and conquered Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which were organized as an Italian colony under the name of Libya.

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[1] Of the 508 members of the Chamber, the Socialists elected 78, a gain of 37; the Catholics, 35, a gain of 14; the Constitutionalists, 260, a loss of 72; the Radicals, 118, a gain of 27; and the Republicans, 17, a loss of 6.

Italia irredenta

Italy's ambitious designs included the acquisition of Albania, Dalmatia, Istria, and Trieste on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, where many people of Italian origin and speech live. A resounding cry, *Italia irredenta* (unredeemed Italy), was continually heard in Italian politics, and a party, called the Irredentists, carried on a lively propaganda for the redemption of the Italian-speaking provinces still under Austrian rule, Trieste and Trentino.[2]

Italy joins the Triple Alliance

For a time Italy sought as part of her foreign policy to maintain a friendly understanding with France because of the latter's help in bringing about her unification. But the French occupation of Tunis, on which Italy had set her heart, drove her into the arms of Germany, with whom and Austria she formed the Triple Alliance in 1882.[3]

LITERATURE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The patriotic motive

There was a *Risorgimento* in the literary as well as in the political history of Italy in the course of the nineteenth century. A consuming nationalism characterized all the Italian writers of that period. It was present in poem, novel, and drama, all of which found their chief inspiration in patriotism. The description of no scene, the delineament of no character or emotion, was complete without the suggestion that behind it all was Italy, past, present, and future. Italian authors studied the records of the past of their country with zealous care in order to gain inspiration for their work.

Classicism was another marked characteristic of Italian writers of the period. Like those of the Renaissance they regarded classic antiquity as the prime source of their culture; to them classicism was an integral part of their intellectual life, not merely an æsthetic theory. This passion for antiquity may be ascribed to a desire to seek refuge from the misery of their present in the glories of their past. The literature of this period abounds in allusions to the struggles for liberty among the ancients; this was an expression of the nation's mood, and was designed as a subtle form of propaganda against Austrian and Bourbon tyranny.

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[1] See p. 643.

[2] The motto of the Irredentists is a passage from Dante's *Inferno* (canto IX, lines 113–14), "Pola near the Quarnaro that bounds Italy and bathes its shores." The Quarnaro is a gulf at the tip of Istria, a province of Austria on the Adriatic.

[3] See p. 685.

The passion for antiquity

The most important figure in Italian literature during the early nineteenth century was Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), the greatest of Italian novelists. His famous work, *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*), is a historical romance, the importance of which lies, not in the plot or incidents, but in the penetrating study of a host of characters that have since become household names in Italy. Manzoni was a poet as well as a novelist, and his ode on the death of Napoleon, *Cinque Maggio* (*May Fifth*), met with universal admiration when it appeared.

Manzoni

A common type among Italian writers is the scholar-poet, among whom Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837) is an example. Leopardi was greatly interested in the classics, many of which he edited and translated; but his real significance lies in his poetry. A spirit of deep and gloomy pessimism pervades nearly all of his work. He sees eternal warfare everywhere. The great enemy of man is nature, to whose ravages everything sooner or later succumbs. In his odes to Italy and to Dante, Leopardi rises to a noble height of patriotic fervor; in melodious verse he pictures his beloved Italy awakened from her sleep of centuries only to find herself weak and despised.

Leopardi

Giosué Carducci (1835–1907) was, in the opinion of many competent critics, the greatest Italian poet since Tasso. Like Leopardi, he was a scholar as well as a poet. He was actively engaged as a teacher and critic

Carducci

of literature nearly all his life. Carducci found his highest ideals in ancient paganism, and he continually attacks Christianity as the enemy of liberty and happiness. His *Ode to Satan* created a sensation, for he pictured Satan, not as the traditional devil at war with all that is good, but as the spirit of liberty and progress continually in revolt against the chains of dogma; Satan is reason defying authority as represented by the Church. Carducci believed that the Church had corrupted Italy whose true spirit was pagan, which revived after 1870 when Italy became her ancient self once more. He was above all else a poet of United Italy whose aspirations he sang in enthusiastic verse, and whose heroes, Garibaldi and Mazzini, he rapturously glorified. In the *Odi barbare* (*Barbaric Odes*) Carducci endeavored to create a new type of poetry which would combine the grandeur of the Latin with the grace of the Italian meters.

Fogazzaro

In the novels of Antonio Fogazzaro (1842–1911) are discussed the problems confronting Italy after the unification. Fogazzaro was a liberal Catholic of the type known as "modernists," who believed that the Church had within her the true spirit of Christianity, and that, once she ceased to interest herself in worldly affairs, she would again spiritually conquer the world as in the days of the early Christian martyrs. He makes this the theme of a series of novels, the most famous of which is *Il Santo* (*The Saint*), which tells the story of a profligate turned saint. Like St. Francis of Assisi, the hero goes among the poor and lowly doing deeds of kindness and preaching the Gospel of Christ. He is shocked by the worldliness of the priests and appeals to the Pope to reform the Church, with the result that he is persecuted by the clergy. The book was placed on the "Index"[1] by the authorities of the Catholic Church, which caused general comment throughout the world.

Few writers in recent times have attracted so much sensational attention as Gabriele d'Annunzio, novelist and poet.

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[1] A list of books the reading of which is prohibited to Catholics.

D'Annunzio

D'Annunzio is a fervent believer in the ideal that every individual should strive to attain beauty above all else and at all costs; and the surest road to this is through the pleasure of the senses. Sensual passion is the theme of nearly all his novels; in many of them adultery, incest, and murder are described in the most vivid manner. D'Annunzio has wonderful verbal felicity as well as a highly colored imagination; he conjures up vibrant musical words that are fitted into sonorous sentences to describe characters whose vehement passions are made to triumph over social and moral ideals. His most famous novels are *Il Trionfo della Morte* (*The Triumph of Death*) and *Fuoco* (*Flame*). D'Annunzio achieved notable success as a poet of nature also, and his *Laudi*, a book of poems, aroused great enthusiasm in Italy, where he is placed by the side of Carducci as a patriotic poet.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

RESTORATION IN SPAIN

SINCE the days of the Catholic Reformation in the sixteenth century, Spain has made little contribution to the social, political, or cultural life of Europe; nor has she given birth to any prominent personality whose influence has been felt beyond her own borders. Spaniards have lived far from the main currents of European life, proud of their isolation and of their splendid past, and seeming to care little whether their country made any progress or not. The Liberal movement which took place in Spain during the nineteenth century was merely a faint or dying echo of revolutionary currents in France.

Isolation of Spain

At the close of the sixteenth century, the era of her great power, Spain fell into a death-like sleep from which even the French Revolution failed to rouse her. She awoke only when the Napoleonic invasion threatened her national integrity, and a popular uprising drove the French from the country. During this period of unsettled conditions, a small group of middle class Liberals took advantage of the situation to call together a Cortes, or Parliament, which, in 1812, adopted a democratic constitution that decreed the sovereignty of the people, the equality of all before the law, and religious freedom. This constitution of 1812 became the Magna Charta of Spanish liberalism; its principles were constantly appealed to in the struggle for democracy which followed during the nineteenth century.

Constitution of 1812

In 1814 the Spanish branch of the Bourbon dynasty, in the person of King Ferdinand VII, was restored amid popular acclaim. Like most Bourbons, Ferdinand had neither learned nor forgotten anything; he was, moreover, cruel, treacherous, unscrupulous, and incompetent. Upon his restoration he immediately set to work to abolish the reforms that had been adopted. The constitution of 1812 was suppressed; the privileges of the nobles and clergy were restored; the Jesuits were given control of education; and the Inquisition was reëstablished. As Ferdinand's rule was scandalously corrupt as well as incompetent, Spain was continually on the brink of bankruptcy. The King gathered about him a group of favorites known as the *camarilla*, or "kitchen cabinet," who conducted the Government merely to suit their personal interests and whims. Freedom of speech and of association were completely suppressed, and thousands of Liberals were driven out of the country or sent to prison.

Reaction under Ferdinand VII

The Revolutionary Movement

A powerful opposition to absolutism grew up among the Spanish Liberals, who organized secret societies, like the Carbonari and Freemasons, that carried on a vigorous agitation against Bourbon despotism and its ally, the Catholic Church. Revolutionary committees, called *juntas*, were active in directing the forces of disaffection. While most of the Liberals came from the middle class, not a few came from the army, which was discontented because of irregular and insufficient pay. To keep the masses in order the Bourbons depended more on the priests than on the soldiers; hence they showered favors on the Church, but neglected the army. This so irritated the officers that many of them joined the Carbonari.

The *juntas*

A widespread uprising broke out in 1820, and a demand was made for the restoration of the constitution of 1812. Ferdinand, realizing the strength of the movement, promised to second the demand for popular government. "Let us advance frankly," he once declared, "myself leading the way, along the constitutional path." A Parliament was convened, which was composed almost entirely of Liberals. It suppressed the Inquisition

The Revolution of 1820

and many of the religious orders, decreed freedom of speech and of association, and restored the constitution of 1812. The King was obliged to assent to these laws because he was practically a prisoner in the hands of Parliament. He was, however, secretly sending appeals for help to the other despots of Europe. The clergy on their part were actively organizing a counter-revolution among the peasantry, who were exhorted to rescue the "captive King" from the hands of the free-thinking Liberals.

Suppression of the revolution by foreign armies

Although Ferdinand's rule had been condemned by Europe, it was generally felt that the evil example of a successful uprising against a king must be avoided at all costs. The new Government was, therefore, not recognized by the European powers, which, with the exception of England, withdrew their ambassadors from Spain. Tsar Alexander I enthusiastically volunteered to lead a Russian army across Europe to suppress the Spanish revolution. The Congress of the Powers at Verona (1822) voted in favor of intervening in Spain, and France was charged with the duty of carrying out this mandate. In 1823 a French army crossed the Pyrenees to restore absolutism. The Spaniards, who in the days of Napoleon had fought the French armies that came to liberate them from the *ancien régime*, now welcomed the French armies that came to enslave them. The Liberals, being a small minority, could offer little resistance and Ferdinand was "liberated" and restored to absolute power. The revenge that he took shocked all Europe. Thousands of the best people in Spain were summarily executed or imprisoned. The constitution of 1820 was abolished, and all the acts of Parliament were declared null and void. Political and religious inquisitions, called "juntas of purification," were organized to ferret out Liberals, and many of them were exiled or hounded to death. For a time, the universities were closed because they were suspected of being friendly to liberalism.

During the rebellion the South American colonies had also revolted, and had established themselves as republics.

Loss of the South American colonies

It was the determination of the Holy Alliance, as the union of European despots was popularly known, to suppress the rebellion in the colonies as they had suppressed the one in Spain. But opposition to this plan came from an unexpected quarter, the United States, which was opposed to the extension of the Metternich system to the New World. On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe issued a paper which became famous as the Monroe Doctrine, in which he declared that the intervention of the Allied Powers in South America would be considered as a "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States." England came to the support of America, and the Holy Alliance decided to abandon its plans of subduing the South American Republics.

The Dynastic Struggle

Carlists and Christinos

Ferdinand VII died in 1833 leaving a little daughter, Isabella. He had, before dying, modified the Salic law which made women ineligible for the throne, with the expectation that Isabella would succeed him when she reached her majority. Upon his death her mother, Christina, was declared Regent during Isabella's infancy. But Don Carlos, the brother of the late King, announced himself the rightful heir to the throne on the ground that the dynastic laws of the Bourbons admitted of no female succession. A dynastic war, lasting a decade, followed between the Carlists, or the supporters of Don Carlos, and the Christinos, or the supporters of the Regent. To the standard of the pretender flocked the reactionaries, the clericals, and the backward inhabitants of the mountain districts. To the support of Christina came the Liberals, who were attracted by promises of a constitutional régime.

Regency of Christina

In 1834 Christina granted a moderate constitution somewhat like the *charte* granted by King Louis XVIII of France. Three years later the constitution was made more democratic by giving the Cortes more power in the Government. As the Church leaned to the side of the Carlists, Parliament became anti-clerical and suppressed some of the religious orders. A semi-Liberal named Mendizrabel, who was appointed Prime Minister in 1835, showed great energy and ability in suppressing the Carlists and reorganizing the finances of the kingdom. When order was finally restored, Christina became reactionary. She was thereupon forced to resign her regency, and General Espartero was appointed in her place.

Queen Isabella

In 1843 the young Queen was crowned as Isabella II. Her long reign was disgraced by scandal, incompetency, and corruption. To satisfy her whims the Queen frequently tried to govern in defiance of the constitution. This aroused general dissatisfaction, and a Republican party made its appearance, which gained many adherents in the large cities.

Establishment of a Republic

A general uprising took place in 1868, and Isabella was forced to flee. A provisional government was then established under General Prim, who, for a short time, was virtually a dictator. No regular government existed in Spain for seven years, and at times the country verged upon anarchy. Many candidates for the throne, including the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen,[1] were considered. Finally, in November, 1870, Prince Amadeo, second son of King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, was chosen King of Spain. When Amadeo arrived he found opposition on all sides. The Carlists rose in rebellion; the partisans of Alphonso, son of Isabella, began plotting; the Republicans were, of course, dissatisfied; and the most powerful element, the Catholic clergy, was bitterly opposed to the son of the King who had destroyed the temporal power of the Pope. After reigning for about two years, King Amadeo abdicated in disgust. A Republic was proclaimed in 1873, but this led to still greater opposition. The country seethed with revolt, while a number of presidential dictators followed one another in rapid succession. The most famous President was Emilio Castelar, an advanced Liberal and a remarkable orator, who attracted world-wide attention because of his high character and eloquent speeches. But the Spanish Republic was too unpopular to last. In 1875 the Bourbon monarchy was restored in the person of King Alphonso XII.

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[1] See p. 188.

Campos and Canovas

The new King called to his side two able men, who guided and advised him throughout his reign. One was Marshal Campos, who completely suppressed the Carlist insurgents and the rebellion in Cuba which had been going on for ten years; the other was Canovas del Castillo who, as Prime Minister, virtually ruled the country from 1875 to 1885. Canovas, an able and energetic conservative statesman, reorganized the finances and administration of the Government and suppressed disaffection, particularly among the radical elements, with a stern hand.

Constitution of 1876

A new constitution was proclaimed in 1876 which organized Spain as a limited monarchy. A Parliament, called the Cortes, was established consisting of two Houses: a Senate composed mainly of high officials and representatives of educational, religious, and commercial bodies, and a Chamber of Deputies, which, since 1890, has been elected by practically universal suffrage. The executive power was entrusted to a cabinet responsible to the Chamber; but the King still exercised considerable influence and authority in directing the policies of the nation.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF SPAIN (1885–1914)

"Rotativism"

Alphonso died in 1885, leaving an infant son who succeeded him in 1902 as Alphonso XIII. During his minority his mother, an Austrian archduchess named Maria Christina, had ruled as Regent. The uncertainties arising from the succession to the throne had been responsible for many of the troubles in the past. To avoid a repetition of these evils, Canovas, the leader of the Conservatives, struck hands with Sagasta, the leader of the Liberals, and reached an understanding according to which both parties rotated in office by managing the elections through coercion and corruption. Canovas graciously permitted

Sagasta to become Prime Minister several times, thus giving the Liberals a chance at the spoils of office. This system of "rotativism" produced mimic political strife, and popular government, though complete in its mechanism, became farcical. Naturally, a general contempt for parliamentary government was engendered, leading to the growth of radical doctrines such as republicanism, socialism, and anarchism. In 1897 Canovas was assassinated by an anarchist as a protest against this régime.

Spanish-American War

The most important event in the recent history of Spain was the Spanish-American War. The breaking away of South America brought little change in the colonial policy of Spain, which continued to be that prevalent in the eighteenth century, namely, that the colonies existed to be exploited in the interest of the mother country. In addition, Spanish rule had become a by-word of corruption, tyranny, and incompetence, and uprisings took place in Cuba and in the Philippines. After ten years of rebellion the Cubans had submitted in 1878 on promises of reform; but these promises were not kept and the Cubans rose once more in 1895. The suppression of this rebellion was entrusted to General Weyler, whose savage methods aroused great indignation in the United States. War followed between Spain and America (1898), in which the former was badly defeated. Spain was compelled to cede the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico to the United States, with compensation for the former, and to acknowledge the independence of Cuba. She was now completely shorn of her once world-wide colonial empire.

Church and State

Alphonso XIII became very popular because of his democratic attitude and liberal views. His marriage to a granddaughter of Queen Victoria greatly pleased the Liberals, who regarded the introduction of English influence as a good augury. A question arose in the course of his reign concerning the relations between Church and State. Although almost unanimously Catholic in religion, the Spanish people have shown signs of hostility to the Church to which they have given such unswerving devotion for so many centuries. This change of attitude was due to several causes. The radical elements, republicans, socialists, and anarchists, blamed the Church for all the evils that afflicted Spain. The increasing number of religious orders, whose wealth escaped taxation, also aroused their hostility. As many of the orders were engaged in business enterprises, the middle classes complained bitterly of the competition of the monks. It needed but a tragedy to produce an outburst of fury against the Church. In 1909 a disturbance among the workingmen of Barcelona took place as a protest against conscripting men to fight the tribes in Morocco who had risen against Spanish rule. For three days terror reigned in the city. After many encounters between the military and the workingmen, the uprising was finally put down. Francisco Ferrer, well known as an anti-clerical educator and founder of the Modern School, a semi-anarchistic institution for children, was accused of being the chief instigator of the rebellion. He was seized and shot after a brief trial by a court-martial. The execution of Ferrer led to world-wide demonstrations, not only against the Spanish Government, but also against the Catholic Church in Spain, which was accused of being responsible for his death.

Anti-clerical legislation

In 1910, the advanced Liberal, Canalejás, became Prime Minister, pledged to an anti-clerical program. An act, known as the "Padlock Law," was passed by the Cortes forbidding the establishment of any more religious houses without the consent of the Government. Taxes were laid on the industrial enterprises conducted by the orders. Public worship of non-Catholic religious bodies was now expressly permitted: hitherto, Protestants and Jews had been forbidden to make public announcement of their services. Premier Canalejás also declared himself in favor of secular education and of separation of Church and State; but Catholicism in Spain proved strong enough to prevent the adoption of these measures.

Spain, in 1914, contained a population of about twenty million, most of whom were engaged in agriculture. Much

Economic condition

less than half of the land is fit for cultivation. Enormous mountain ranges traverse the country, which, in many parts, is still in a state of semi-savagery. The rainfall in many places is light, and the Government has not been sufficiently active in building irrigation works. Most of the arable land is in the hands of large proprietors and is cultivated by peasants who barely manage to make both ends meet. Thousands of them emigrate annually, mainly to South America. Old-fashioned methods of farming, including the medieval three-field system, are still in vogue.

The most important exports of Spain are wine, cork, and olive oil. Barcelona and Bilboa are the only manufacturing centers, and they contain a large number of workingmen who are poorly paid and miserably housed.

Illiteracy in Spain is widely existent in spite of a law, passed in 1857, which makes education compulsory; the Government has neither enforced the law nor provided the money with which to build schools. In 1910 fully sixty-three per cent of the population could neither read nor write.

PORTUGAL

Decline and fall of Portugal

Portugal, like Spain, had at one time played a great rôle in the affairs of the world. During the period of discovery, in the sixteenth century, Portuguese mariners had sailed to distant seas, circumnavigated the globe, and settled in the New World and in Africa. This tiny kingdom found herself in possession of a vast colonial empire; but the rivalry, first of Holland, then of France, and lastly of England was too much for Portugal. In 1807 she sank to the condition of a dependency of Napoleon. The reigning dynasty, the House of Braganza, fled to Brazil, where it remained after the French armies had been driven out of Portugal by the English. A regency was consequently established by the English forces in Portugal, who, however, were the real rulers of the country, greatly to the chagrin of patriotic Portuguese.

In 1820 a revolution led by the army overthrew the regency and a constitution was adopted similar to the Spanish constitution of 1812. A Cortes was called which abolished the Inquisition and suppressed many of the religious orders, because, as in Spain, they were regarded as the main supports of the *ancien régime.* King John VI, then reigning in Brazil, was requested to return and govern as a constitutional monarch. He accepted the invitation, relinquishing the government of Brazil to his eldest son, Dom Pedro. But Brazil, incensed at the King's leaving, declared herself independent of Portugal and, in 1822, set herself up as an Empire with Dom Pedro as Emperor; in 1889, a revolution overturned the Empire and established the Brazilian Republic.

Brazil and Portugal

In Portugal John promptly modified the constitution in the interest of absolutism. A reactionary movement, led by Dom Miguel, the younger son of John, brought on a civil war which raged for several years. In 1826 King John died, and Emperor Pedro of Brazil was declared King of Portugal; but the latter refused to leave Brazil and gave the Portuguese crown to his daughter Maria, a little girl of seven, her uncle, Dom Miguel, acting as Regent during her minority. Miguel seized the reins of government and, supported by the reactionaries and clericals, abolished what was left of the constitution of 1820. He was virtually dictator of Portugal for almost a decade, and he governed in the spirit of the Congress of Vienna, gaining the admiration of the European despots because of his harsh and tyrannical policy. An uprising in 1834 finally drove Miguel from power, and Maria became Queen. A moderate constitution was again adopted and for a generation there was quiet in Portugal.

Dictatorship of Dom Miguel

Peace meant that the various factions had composed their differences and were now agreed on dividing the spoils of office among them. The two parties, the Regenerators, or Conservatives, and the Progressives, or Liberals, adopted the Spanish practice of "rotativism"; one party would succeed the other in the control of the Government, and the elections were "made" to suit

"Rotativism"

this prearranged game of "ins" and "outs" by coercing and bribing the electorate. This farcical parliamentary rule naturally led to the growth of a republican party which conducted an active and well-organized propaganda, particularly in the army and navy. The Portuguese Kings, like those of Spain, relied more on the priests than on the soldiers to control the masses, and consequently they failed to provide properly for the needs of the soldiers and sailors. Many, if not most, of the latter naturally became bitterly discontented with the monarchical régime.

The Republican propaganda

King Carlos, who ascended the throne in 1889, gained unenviable notoriety as an extravagant and licentious man. With the connivance of the officials, the King was permitted to overdraw his allowance from the national treasury, and it was rumored that he was in the hands of financiers who were bleeding the country through him. Discontent was rife, especially in the cities, and sporadic revolts, strikes, and conspiracies were constantly taking place. The intellectual classes took an active part in the republican propaganda, and the University of Coimbra, the leading educational institution in the country, became a hotbed of radicalism. Secret societies, like the Carbonari and the Freemasons, took a leading part in the growing opposition to the monarchy. It was generally felt that Portugal was on the brink of a revolution.

Dictatorship of Franco

In 1906 King Carlos resolved on a new move. He appointed Joao Franco Prime Minister with power to govern in defiance of the Cortes. Franco was an honest and able man and believed that a policy of benevolent despotism was the only means of ridding Portugal of corrupt politicians and conspiring revolutionists. Laws were enacted without the consent of Parliament; the press was gagged; the slightest manifestation of opposition to the Government was severely punished; the jails were filled with political prisoners. This reign of administrative terror was answered by a widespread conspiracy to overturn the entire monarchical régime. On February 1, 1908, whilst the royal family were driving through the streets of Lisbon, two men coolly leveled carbines at the royal carriage and killed the King and the Crown Prince.

Manuel II

The younger son of the late monarch succeeded as Manuel II. Franco's régime came to an end, and the Prime Minister was forced to flee from the country. But neither the new King nor the politicians had learned much from the recent tragedy. Manuel followed closely in his father's footsteps; he was notoriously extravagant and immoral. The politicians resumed their old ways, and "rotativism" once more became the practice.

Revolution of 1910

The opposition now determined to change the government as well as the governors, and definite plans were made by the secret societies to abolish the monarchy and to establish a republic. In 1910 a sudden and exceedingly well-planned uprising took place in Lisbon. The warships in the harbor raised the Republican colors and began to shell the royal palace. The soldiers mutinied and, aided by street mobs, took possession of the city. King Manuel fled to England. A provisional government was hastily organized under the leadership of a distinguished scholar, Dr. Theophile Braga, which forever proscribed the House of Braganza and decreed the establishment of the Republic of Portugal. A constitution was later adopted which abolished all hereditary titles and privileges, granted full freedom of speech and association and complete religious equality. A Cortes was organized, composed of a Senate, elected by the local councils, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage. The head of the Government was to be a President elected for a term of four years by a joint session of both Houses. His powers were greatly limited, as executive authority was entrusted to a cabinet responsible to the Chamber. The first President, Dr. Manuel Arriaga, was chosen in 1911.

Almost the first act of the new Republic was to make war on the Catholic Church. Many of the Republicans were strongly anti-clerical, having derived their inspiration from the enemies of the Church in France. They regarded the Church as the backbone of royalism and therefore determined to undermine her influence in every way possible. The religious orders were expelled and their property seized by the Government. A law separating Church and State, modeled on that of France,[1] was passed which called forth a vigorous protest from Pope Pius X, who pronounced it null and void. Bishops and parish priests who refused to submit to the Separation Law were severely punished.

Separation of Church and State

The Republic then planned to remove the reproach of illiteracy, which was estimated as high as seventy per cent of the population. A school law was passed in 1911 providing for compulsory, free, secular education. Although the revolution was accomplished with remarkable ease, the Republic was soon faced with great difficulties. Royalist plots were continually taking place, and discontent was manifested by the workingmen of Lisbon, some of whom had expected that a republic would decree their economic emancipation. In 1912 a general strike took place in Lisbon which was so serious that martial law had to be declared in order to preserve order.

Problems of the Republic

Portugal still has large colonial possessions, in all about eight hundred thousand square miles. She owns the Cape Verde Islands, part of Guinea, various ports in Asia, and large slices of Africa.[2] Most of the Portuguese people, who number about 5,500,000, are engaged in agriculture which, like that of Spain, is in a low state and largely for the same reasons.

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[1] See p. 261.

[2] See p. 680.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS

Denmark

Union of Norway and Sweden

THE three Scandinavian nations, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were united under the hegemony of the first for more than a century after the Union of Kalmar in 1397. Although similar in origin, traditions, language, and culture, there are enough differences among the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians to cause them to desire independence of one another. In 1524 Sweden seceded from the Union, but Norway remained attached to Denmark until the nineteenth century. Denmark had sided with Napoleon, but Sweden had joined the Allies to oppose him. To punish the one and reward the other, Norway was taken from Denmark and incorporated with Sweden in 1814 by the treaty of Kiel.

The constitution of 1849

The general European peace which followed Waterloo found Denmark in a weakened state. Her navy had been seized by the English and Copenhagen bombarded; her commerce was almost entirely gone; and Norway had been taken away. For an entire generation after peace was established, the Danes were so busily engaged in recuperating from their losses that little attention was paid to political reform. The government was that of an absolute monarchy, but the Danish Kings ruled in a more liberal spirit than the monarchs elsewhere in Europe. The Revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848, nevertheless, found an echo in Denmark; and in 1849 King Frederick VII, in response to a widespread and growing liberalism, granted a constitution establishing a Rigsdag, or Parliament. The members of the Landsthing, or Senate, were to be appointed by the King, and the members of the Folkething, or Assembly, were to be elected by citizens who possessed property. The King was to continue to exercise full executive power.

Loss of Schleswig-Holstein

By far the most serious problem that faced Denmark was that affecting the duchies, Schleswig-Holstein, which had come to her many centuries before through dynastic affiliations. In Holstein the population was largely German; in Schleswig it was both Danish and German. There had arisen a strong nationalist movement among the Germans in the duchies, who wished to separate themselves from Denmark and to form a state in the German Confederation. In opposition to them the patriotic Danes formed a powerful party called the Eider Danes, which demanded the complete incorporation with Denmark of the territory of the Eider River, which included Schleswig. Early in the reign of Christian IX (1863–1906), Prussia and Austria intervened in favor of the Germans in Schleswig-Holstein, and the War of 1864 which followed resulted in the annexation of the duchies by Prussia.[1] Naturally the Danes felt bitterly resentful toward Prussia for the dismemberment of Denmark, and they entertained hopes that some day the lost provinces would be recovered.

Establishment of democratic government

An important revision of the constitution was made in 1866. Four fifths of the Senate was made elective, and the suffrage for the lower House was extended. The King's authority was still considerable, as the Ministry remained responsible to him. Although the demand for complete democracy was incessant and socialism grew rapidly, it was only after a long struggle that Christian IX was compelled in 1901 to relinquish his authority over the Ministry, which was made responsible to the Rigsdag. Since then Danish democracy has made rapid progress. In 1914 all the members of the Senate were made elective; and in the following year the property qualification for voting for the lower House was abolished, with full suffrage granted to women.

As Denmark possesses no coal and iron, it has very little industrial life; agriculture is, therefore, the pursuit of the large majority of her three million inhabitants. The dairy products of Denmark are famous, and quantities of butter, cheese, and eggs are exported annually to England and Germany. The Danish peasants and dairymen have organized extensive coöperative societies which lend money to the members at low interest, market their produce, and put at their service the best machinery.

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[1] For further details see pp. 179 ff.

Denmark an agricultural nation

What now remains of a once great Danish empire are the large islands of Greenland and Iceland, and the Faroë Islands.[1] Greenland and Iceland enjoy complete local autonomy.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

The Napoleonic wars gave a new dynasty to Sweden in the person of Marshal Bernadotte. In 1809 Gustavus IV, the last of the ancient Swedish dynasty of Vasa, was deposed because of his erratic conduct, and a temporary king, Charles XIII, was elected in his place. In 1810, Charles adopted the Frenchman, Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, as the Crown Prince, who in 1818 ascended the Swedish throne as Charles XIV.

Bernadotte

As we have already seen, the Treaty of Kiel provided for the union of Norway and Sweden. But the Norwegians were opposed to the arrangement made for them by the diplomats of Europe and rose in rebellion against Sweden. An agreement, known as the *Riksakt* of 1815, was finally reached by the two countries. It provided for a personal union through the King, but each country was to have its own parliament, courts, and administration. Common interests, like foreign affairs, tariffs, and the army, were to be managed by a common Ministry.

The *Riksakt* of 1815

The union thus formed was not a happy one. Different conditions among the people in each kingdom made for different ideals among the Norwegians and the Swedes in spite of their common racial origin. Norway was inhabited by an independent population of fishermen, sailors, merchants, and peasant proprietors. By the constitution of Eidsvold (1814), she had established a fairly democratic government through a popularly elected Storthing, or parliament. Sweden, on the contrary, was a highly aristocratic country, a land of large landed proprietors and a dependent peasantry. Her government was autocratic, for the King's power was scarcely checked by the Diet of four estates, nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants, which, as in the Middle Ages, had merely power to petition and to advise the monarch.

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[1] The Danish West Indies, a group of small islands, were sold to the United States in 1917 for $25,000,000; they were renamed the Virgin Islands.

Different conditions in each country

Charles XIV, although a Frenchman, became very popular in Sweden, because, through him, she had been indemnified for the loss of Finland to Russia by the annexation of Norway. In Sweden he tenaciously held to the principles of absolute monarchy, although in Norway he was obliged to observe the constitution. In 1866 King Charles XV granted a constitution, and Sweden became a constitutional monarchy. The Diet was abolished and a parliament, called the Riksdag, was organized. It was composed of two Houses, the upper elected by local bodies, and the lower by citizens who possessed property. The King continued to exercise full executive authority. Sweden's transition to constitutional monarchy was mainly the work of the distinguished statesman, Baron de Geer, on whose advice the King greatly relied.

The constitution of 1866

During the reign of Oscar II (1872–1907), the relations between Norway and Sweden, always strained, finally reached the breaking point. A new national revival took place in Norway, one of the leaders being the writer-politician, Björnson. Quarrels, some petty and some serious, were continually breaking out. One was over the day which should be celebrated as the national holiday. Another was over the character of the Norwegian flag; Norway demanded a "clean flag," one without any symbol of her union with Sweden. A far greater question arose in connection with the consular service. Norway's commerce and merchant marine were rapidly expanding, and

Quarrels between Norway and Sweden

this made independence all the more desirable. As most of the consuls appointed by the Government were Swedes, Norway demanded an independent consular service. The Storthing several times passed resolutions in favor of this proposition, but the King vetoed them. Finally; on June 7, 1905, the Storthing took a decisive step by unanimously passing a resolution which declared that the union with Sweden was thereby dissolved. The question now was whether the latter would permit Norway to secede or whether she would try to compel her to stay in the Union. For a time it looked like civil war, but in the end better counsel prevailed. It was decided to allow the Norwegian people to settle their own national destiny through a plebiscite.

Independence of Norway

When this was held, the result showed an almost unanimous vote in favor of independence, as only one hundred and eighty-four votes were cast against it. Sweden was chagrined, but she loyally accepted the outcome. Norway thereupon became an independent nation, and she chose as her King, Prince Charles, the second son of King Frederick VIII of Denmark, who was crowned on June 22, 1906, as Haakon VII, successor to Haakon VI, the last independent King of Norway. A treaty between Sweden and Norway provided that, in case of a dispute between them, final resort should be to the Hague Tribunal, and that no fortifications should be erected by either party on the frontier separating them.

Democratic progress in Sweden

In 1907 Gustavus V ascended the throne of Sweden. His reign witnessed the rapid growth of a radical movement which demanded complete democracy in government. Universal male suffrage for the lower House of the Riksdag was adopted in 1909, but successive attempts to enfranchise the women were defeated by the upper House. The Cabinet was made responsible to the Riksdag, although the King continued to exercise considerable influence on the policies of the Government.

Sweden has a population of about 5,600,000, the majority of whom are engaged in agriculture. She has practically no coal, but numerous waterfalls supply abundant electrical

Economic progress in Sweden

energy. In recent years, as a result of the exploitation of her forests and her extensive iron mines, Swedish industry has made remarkable progress. Large quantities of timber, wooden ware, and iron are exported. Wood-pulp mills operated by electricity abound everywhere. As a result of the introduction of these industries, a working class made its appearance which is permeated with socialism. A general strike took place in 1909 which spread from the pulp mills to the other industries, and involved about 285,000 men. Stockholm was for a time completely tied up, but the strikers were finally compelled to return to their work.

Parliament opposes the King

The Swedish elections in 1911 resulted in the choice of one hundred and two Liberals, sixty-four Conservatives, and sixty-four Socialists. Fear of possible Russian aggression frequently aroused the country, and a strong sentiment demanded a larger army and navy. In 1914 there took place a remarkable demonstration of peasants, thousands of whom came from all parts of Sweden to petition the King for greater military preparedness. King Gustavus assured them of his warm sympathy, which gave rise to a bitter controversy in the Riksdag. The Liberal Ministry was opposed to an increase in the military and naval establishments, and resigned as a protest against the King's action. A dissolution of Parliament in 1914 resulted in the triumph of the King, as the new Riksdag passed the defense bills which he advocated.

Democracy in Norway

Norway's government is one of the most democratic in the world. The King merely reigns. All executive authority is vested in a cabinet responsible to the Storthing, which is essentially a parliament of one House elected by universal suffrage. Norway has the distinction of being the first European nation to confer full parliamentary suffrage on women. Women possessing property were enfranchised in 1907; six years later (1913) all women citizens were enfranchised and given complete political equality with men.

Norway's wealth is in her forests. Like Sweden, she exports large quantities of wood and wooden ware. Fishing is another great industry and it provides a livelihood for a considerable portion of her people. In proportion to her population, which is about 2,400,000, Norway has the largest merchant marine in the world, and she ranks after Great Britain, Germany, and the United States in the tonnage of her vessels.

Norway's economic progress

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

Influence of Scandinavian literature

The Scandinavian nations have exercised comparatively little influence on the political and economic history of Europe; but, from the point of view of their literary contributions, they may be ranked as first-grade nations. A race of literary vikings arose, who boldly set sail for unknown seas of thought, daring to face the storms of criticism and the shafts of ridicule. A veritable literary invasion of Europe by Scandinavian writers took place during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the bold literary adventurers succeeded in conquering and holding a great place in the cultural life of the nations of Europe.

Andersen

A unique personality was the famous Dane, Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75), the greatest of all children's story-tellers. His immortal fairy tales transformed the nonsense of the nursery into stories which have charmed and delighted millions of children. Andersen had the soul of a child, and life to him was a fairy-tale; he therefore wrote with that naïve seriousness and simplicity that only children can appreciate. One can almost see, hear, and touch the characters in his tales; even the animals speak as animals would if they could. Andersen may be said to have discovered the soul of the child; and so universally beloved is he that there is hardly a person in Europe or America who has not heard or read his tales.

Few modern writers have exercised so wide and so deep an influence as the Norwegian, Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), whose dramas were the literary sensation of Europe and America for many years. Ibsen was a stern social moralist.

His chief aim was to expose the shams and illusions of middle-class society, whose respectability he regarded as a mask for cowards and as a pitfall for the good and the simple. He despised democracy as a vulgar middle-class invention intended to deceive the masses into the belief that they ruled because they voted, whereas they were really the tools of the philistine bourgeois who used them to crush those that were the true champions of freedom and progress. "The most dangerous foe to truth and freedom in our midst is the compact majority," declares one of his characters. That the majority was always wrong, Ibsen was firmly convinced; and he believed that the true benefactors of the race were those individuals who proclaimed their independence of the conventions of the day and dared to live their own lives in their own way. The more a man finds himself in a minority the more apt is he to be right; "the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone." In Ibsen's hands the theater became the means of social propaganda and the vehicle for radical ideas.

Ibsen

His drama, *An Enemy of the People*, is an exposure of political and commercial dishonesty masquerading as democracy. Dr. Stockmann, the hero, finds that the baths of his town, which is a famous health resort, are contaminated by sewage; and instead of being a cure for the sick they are really pest-holes. He so informs the authorities, who, fearing that the town would be ruined financially if this were generally known, determine to hush up the matter. Instead of being regarded as a benefactor, Dr. Stockmann suddenly finds that he is being hounded by all classes in the community. The town is in an uproar over his determination to expose the evil, and mass meetings are held denouncing him "as an enemy of the people." He bravely holds his own, fully expecting that the Liberal elements, "the friends of the people," will come to his aid. To his amazement, "a compact Liberal majority" is organized, which incites the mob to attack him so that he barely escapes with his life.

Another exposure of social hypocrisy is contained in *The Pillars of Society.* Consul Bernick is a respectable merchant with a fine reputation among his neighbors as a good citizen, loving father, and faithful husband. He is particularly desirous that the "moral tone" of the community be rigorously upheld, and he is consequently active in all civic duties. But this pillar of society is hollow and rotten within; he secretly profits from his public activity, oppresses his workingmen, browbeats his wife, and enters into shady commercial transactions, all the while maintaining an appearance of great respectability. He always has a glib mouthful of platitudes about "the moral foundations of society," "good citizenship," and "one's duty to one's neighbors." His reprehensible dealings are finally discovered, but he manages to throw the blame on an innocent man who is sailing for America, and so "the moral tone of the community" is saved.

In *The Doll's House* Ibsen created a new type in literature, the emancipated woman. This drama caused a great sensation throughout the world, for it was a most bitter attack on the conventions of family life. It also brought the subject of the rights of women prominently before the public. Torvald Helmer is a model husband and father, loving his wife, Nora, and his children most devotedly. Nora becomes anxious about her husband's health; and in order to get money to enable him to go to a health resort she forges her father's name to a note, not realizing the seriousness of the offense. She secretly works to pay off the debt, but the forgery is discovered. Helmer is roused to a high pitch of moral indignation at his wife; he denounces her for putting in jeopardy his future and his honor, forgetting that she had forged the note for his sake. Nora now realizes that all these years she had been regarded by her husband, not as an individual with a soul of her own, but as a petted child living in "a doll's house"; that her sole function had been to serve as wife and mother in return for support and shelter. She comes to loathe such a life as degrading and dishonorable. "I believe that before all else I am a human being, just as much as you are, or at least that I should try to become one," she tells her husband. She believes herself unfit to be a true wife and mother until she is able to share in the burdens and responsibilities of the world outside the home, and proposes to leave her husband. Helmer is outraged, and remonstrates with her on her duty to him, to her children, and to God. But Nora's reply is that her supreme duty is toward herself.

Ibsen was a poet as well as a dramatist. His two poetic dramas, *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, are highly symbolic interpretations of life and destiny. In *Brand* he portrays a character who will not compromise in the least with his ideals, but adheres to them with unswerving fidelity. As a consequence, he finds himself a soul apart from the rest of mankind, for his ideals are too high to be attained. In *Peer Gynt*, on the contrary, is the type of weak character, easily influenced, who follows his whims and never squarely faces the problems of life; hence his soul crumbles. Brand fails because of his strength, Peer Gynt because of his weakness.

Björnson

Björnstjerne Björnson (1832–1910), the Norwegian poet, novelist, dramatist, and patriot, shared with Ibsen the hegemony of Scandinavian literature. His writings are characterized by an intense patriotism which made him exceedingly popular in Norway, whose independence of Sweden he warmly espoused. It was remarked of him that merely to mention his name was like running up the flag of Norway. Björnson was greatly interested in the heroic age of his country and wrote many poems and dramas about the old vikings. His main literary purpose, however, was "to create a new saga in the light of the peasant," for he believed that the Norwegian country folk were the true descendants of the ancient Norse heroes. He therefore wrote many stories of peasant life, the best known of which are *Arne* and *Synnöve Solbakken*, in which the virtues of the peasants are held up as models for the nation.

August Strindberg (1849–1912), the Swedish writer, is regarded as the leading iconoclast in contemporary European literature. Strindberg's work is characterized by a fanatic hatred of what he conceived to be the vices of women bred in them by their subordinate position. Fear of women became almost an obsession with him, and he passionately insisted that they are the inveterate enemies of men of genius whom they try either to ruin or to cheat. Women, he believed, care only for their children and are interested in men only as fathers and as breadwinners.

Strindberg

Strindberg was a master of the one-act play, a type of literary composition of which he was to a considerable extent the originator. His characters are generally brutal, selfish, gross, and constantly quarreling. Although a seeker after the ideal, he was so much at odds with every one and with everything that he finally arrived at being a hopeless pessimist. As he himself once declared, "To search for God and find the Devil! — that is what happened to me." He was a master of biting irony, and his characterizations of persons leave a burning sensation in the reader. He speaks of one man as "an intellectual cannibal" who devours the reputations of his rivals; and of another as "a wandering shame whose face was known to all and who was branded with his own name." Strindberg's best-known works are the dramas, *Countess Julie*, *The Father*, *The Stronger*, and *Comrades;* the semi-autobiography entitled *The Confessions of a Fool;* and a volume of short stories called *Marriage.* His works are so erratic that their merit is still subject to much literary controversy.

Brandes

Little Denmark has the honor of producing Georg Morris Cohen Brandes (1842–), the greatest literary critic since Sainte-Beuve. Brandes's conception of criticism is most broad; it is to blend literature, philosophy, history, and sociology in order to give a true and complete idea of the evolution of the human spirit. In the great work, *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature*, he takes all of Europe for his province and writes profoundly and convincingly on the writers and movements of the period. Unlike Sainte-Beuve, whose knowledge was mainly of the Romance nations, Brandes is equally at home in English, Russian, German, Polish, French, and Italian, as well as in Scandinavian literature; moreover, his sympathies are decidedly with the new men and the new ideals. He was the first to discover Nietzsche and to give this brilliant and highly original German philosopher his place in the world of letters.

CHAPTER XX

HOLLAND, BELGIUM, AND SWITZERLAND

THE NETHERLANDS

Strategic positions of the three states

ALTHOUGH ranking as small nations, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland occupy an important place in the European political system because of their strategic geographic locations. Holland is a window to Germany looking out on the North Sea, through which invading English or German armies might pass. Belgium is essentially a buffer state between France and Germany, and "a pistol pointing at the heart of England." Switzerland is wedged in among four great nations, Germany, France, Italy, and Austria, and serves the useful purpose of preventing them from being too near neighbors.

Union of Holland and Belgium

After the downfall of Napoleon, the House of Orange was restored in the person of William I, who assumed the title of King of the Netherlands, and not the old title of Stadholder. To William were given Holland and the region now known as Belgium, as both countries were erected into a single kingdom by the Congress of Vienna. A constitution was adopted which provided for a States-General, or parliament, with limited powers, the upper House to be appointed by the King and the lower to be elected by provincial bodies. Belgium and Holland were given an equal number of representatives in the lower House.

Dissatisfaction of the Belgians with Dutch rule

Like the other unions arranged by the diplomats of the Congress of Vienna, this one also proved unhappy. There were sharp differences between the two peoples, which were all the more exasperating to the Belgians because they occupied an inferior position in the union. Chief among these was religion. In the main, the Dutch are Protestant, belonging to the rigid Calvinist sect, while the Belgians are intensely Catholic.

The provision in the constitution for equal treatment of both faiths was resented by the Catholic clergy because they had always enjoyed special privileges in Belgium. Language was another dividing line. Dutch was declared to be the only official language of the kingdom, but this was a foreign tongue to many of the Belgians, particularly among the educated, who spoke French. The Belgians complained of the unjust system of representation in the States-General which allowed them only as many delegates as Holland, although their population was twice that of the latter. In the States-General the Dutch and Belgian members were always arrayed against each other, and measures were carried through by the King, who generally managed to influence a sufficient number of Belgians to vote with the Dutch. Nearly all the officials in the civil and military service were Dutch; and the Belgians felt that they were being discriminated against and treated like a conquered people. In 1821 new taxes were devised which fell mainly on the Belgians, who thereupon began a bitter attack on the Government through the press. King William, though well-meaning, was inclined to be headstrong and arbitrary. Through his influence strict censorship laws were enacted which led to the imprisonment of Belgian journalists.

Independence of Belgium

The July Revolution of 1830 in Paris inflamed the discontented Belgians. Riots broke out in the streets of Brussels and quickly spread throughout the country. A provisional government was organized which declared Belgium a free and independent nation. A national convention was called, which formally established Belgium as a constitutional monarchy; and in July, 1831, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen ruler with the title of Leopold I, King of the Belgians.

Neutralization of Belgium

The Belgian revolution was a matter of international concern. The question arose, What was to be the status of this new kingdom, which occupied so important a strategic position? A conference of the Powers took place in London, at which Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia were represented, to decide on the future of Belgium. On November 15, 1831, a treaty was signed by these four Powers which declared that Belgium "shall form an independent and perpetually neutral state" which was to observe the same neutrality toward all the other states. But Holland stubbornly refused to agree to this arrangement, and a Dutch army under King William invaded Belgium and won several battles. A French army was now sent to meet the victorious Dutch, who thereupon decided to come to terms and to recognize Belgium, which they did in 1839. Another international conference took place in London which, on April 19, 1839, adopted a treaty similar to the one of 1831, and which was signed by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and Belgium. The last agreed not to make any treaty of alliance with any other nation and to refuse at all times to allow her neutrality to be violated.

Advantageous position of Belgium

For centuries Belgium had been the battle ground of Europe. This choice morsel, with its fine harbors and extensive manufactures, had been coveted by the nations of Europe. At various times Spain, Austria, France, and Holland had possessed it. Now, in the interest of European peace, it was decided that Belgium should belong to herself; and for the first time in all her history she became an independent nation. The new kingdom was given a peculiarly advantageous position in the state system of Europe; not only was her existence recognized like that of any other nation, but her territory was especially guaranteed against invasion. The former battle ground was to be forever at peace, and she therefore had no need to enter into "entangling" alliances with her neighbors in order to protect herself. Europe was to be her protector.

Constitution of 1848

The separation of Belgium from the Netherlands produced among the Dutch general dissatisfaction with their government. In 1840 William abdicated, and his successor, William II, was faced by a powerful Liberal opposition led by the distinguished Dutch jurist and statesman, Johan Rudolf Thorbecke. The European revolution of 1848 had a marked effect in accelerating the

Liberal movement in Holland. In that year a constitution was promulgated which radically changed the character of the States-General. The upper House was made elective by the provincial assemblies, and the lower by citizens possessing property qualifications. The Cabinet was made responsible to the States-General, though the King continued to exercise considerable influence on the conduct of the Government.

Rule of the Liberals

During the long reign of William III (1849–90), the Liberals under Thorbecke were in almost complete control. They reorganized the administration, reformed the electoral laws, and built great public works, such as canals, docks, and railways. The Haarlem Lake was drained and turned into a huge meadow.

The school question

The two most important questions before the Dutch people since 1848 have been those regarding popular education and suffrage. The Catholics and Calvinists strongly favored the control of the public schools by the religious bodies; this was opposed by the Liberals, who wished to keep the schools free from sectarian influences. The Catholics and Calvinists, in 1889, were able to pass a law giving state support to their denominational schools and introducing religious instruction in the public schools.

Extension of the suffrage

The constitution of 1848 did not give the vote to the lower classes, and an agitation for universal male suffrage was started that resulted in the electoral reform of 1887 which trebled the vote, though it did not establish universal manhood suffrage. A strong socialist movement began to appear, and the fear of revolution led to the formation of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, which, although strongly Calvinist, yet combined with the Catholics to oppose radicalism in general and universal suffrage in particular. In 1896 a further extension of the suffrage was made as a result of the socialist agitation that gave the vote to all householders and lodgers as in England; hence it did not establish complete universal manhood suffrage.

King William died in 1890, and he was succeeded by his little daughter, Wilhelmina, who came of age in 1898, when she was crowned Queen of the Netherlands.[1] Her marriage to the German Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin caused anxiety among the Dutch, for they feared that it might cause their country to fall under German influences. But the birth of an heiress to the throne in 1909 somewhat quieted their fears. In recent years there has been a growing uneasiness among the Dutch lest their great colonial possessions, fine harbors, and rich trade might tempt their powerful neighbors to acts of aggression. It was also feared that, in case of war between England and Germany, Holland's neutrality might be violated by either or by both. As a result army reforms were made in 1898 and in 1912, which introduced compulsory military service on the Swiss model.[2] A coast-defense law, passed in 1913, provided for elaborate fortifications at Flushing and at Amsterdam.

Anxiety of the Dutch in regard to their independence

The population of the Netherlands in 1912 was about six million, most of whom depended upon commerce, dairy farming, and fishing for their livelihood. There is little manufacturing in Holland because of a lack of coal and iron; hence she is practically a free-trade country. Holland has become an *entrepôt* for the manufactures of the Continent on their way to England or overseas. Much of her prosperity depends on her shipments from Germany with whom she has close economic ties.

Economic conditions

Until 1848 the colonial possessions[3] of the Netherlands were under the personal rule of the King, but in that year the States-General assumed control. The East India colonies are exceedingly valuable for their coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, and spices. In order to get

The colonies

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[1] Holland is the name generally given by English-speaking people to the Netherlands, the official name of the country.

[2] See p. 496.

[3] Holland possesses a great colonial empire containing a population estimated at forty million. The most important colonies are in the East Indies, Java, Sumatra, half of Borneo, part of New Guinea, and the Celebes group of islands.

as much as possible of these products the Dutch established in Java a unique system of taxation. The natives were compelled to set aside one fifth of their land on which to raise these tropical products exclusively for the Government, by whom they were bought at prices fixed by itself and shipped to Amsterdam, where they were sold at market prices. In this way the Government was able to obtain large revenues. This system of forced labor was denounced in Holland as establishing a condition of semi-slavery, but it was defended on the ground that the natives were lazy and would produce only sufficient for their own sustenance unless compelled to do more. In 1870 the system was abolished. On the whole the Dutch colonies have been well governed and a source of prosperity for the mother country.

BELGIUM

Government

As we have just seen, Belgium became an independent nation in 1830. There being no hereditary dynasty, the problem of monarchy was settled at the outset by the choice of a king, with the clear understanding that the government of the kingdom was to be strictly constitutional. There has never been any friction between the Belgian kings and the people, as the former have not tried to dominate the country. According to the constitution, executive authority is lodged in a Cabinet responsible to Parliament for its existence. The latter is bicameral, consisting of a Senate[1] and a Chamber of Deputies, both of which are elected by the people.

The Flemings and Walloons

The people of Belgium are divided into two distinct races who differ from each other in language, in manner of life, and in political and cultural ideals. In the northern provinces live about four million Flemings, a people of Teutonic stock, who speak a language akin to Dutch and whose main source of livelihood is agriculture. The Flemings are devout Catholics, and it was through their influence that the constitutional position of the Church was made most favorable. The Belgian Catholic Church has all the privileges and none of the burdens of an established church; it receives public support and official recognition, but the State has no control over its officials or administration. The southern provinces are inhabited by about three and a half million Walloons, of Celtic origin, whose language is French, and who are engaged in industrial pursuits. Although Catholic in religion, these Walloons have shown themselves hostile to the Church, for they are inspired by the anti-clerical spirit of their neighbors, the French.

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[1] One quarter of the Senate is elected by provincial bodies.

Catholics and Liberals

These two elements combined in 1830 to overthrow Dutch domination; but once this was accomplished, a sharp division arose between them. Two parties appeared, the Catholics representing the Flemings and the Liberals the Walloons, who fought over three questions, popular education, the suffrage, and the official language. The Catholics favored the control of the schools by the Church, high property qualifications for voting, and the equality of Flemish with French as an official language. On the other hand, the Liberals favored the establishment of a system of free popular education on a secular basis, the broadening of the suffrage, and the maintenance of French as the only official language.

Rule of the Liberals

During the greater part of the nineteenth century the Liberals were in control of the Government under the able leadership, first of Charles Rogier, and later of Walthère Frère-Orban. During the reign of Leopold II (1865–1909) important reforms were instituted by the Liberals. An education law, passed in 1879, established a public-school system on a secular basis to be supported by the communes with subventions from the Government; no public support was to be given to schools other than those recognized by the Government. This law greatly angered the Catholics, who denounced it as "perverse, impious, and contrary to divine law"; and they established a rival school system under Church influence for which they demanded public support.

In 1848 a reform in the electoral law had nearly doubled the number of voters, but universal suffrage had not been established. The Liberals split into two factions, a conservative one that wished to maintain the property qualification in order to insure the control of the Government by the middle classes, and a radical one that desired universal manhood suffrage. Mainly as a result of this division, the Catholic Party triumphed in the elections of 1884 and has been in power ever since. Almost immediately a law was passed reversing Belgium's educational policy. The school law of 1884 provided that a commune could adopt either a "neutral" or a "free" school.[1] In the Catholic districts this meant that public support would be given to the Church schools. Later (1895) religious instruction was made compulsory in all the public schools. The policy of the Catholic Government was to favor the "free" schools in every way possible, with the result that they rapidly began to supplant the "neutral" schools. It also passed many laws for the benefit of the working classes, such as factory reforms and social insurance.

Rule of the Catholics

The rapid industrialization of Belgium gave birth in 1885 to the Labor Party, a Socialist organization which, since the decline of the Liberals, has been the backbone of the opposition to the Catholics. The Socialists began a widespread agitation for universal male suffrage with which many of the Liberals sympathized. A series of strikes were organized in protest against the property suffrage, which culminated in the general strike of 1893 in which thousands of workingmen participated. The Government was forced to take up the electoral question, and the law of 1893 was passed, establishing universal suffrage, but with plural voting.

Extension of the suffrage

Belgium has the distinction of having an electoral system which is, at the same time, the most and the least democratic in Europe. Every citizen is entitled to one vote; an additional vote is given to those who are fathers of families, or who own land, or who derive an income from investments; two additional votes are given to those who are graduates of higher institutions of learning, or to professional men or high officials. No citizen can have more than three votes.[1] The main purpose of this law was to outvote the working classes in the cities by giving electoral privileges to the well-to-do, with the result that a kind of political caste system was established, as in Prussia, which insured the supremacy of the propertied classes.

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[1] The public schools in Belgium are known as "neutral" because they are neutral in religion; the Catholic schools are known as "free" because free from government control.

Plural voting

In order to counterbalance the evil effects of plural voting, the system known as "proportional representation" was adopted in 1899. Weighty objections have, in recent times, been made to the modern system of single-member constituencies, according to which the candidate having a majority or plurality of the votes in his district is declared elected. From this method, it is claimed, follow serious evils. In the first place, the minority in a district, no matter how large, is unrepresented, and the majority or plurality, no matter how small, is overrepresented; hence the size of the parties in the legislature is generally out of all proportion to the votes cast for them. When a candidate is elected by a plurality, as is frequently the case in the United States and in England, the injustice is most glaring, for then minority rule is established; and more than once has the party in control of Parliament been elected by a minority of the voters in the country. In order to get the small number of votes necessary to make the majority or plurality in a district, all kinds of corrupt devices are resorted to, gerrymandering, bribery, and coercion. What is necessary, say the advocates of proportional representation, is to arrange a system that will give each party its rightful representation in Parliament by having candidates elected *only by those who vote for them*. This can be accomplished by enlarging the single-member constituency into one of three or more members to be voted for on a

Proportional representation

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[1] In the elections of 1912, fifty-eight per cent of the electorate cast one vote, twenty-four per cent two votes, and eighteen per cent three votes.

general ticket; and those candidates that receive the number of votes required for election will be declared elected. There are many different schemes of proportional representation; the one used in Belgium is known as the "list" system. There, each of the three parties, Catholic, Liberal, and Labor, selects a list of candidates equal to the number of representatives allotted to the district; each voter then casts his ballot for the *list* of his choice, and seats are assigned to each party in proportion to its electoral strength.

The general strike for equal suffrage

Proportional representation has given general satisfaction in Belgium, and the political problem would have been solved were it not for plural voting which, it is asserted, tends to keep the Catholic Party in power; for the bulk of its supporters, the Flemish peasant proprietors, are entitled to two votes because of their ownership of land. An alliance was formed between the Liberals and the Socialists to demand the abolition of plural voting and the establishment of an electoral system based on the principle of "one man, one vote." On April 4, 1913, there took place an extraordinary demonstration, a political general strike: about 375,000 men of all trades stopped work, not for better wages or shorter hours, but for equal manhood suffrage. Thousands of shopkeepers voluntarily closed their shops out of sympathy with the movement, which was characterized as a "strike with folded arms," for no violence of any kind took place. After ten days the general strike came to an end, but only on the assurance of the Government that it would revise the entire electoral system.

Economic development

The most significant fact about Belgium is its extraordinary economic development. Splendid coal and iron mines and oil fields have made possible extensive mining and manufacturing which give little Belgium the position of a great economic power. In industrial importance she ranks after England, the United States, Germany and France.[1]

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[1] In 1911 Belgium produced about 5,500,000 tons of steel, which was more than twenty times the output in 1880. Her production of coal in 1911 was about

King Leopold II (1865–1909), who was an able business promoter, took a prominent part in the exploitation and partitioning of Africa.[1] He acquired a huge region called the Congo Free State which was under his personal rule until 1908, when it was formally annexed to Belgium. At the beginning of the reign of King Albert (1909–) the possibility of a general European war arose, and fears were entertained by the Belgians that their neutrality might be violated in spite of the guarantees of the powers. A new army law was therefore passed in 1913 which made military service compulsory for all citizens. Fortifications were built, particularly along the German frontier because of greater fear from that quarter.

The new army law

The little Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, once a member of the Germanic Confederation, was not incorporated in the German Empire. It was united in a personal union with the Netherlands until the accession of Queen Wilhelmina in 1890, when the personal union was dissolved, and Luxemburg became an independent nation, with its neutrality guaranteed, like that of Belgium, by the European Powers.

Luxemburg

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

Until the nineteenth century Switzerland was no more than a geographical expression for a group of tiny communities that were practically independent of one another. The first step toward Swiss unity was the establishment by the French, in 1798, of the Helvetic Republic, which unified the various cantons into a highly centralized state. At the Congress of Vienna, Switzerland was once more divided into semi-independent cantons; the only bond of union was a Federal Diet with very limited powers, like the American Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation.

The Helvetic republic

During the first half of the nineteenth century Switzer-

25,400,000 tons. Her total foreign trade in 1911 was valued at about $1,618,000,000, an increase of three hundred per cent over that of 1880.

[1] See p. 677.

land was torn by revolts, civil wars, and quarrels among the cantons. Everything seemed to make for division and disunion. The people were of three different races, German, French, and Italian; they were also sharply divided by religion into Protestants and Catholics; they differed in political ideals, as some of the cantons were democratic and others aristocratic; there was also the traditional rivalry of the various cantons. In 1847 Switzerland was in the throes of a general civil war. Seven of the Catholic cantons organized a separate union called the *Sonderbund*, and seceded from the Confederation. This awakened a sense of nationalism among the Swiss, and the Federal Diet resolved to crush the rebellion. The armies of the *Sonderbund* were defeated, and the Catholic cantons were compelled to rejoin the Confederation.

The *Sonderbund*

The Swiss, now fully realizing that the loose nature of their union invited secession, adopted an entirely new constitution in 1848 which organized Switzerland as a federal union closely modeled on that of the United States. This constitution preserved the historic local government of the cantons, but, at the same time, it established a strong central government with ample power to enforce its will over them. Freedom of speech and of association, religious toleration, and the rights of the various races were guaranteed. The constitution was revised in 1874 in the direction of greater centralization, as more powers were given to the Federal Government.

Constitution of 1848

For many decades the Swiss political parties divided on the issue of "state rights." The Conservatives held out for greater cantonal self-government and the Liberals for a stronger nationalism. In recent years new issues have come to the fore which are mainly economic and cultural. The chief political parties are the Catholics, the Liberals, the Radicals, and the Socialists, who differ on matters affecting education, religion, and social reform.

Old and new problems

The Swiss Government, both federal and cantonal, presents unique and interesting features. The federal legislature, called the Federal Assembly, is bicameral; the upper House, or Council of the States, is composed, like the American Senate, of two representatives from each state or canton, of which there are twenty-two; the lower House, or National Council, is elected by direct universal male suffrage. Executive authority is lodged in a board of directors, called the Federal Council, composed of seven men elected by the Federal Assembly. The Federal Council is purely an administrative body, not a cabinet, as the members are generally chosen irrespective of party affiliations. Its chairman is known as the President of the Swiss Confederation.

Government

The cantons enjoy considerable local autonomy. Direct rather than representative government is the historic tradition in Switzerland, and a few of the cantons continue to maintain their *Landsgemeinden*, or town meetings. The others have adopted a new form of direct government called the "initiative and referendum." By the initiative is meant that a measure may be proposed by a specified number of voters and presented to the cantonal legislature for adoption; if the latter defeats the measure, it must be submitted to a popular vote, or referendum, for adoption or rejection. A kind of popular veto is contained in another form of referendum, which provides that if a specified number of voters so petition, a law enacted by a cantonal legislature must be submitted to a popular vote for ratification or rejection. In 1891 this form of referendum was made operative in the case of laws passed by the Federal Assembly. Contrary to general expectation, direct Government in Switzerland has shown conservative tendencies, as radical proposals have been defeated by popular vote.

Initiative and referendum

The neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed by the powers in 1815, but her strategic position caused the Swiss to fear a possible violation of their territory in case of war. In order to defend their country from attack, they devised a unique military system that may be described as a standing national militia. Military service

The military system

is obligatory upon all citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-eight. From twenty to thirty-two, a citizen is in the *Auszug*, or Élite. During the first year he is required to be in training sixty-five days, and during the remaining years he is called upon to train six times for a period of about two weeks each. A high physical development is required for service in the *Auszug;* and those who are rejected must pay a special tax or serve in the auxiliary forces. From thirty-two to forty, he is in the *Landwehr*, or militia; during this period he is called for training only once, for eleven days. From forty to forty-eight, he is in the *Landsturm;* during this period he must hold himself in readiness to respond to a call to the colors, but he is no longer subject to training. The Swiss army is efficiently organized, and a well-trained force of three hundred thousand men can easily be put into the field to defend the country from invasion.

Switzerland and internationalism

Switzerland is inhabited by about 3,800,000 people, sixty-five per cent of whom are German-speaking, twenty-three per cent French, and twelve per cent Italian. Since the secession movement of 1848, they have managed to get along very well, largely because of mutual toleration. As the three languages have equal standing, and as the laws are printed in all three languages and members of the Federal Assembly may speak in any one of them, the division into political parties is not along race lines. Switzerland has played a humanitarian rôle in the world, as she is the center for international meetings, congresses, and associations of all sorts. She has also been a house of refuge for those fleeing from political tyranny; Italian nationalists of the *Risorgimento*, Hungarian patriots, French communists, German socialists, and Russian nihilists, all have found an asylum in this tiny Alpine republic.

Economic conditions

Switzerland's greatest economic asset is the Alps. The chief national industry of the Swiss, from which they reap golden harvests, consists in providing for the comfort and the needs of the thousands of tourists from all over the world who flock to these wonderful mountains. In spite of the lack of coal and iron, Switzerland has made marked industrial progress, for her factories are run by electrical power obtained from the many rapid water-courses of the country. A considerable portion of the population is engaged in farming and cattle-raising in the fertile valleys. Switzerland exports large quantities of cheese, butter, milk, and milk chocolate.

CHAPTER XXI

RUSSIA

1815–1881

Introduction

Backwardness of Russia

For many centuries Russia had stood almost apart from the general current of European history. Her size is so very great and her development has been so very different from that of her sister nations that it may be said, with some degree of truth, that Russia constitutes a separate continent wedged in between Europe and Asia. This great empire has lagged far behind the other European nations in civilization and in political development. During the thirteenth century, when Western Europe had succeeded in establishing some degree of stable civilization under feudalism, Russia was still semi-barbaric; during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Western Europe was passing from feudalism toward national monarchy, Russia was moving toward a kind of feudalism; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Western Europe was shaping constitutional governments, Russia was establishing absolute monarchy; for a generation preceding the World War, when Western Europe was rapidly putting government on a thoroughly democratic basis, be it in royal or republican form, Russia was desperately trying to establish a constitutional régime

Reasons for her backwardness

The explanation for this backwardness must not be sought in the character of the Russian people, for it is no more the nature of the Russian to be conservative than it is the nature of the Frenchman to be progressive. In the highest forms of human endeavor, art, literature, and science, Russia has given striking evidence of a high degree of culture and originality. Tolstoy, Turgeniev, and Dostoievsky in literature;

Tschaikovsky and Rubinstein in music; Antokolsky and Verestchagin in art; Mendeleiev and Metchnikov in science, are names of which the most civilized nations could be proud. The answer or answers must be sought elsewhere. In the first place, Russia had never been a part of the ancient Roman Empire; hence it did not receive the blessings of the classical civilization, the inestimable heritage of the nations of Western Europe. Secondly, Russia was outside of the pale of the great Catholic civilization of the Middle Ages, for the Slavic barbarians were first Christianized well along in the eleventh century by missionaries from Constantinople, who did not spread Greek civilization as effectively as the missionaries from Rome had spread Latin civilization. Thirdly, the Russians, unfortunately, were conquered early in the thirteenth century by the semi-barbarous Tartars, who ruled the country for almost three centuries, and did their part in keeping Russia backward. In her early history the country consisted of what is now called Great Russia, an inland region of which the city of Moscow is the center. Having no seacoast, she could not get into close communication with the Mediterranean civilization of the South or with the Atlantic civilization of the West. Russia was a vast, landlocked, undulating plain over which barbarians roamed, a land so wild that it was hard to tell where "man left off and nature began." Cut off as she was from Western Europe, Russia missed the enlightenment and stimulus of the Renaissance and the vigorous shock of the Protestant Revolution. Even the waves of the French Revolution, which rolled over and flooded the lands of the Western nations, dashed in vain against the granite breakwater of Russian conservatism.

Russia's need of seaports

Russian history during the nineteenth century has been largely concerned with two great movements, one toward democracy, or the establishment of constitutional government, and the other, expansion, or the annexation of new regions in Europe and Asia. At first sight it seems strange that the Empire of the

Tsars, with its 8,660,000 square miles, covering about one sixth of the land surface of the globe, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific, with its base near the Mediterranean and its head towering above the Arctic Circle, should be desirous of more land. In truth, it is rather more water than more land that Russia wants, for she has the smallest coast-line in proportion to her size of any great nation of the world. In Europe her only free outlet to the open sea is Archangel, a port on the White Sea which is frozen over for half of the year. The other great ports are no more advantageously situated. Odessa harbor, on the Black Sea, is at the mercy of Turkey, which may close the Dardanelles in time of war; Riga harbor, on the Baltic, freezes over on the average of one hundred and twenty-seven days a year; and Petrograd[1] harbor, on the Gulf of Finland, freezes over on the average of one hundred and forty-seven days a year; both Riga and Petrograd are, moreover, at the mercy of whatever power controls the Baltic during war. Russia, therefore, has not a single port on the open sea which is ice-free all the year round.

REIGN OF ALEXANDER I (1801–25)

Character of Alexander I

Alexander I, who was crowned Tsar in 1801, had been brought up in the free-thinking court of his grandmother, Catherine II, and had been greatly influenced by his tutor, a liberal Swiss named Frederic Laharpe. The Tsar was a man of a mystical turn of mind, much given to morbid musings and easily susceptible to appeals to his dreamy nature. Some one characterized him as having "all the gifts of Heaven except common sense." As we have already seen, he fell under the spell of Madame Krüdener, under whose influence he issued the remarkable statement proposing the Holy Alliance.[2] Alexander was sincerely interested in the welfare of his subjects and in that of Europe generally. As his ideal of government was a benevolent despotism, he was constantly busy reforming flagrant abuses, removing corrupt officials, and rehabilitating the administrative bureaus. He was deeply concerned about the condition of the serfs, and favored their emancipation, which, however, he realized was difficult to accomplish. So he was constantly urging masters to be kind to their bondsmen; and, as the master of about sixteen millions of serfs on the Crown lands, he introduced liberal methods in the payment of dues and services.

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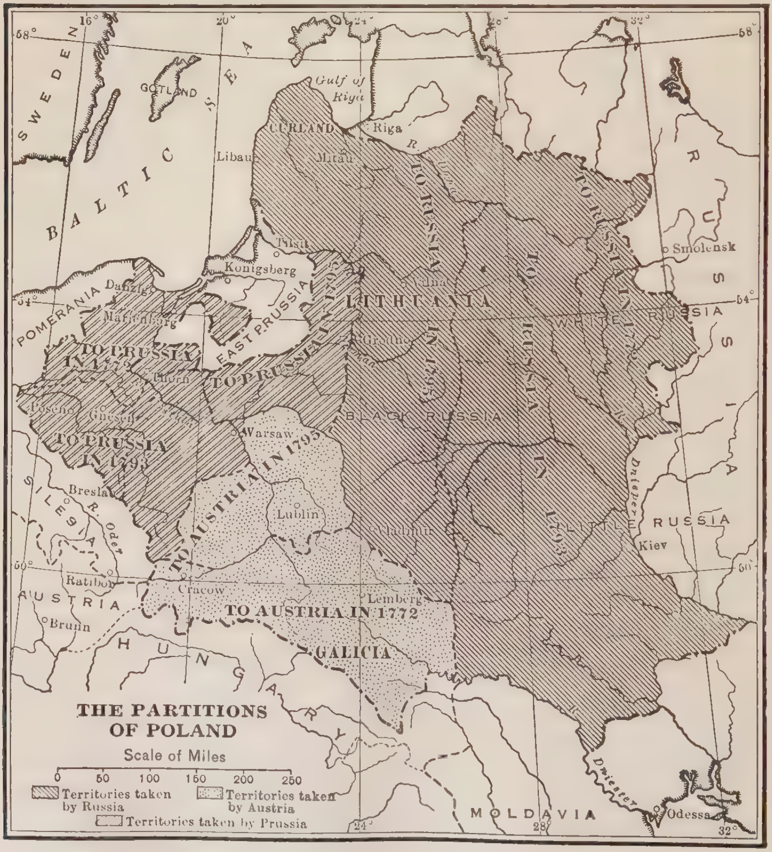
[1] The former name of the capital was St. Petersburg, which is German in origin; in 1914, on the outbreak of the World War, the name was changed, for patriotic reasons, to Petrograd, its Russian equivalent.

[2] See p. 23.



A Tsar's general tendency was frequently tested by his attitude toward the subject peoples of the Empire. Toward the Poles Alexander was very liberal. Poland had been partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century by Prussia, Austria, and Russia.[1] In 1815 Russian Poland was declared a kingdom and granted a constitution which gave her almost complete autonomy, remaining united with Russia only through the Tsar, who was also King of Poland. A Diet, chosen by the nobles and burghers, was established, with full power over legislation and taxes. In matters of religion and education Polish desires were paramount. Polish officials were appointed to administer the affairs of the Kingdom, and even a Polish army was organized. Curiously enough, conquered Poland became a limited monarchy, while the predominant partner, Russia, remained an autocracy, greatly to the anger of the Russians who disliked the Poles as hereditary enemies.

Liberal attitude of Tsar toward the Poles

Alexander's attitude toward Finland was likewise generous. As a result of a war with Sweden, this region was ceded to Russia in 1809. It was not, however, annexed as a conquered province, for the status of the Grand Duchy of Finland under Russia was almost that of an independent nation. Finland was given the right to have her own parliament, administration, code of laws, coinage, army, and even official language. The Tsar solemnly swore to uphold the constitution of the Grand Duchy which he himself was forbidden to change. The only connection between Russia and Finland was a personal union through the Tsar, who was the Grand Duke.

His liberal attitude toward Finland

It has been true of the history of many Tsars that they began as liberals and ended as reactionaries. Alexander's fears were aroused by a series of events which turned him from his liberal course. A regiment in Petrograd mutinied; his agent Kotzebue was assassinated in Germany; secret societies multiplied; the Poles manifested a desire for complete independence. These

Alexander becomes reactionary

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[1] There were three partitions of Poland, in 1772, 1793, and 1795. In the first partition Russia got the territory between the Düna and the Dnieper Rivers; Prussia, West Prussia except the city of Dantzig; Austria, Galicia and the city of Cracow. In the partitions of 1793 and 1795, Russia got Curland, nearly all of Lithuania and Ruthenia; Prussia, the lower valley of the Vistula River; Austria, the upper.

events inclined him to turn an attentive ear to the arch-enemy of democracy, Metternich, who convinced him that the path of liberalism would lead to revolution and anarchy. Reaction followed, and once more Russia felt the heavy hand of oppression. The censorship of the press became more severe; university teaching was hampered; restraints were placed on the Polish Diet; and the Government became harsh and oppressive. Alexander took a prominent part in the Congresses of Troppau and Laibach, called by Metternich to suppress the revolutionary movements in Spain and Italy.[1]

REIGN OF NICHOLAS I (1825–55)

The Decembrist conspiracy

Alexander I died in 1825, and as he left no son his successor was to be his brother Constantine. But the latter had married a Polish lady, and so had renounced the right to the throne in favor of a younger brother, Nicholas. A conspiracy was fomented among some of the troops by a group of Liberals to overthrow the autocracy by declaring in favor of Constantine as a constitutional monarch. Several regiments did revolt, shouting, "Long live Constantine and the Constitution!" So deeply ignorant were the soldiers of the forms of free government that they actually believed that "Constitution" was Constantine's wife. This uprising of December, 1825, ended in a fiasco. It was ruthlessly and speedily crushed by Nicholas, and the Decembrists, as they were called, were executed, imprisoned, or exiled to Siberia.

Character of Nicholas I

Nicholas I was a typical Russian Tsar. A man of magnificent physique, a soldier by temperament and training, loving nothing so much as the battle field and parade ground, strong and masterful, he naturally regarded government as military discipline in another form. Criticism of policies was insubordination; a desire for self-government was, like mutiny, not to be tolerated for a moment. He was, on the other hand, straightforward, frank, and honorable to a high degree, loyal to his friends, and quite blameless in his private life. Nicholas loved Russia sincerely and desired above all things to make her happy and glorious. It was his profound conviction that Russia had a special mission in the world; therefore it behooved her to shun the ideals of other nations and steadfastly to maintain her own which, according to him, were absolutism in government and Orthodoxy in religion.

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[1] See p. 21.

Suppression of Western ideas

During his reign there was established what was called the "Nicholas System," which had for its object the eradication of all liberalism from the country. He resolved also to seal Russia hermetically from the pestilential air of Western ideas. Foreign books and foreign visitors entering Russia were carefully examined at the frontiers to prevent the smuggling in of contraband ideas. Russians were forbidden to emigrate or to travel in foreign countries without special permission. So severe a censorship was established that the utterance of an unguarded word or the reading of a forbidden book brought swift and terrible punishment. Even musical compositions were censored, as it was feared that the notes might be used as a cipher code by revolutionists. Teaching, especially, was under strict surveillance, for the universities were regarded as hotbeds of revolution. Police spies were sent into classrooms to watch the teachers and students. Attendance at the universities was so restricted that, in 1853, there were only about three thousand students in a population of fifty million. Russians were forbidden to study in foreign universities. Even private reading clubs were suppressed. In order to carry on this policy of repression, an enormous number of censors and spies was employed. There was organized a remarkable body of secret political police, known as the "Third Section," to which was given extensive powers to arrest without warrant and to punish without trial. This body was a kind of political inquisition which, in time, became so powerful that even high officials were afraid to antagonize it.

Nicholas was a loyal adherent of the established Orthodox Church, which he regarded merely as another phase of the

Religious persecution

Russian State; in his eyes Church and State were one and indivisible. An attempt to convert an Orthodox believer to any other faith was made punishable by imprisonment, and if the attempt were repeated, by exile to Siberia; the convert himself was sentenced to prison for eight to ten years. Roman Catholics, Jews, and dissenters were harried by hostile laws and persecuting officials. In Lithuania members of the Uniate Church[1] were fined, imprisoned, or forced into Orthodoxy. Proselytizing among non-Orthodox, however, was greatly encouraged by rewards and special privileges.

As long as Nicholas lived, his ideal of a "frozen Russia" was, to a great extent, realized. But toward the end of his reign there began the inevitable breaking-up of his iron system of repression, and he himself is said to have declared that "my successor may do as he pleases, but I cannot change."

Rebellion and suppression of the Poles

The Poles were restive even under their liberal constitution, and in 1831 they made a formidable attempt to regain their lost independence by a rebellion against the Russian Government. The Polish Diet formally deposed the Romanov dynasty and declared for the annexation of Lithuania, which was once a part of the old Kingdom of Poland, although the mass of the inhabitants were not Poles but Lithuanians and Russians. This aroused the "Autocrat of all the Russias," who sent a large army into Poland which ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion, and "Peace reigned in Warsaw." As a punishment, Nicholas revoked the constitution of 1815 and an ukase, or imperial decree, issued in 1832, declared that "Poland shall be henceforth a part of the Empire and form one nation with Russia." The Diet was abolished, and a Russian Governor-General was appointed with almost absolute power. Polish officials were displaced in the administration by Russians, and Russian was declared the official language of the conquered land. Terrible punishment was meted out to the rebels: their property was confiscated, and many were imprisoned, exiled, or executed. To break up their solidarity forty-five thousand Polish families were forcibly transplanted and scattered all over Russia. Thousands of Poles, in order to escape the Tsar's tyranny, became refugees in Western Europe, where they excited the greatest sympathy. Crushed to earth, Poland yet dared to dream of a restored fatherland, for, deep in their hearts, the people still believed "Poland is not yet lost."

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[1] These are Catholics who, although they use the Greek liturgy and have a married priesthood, are in communion with the Church of Rome.

Foreign policies of Nicholas

Nicholas's foreign policy had two important objects, the suppression of the revolutionary movement abroad and the extinction of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The revolutions of 1848, which overthrew absolutism in nearly every country in Europe, left Russia unshaken. Nicholas, the sole monarch at peace with his subjects, planted himself in the midst of a revolutionary continent and became the efficient cause of the reaction which followed in 1850 by assuming the rôle of an international policeman.[1] He waged two wars against Turkey, one in 1828,[2] and another, the famous Crimean War, in 1854.[3] Greatly to the chagrin of Nicholas, who regarded the nations of Western Europe with dislike and even with contempt, England, France, and Sardinia came to the aid of Turkey in 1854, and succeeded in defeating the redoubtable Russian armies. Disappointed and broken-hearted by his defeat, the Tsar died in 1855 during the great siege of Sebastopol, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II. The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War was a severe blow to the "Nicholas System," which was doomed when Sebastopol fell. Indirectly it led to great reforms in the following reign, particularly to the abolition of serfdom.

ABOLITION OF SERFDOM

Character of Alexander II

The new Emperor was quite different temperamentally from his father, for he resembled the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. Alexander determined to rule in the spirit of the age and not in the spirit of his predecessor. Impressionable, yet gifted with prudence and common sense, he generally tried to steer a middle course between revolution and reaction. Although he was not himself a great constructive statesman, he frequently followed the enlightened counsels of the liberal statesmen, Loris-Melikov and Dmitri Miliútin, and the poet Zhukovsky, and his reign is therefore distinguished in Russian history as an era of reform and progress.

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[1] See p. 135.

[2] See p. 628.

[3] See p. 629.

Serfdom in Russia

It is as the emancipator of the serfs that Alexander won fame as an enlightened ruler. Serfdom had been widespread in Europe during the Middle Ages, but it had begun to disappear in England and France by the fourteenth century and was entirely abolished in Western Europe by the French Revolution and by Napoleon. In Russia alone this institution continued to flourish. Under serfdom, the tiller of the soil is legally bound to the land which he cultivates. He cannot leave the estate of the lord without the latter's permission, but neither can he be sold away from his home; for, like the trees and crops, he is rooted to the soil and changes masters only when the estate changes hands. In 1859 there were in Russia about 23,000,000 male serfs; of these, about 12,800,000 were in a state of semi-bondage on the Crown lands belonging to the State, and the remainder, about 10,200,000, were serfs on the estates of the landed proprietors. The wealth of a Russian aristocrat was not measured by the amount of land, stock, buildings, or personal property, but by the number of male "souls" that he owned. Female "souls" were not counted as wealth.

The Crown peasants were fairly well treated by the officials; their holdings were larger and their dues and services lighter than those of the peasants on the private estates. The system in vogue in the latter divided the land into two parts: one was under the immediate ownership and cultivation of the lord, while the other was cultivated by the serfs, *dvorovye*, who had the use but not the ownership of enough land to support their families. There were also the common lands, consisting of the meadows to which the peasants sent their cattle and the forests from which they cut wood. The methods of cultivation then practiced by the Russian peasants were very primitive. Farms consisted of strips in various fields; the three-field system, with one field lying fallow every three years, was still the custom; the villagers worked in common largely under the direction of the *mir*, or village community. Scientific agriculture and the use of farming machinery, already advanced in Western Europe, were as yet entirely unknown in Russia.

Dues and services of serfs

For the right to cultivate his strips of land the serf paid the proprietor dues and services. This was paid partly in money, called *obrók*, and partly in labor, generally limited to three days a week on the proprietor's private estate. If the master had no need of a serf's labor, he would put him on *obrók* in town; that is, hire him out as a wage-earner and get part of his wages as dues. "The proprietor," so declared the law, "may impose on his serfs every kind of labor, may take from them money dues, and demand from them personal service, with this one restriction, that they shall not be thereby ruined, and that the number of days fixed by law shall be left to them for their own work." In addition, the proprietor could transfer his peasants to domestic service, inflict upon them corporal punishment short of death, have them sent to Siberia if he deemed them incorrigible, or have them drafted into the army. In order to marry, the serf had to have the consent of his master, and he could be ordered to marry whomever and whenever the master wished. Although the law tried to protect the serf from the extreme of tyranny, its enforcement was difficult in a country so poorly organized as Russia and so completely under the influence of the landed aristocracy. The lord was generally the local justice of the peace, and the peasant, having few rights anyway, was legally at his mercy. The power to draft into the army was a terrible weapon in the hands of a tyrannical master who could, by this means, summarily remove a refractory peasant from his farm, home, and family. It was not unusual to sell a serf away from the estate in spite of law and custom which forbade such practices. Corporal punishment was a common form of chastisement in Russia for all sorts of offenses. The peasant was unmercifully beaten on all possible occasions, by the proprietor when he was behind in dues, by the government officials when he was behind in taxes, by the judge when he was disorderly. His only refuge was to get drunk. As in the case of the American slave-owners in the South before the Civil War, there were many kind-hearted and generous masters; but the absolute control of human beings, made possible by the institution of serfdom, inevitably led to outrageous abuses. The only barrier to the rapacity of a tyrannical master was the wonderful spirit of passive resistance developed by the Russian peasants, who would be beaten almost to death without revealing the hiding-place of the little money that they might have saved. The peasants often resorted to robbery, murder, house-burning, and even to rebellion to revenge themselves on the proprietors. Many ran away to become tramps on the highways or pilgrims wandering to the numerous holy places in Russia. About two millions of serfs were domestics in household service, and these were slaves in all but name; for over them even the law gave the master uncontrolled power.

Alexander's efforts toward emancipation

Unlike the negro in America, the serf in Russia was of the same race as his master; hence, ardent patriots as well as liberal humanitarians were in favor of his emancipation. It was felt by thoughtful Russians that the institution of serfdom was a blot on their country, and a powerful movement was started early in the nineteenth century to abolish it. Even Nicholas I himself fully recognized serfdom as a great evil; but fearing that complete emancipation might violate the principle of property rights, he favored a gradual transition from bondage to freedom. Alexander II, soon after his accession, determined on a policy of immediate emancipation, not only because he was liberal and humane, but also because he thought that it was "better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it will be abolished by a movement from below." A secret investigation of the matter was entrusted by the Tsar to a Chief Committee for Peasant Affairs. A circular was also sent by the Government to leading officials all over the Empire in which emancipation was openly broached. These efforts of Alexander were received with great enthusiasm among the Liberals, and found favor even among many landed proprietors. To those who opposed emancipation Alexander frankly stated that "serfdom was instituted by absolute power. Only absolute power can destroy it; and to do so is my will." Acting under the inspiration of the Tsar, a committee composed of officials and nobles drew up the Emancipation Law, which was then issued as an ukase on March 3, 1861. This Magna Charta of the Russian peasants freed the serfs on the private estates only; two years later, those in domestic service were freed; and in 1866 the work of emancipation was completed by the freeing of the Crown serfs.

The Emancipation Law

It is important to examine the main provisions of this famous law. These were: (1) that the serfs should at once receive full rights of citizenship and be subject to the authority of the Government and not to that of the proprietor; (2) that the cottages, farm buildings, and implements which they had been using should belong to them; and (3) that allotments of land should be given to the freedmen in order to guarantee them the means of a livelihood. To have given the serfs freedom without land would have brought into existence an agricultural proletariat working for wages and therefore economically dependent upon their former owners. "Liberation without land," declared the Tsar, "has always ended in an increase of the proprietor's power." Moreover, the peasants themselves would have strenuously objected to a landless freedom, because, through generations of cultivating the soil, they had come to believe that they were actually its owners. "We are yours, but the land is ours," they used to say to the proprietors.

How to apportion the land and on what terms were problems very difficult to solve justly. About one half of the arable land of Russia passed from the lords to the peasants; but in order to prevent the ruin of the former, who were considered the bulwark of the State, the Government compensated them in full. To pay this enormous sum special taxes were laid on the freedmen who were to pay by this means for their newly gotten farms in yearly installments for a period of forty-nine years.[1] The peasants were freed at their own cost, for they had to pay the price of emancipation by their own toil. To become in a sense the "serfs of the State" was not what they had bargained for; they had fondly imagined that emancipation would give them land free of all charges. They also complained that the allotments came from the poorest portions of the estate, that the prices paid to the lords were too high, and that the portions of land given to them were too small.[2] The Government had indeed dealt rather generously with the proprietors and rather niggardly with the peasants. There was great disappointment at the outcome, and rumors spread that a second emancipation was coming. In many places uprisings occurred which were, however, speedily suppressed.

Division of the lands

It must not be supposed that emancipation created a vast number of small peasant proprietors in Russia. Ownership of the allotments was vested in the *mir*, or village community, as a whole, which was responsible for the payments to the Government and which divided the land among the various families. It was the Russian custom to have a redistribution of the land by the *mir* whenever two thirds of its members so desired.[3] The *mir* is not an institution peculiar to Russia alone, as Russian patriots have so often and so enthusiastically declared, but a belated form of the village community which had once flourished all over Western Europe. Its membership is composed of the heads of families in the village, who elect

The *mir*

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[1] The domestic serfs were given no land; hence they did not have to pay the special tax. Many remained in their old positions on wages.

[2] On the average, a peasant's allotment was from eight to eleven acres. The Crown serfs got larger portions and on more liberal terms.

[3] By a law of 1893 this could be done only once in twelve years.

an elder called the *starosta*, an official who represents the village in relation to the central Government, particularly in the matter of taxes. The *mir* decides when to plow, when to sow, and when to reap, and no one can leave the village, even for a short time, without its consent on pain of having his holding confiscated.

Outcome of emancipation

The main results of the Edict of Emancipation were not seen for another generation. Many of the former serfs, especially the domestics, left the estates to become factory workers in the cities, and this greatly accelerated the industrial development of Russia. The peasant, becoming free, became more discontented, and he was therefore prepared to play a great part in the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. As Russia is largely a peasant nation, a change in the status of the mass of the population was bound to influence the entire country for the better and to become the starting-point of many other reforms.

POLITICAL REFORMS

New code of laws

The Tsar-Liberator was also willing to play the part of Tsar-Reformer. In 1864 Alexander made important changes in the judicial and administrative systems of the Empire. The administration of justice in Russia had been arbitrary, stupid, and corrupt. Emancipation had brought new lawsuits as well as new citizens, which necessitated the reorganization of the courts. A new code of laws was issued based largely on Western European models, especially on the judicial practices of England and France, which decreed equality of all classes before the law, introduced trial by jury in criminal cases with the exception of trials for political crimes, and guaranteed the independence of the magistrates by making them irremovable except for cause.

The Zemstvos

The growth of city life, due to the advance of commerce and industry, and the growth of communal life, due to emancipation, made necessary the introduction of some kind of local self-government. An ukase in 1864 called into existence local assemblies called the Zemstvos, made up of representatives of the various classes in the community. These bodies sent delegates to the provincial Zemstvos which had jurisdiction over larger areas. The Zemstvos had charge of the schools, roads, asylums, hospitals, and agricultural improvements of the locality; but their powers were rather limited in scope, as the real authority rested in the hands of the government officials.

Educational Reform

Alexander was also liberal in educational matters. The restrictions placed by his father Nicholas on teaching were removed. More students were admitted to the universities, which were given large powers of self-government. Secondary education was organized on the German model, with *Realschule*, or scientific schools, and *Gymnasia*, or classical schools. The censorship of the press was greatly relaxed, and Russia began to breathe freely.

THE POLISH REBELLION

The Polish Rebellion of 1863

Poland had been conquered in 1832, but her national spirit had by no means been suppressed. It was kept alive mainly by the nobles and the Catholic clergy, who were constantly agitating for a restored Polish nationality. Alexander was inclined to be liberal with the Poles, but he refused unconditionally to restore the constitution of 1815 demanded by the Polish patriots. Disaffection was rife and, as political organizations were forbidden, agricultural societies were formed which became centers of an anti-Russian agitation. In 1863 an untimely and badly organized rebellion broke out, armed bands of patriots under the direction of a secret committee in Warsaw conducting a guerrilla warfare against the Russian forces. This second uprising of the Poles was crushed by the Government without much difficulty.

It was now determined to Russify Poland completely, and the policy was mercilessly carried out. The use of the Polish language was forbidden except in private conversation; even religious services had to be conducted in the Russian lan-

Confiscation of lands of the Church and of the aristocracy

guage. To prevent a future recurrence of rebellion, the Tsar determined to destroy the influence of the clergy and nobility. Many monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated. A commission formed in Petrograd was given the power of regulating the affairs of the Catholic Church in Poland. The heaviest blow fell upon the Polish aristocracy, who were regarded as the instigators of rebellion. Their tenants were given outright the lands which they cultivated, with slight compensation to the proprietors; in addition, they were given the right to pasture cattle and to gather wood on the lord's estate.[1] Many of the nobles were ruined by these wholesale confiscations, and they failed to recover their once paramount influence. This radical legislation in favor of the Polish peasants had its desired result: they became cold to the idea of rebellion, although they were by no means reconciled to Russian domination.

Alexander becomes reactionary

Unfortunately, the Polish rebellion had the effect of frightening Alexander into a policy of reaction. Like his predecessor, Alexander I, he was becoming convinced that a policy of liberalism, instead of quieting rebellion, was encouraging it. The revolutionary movement in Russia was growing and becoming more and more violent. Several attempts were made to assassinate the Tsar, which convinced him all the more that repression was the only true policy. Moreover, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877[2] caused Alexander to revive the old dream of acquiring Constantinople and to forsake the new dream of an enlightened Russia. Reaction gained full swing. A strict censorship of the press was again established and the universities were once more put under surveillance. Suspects were seized and sentenced to prison, exile, or death with hardly a pretence of a regular trial. The "Nicholas System" was thus partially restored.

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[1] The Polish peasants had been serfs until 1807, when they were liberated through Napoleon's influence; but, not having been given land, they remained on the estates as laborers or tenants.

[2] See p. 633.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Absolutism harmonized with Russian social conditions

During the period of the Restoration in Western Europe there had existed a sharp divergence between restored absolutism and the new system of society that had come into being as a result of the French and the Industrial Revolutions. The political system based upon absolute monarchy was of the *ancien régime* but the social changes made by the French Revolution and the economic changes made by the Industrial Revolution were modern. Absolute monarchy was therefore an anachronism which could be maintained only by military force and was bound to go as soon as the new elements in society, the capitalists and the workingmen, made their power felt, which they did in the Revolution of 1848. But no such divergence existed in Russia during the early part of the nineteenth century. There absolute monarchy harmonized perfectly with an agricultural society based on serfdom, general ignorance, legal inequality, and religious persecution. In other words, Russia still had to go through her period of enlightenment as well as through her political and industrial revolutions before she could become a truly modern nation.

Nihilism

During the middle of the nineteenth century a movement appeared in Russia which goes by the general name of Nihilism. Many Russians had traveled and studied abroad, and so had imbibed the ideas of the radical thinkers of Western Europe. When they contemplated their own country, with its autocratic government and medieval society, they recoiled in indignation, horror, and disgust. Nothing that was modern, nothing that was good, seemed to be present in Russia; on the contrary, everything was old and bad. It is, therefore, not surprising that they came to believe in Nihilism (from the Latin, *nihil*, nothing). "A Nihilist," says one of the characters in Turgeniev's famous novel, *Fathers and Sons*, "is a man who does not bow before any authority whatsoever, does not accept a single principle on faith, with whatever respect that principle may be endowed." For the Nihilist, therefore, every institution in Russia had to be destroyed in order to establish a new and better society.

Alexander Herzen

The most brilliant figure of this early revolutionary movement was Alexander Herzen, the son of a noble who, in 1857, founded a paper called the *Kolokol* (*Tocsin*), which he edited in London, where he was living in exile. Herzen attacked the Russian *ancien régime* with bitter satire, sparkling wit, and glowing eloquence. His program contemplated, as he expressed it, the freeing of speech from the censor, the peasant from the landowner, and the taxpayer from the knout. Like most of the early Nihilists, he was opposed to violent methods, and hoped to gain the desired reforms through peaceful agitation among the influential classes. The *Kolokol* was widely read among educated Russians; even the Tsar saw it, as copies were frequently laid on his table by an unknown hand. A book which profoundly stirred the Russian youth was a kind of novel entitled *What is to be Done?* written by a Nihilist named Tchernesevsky, who preached the gospel of revolution in vague, mystic terms, and for which he served a sentence of fourteen years at hard labor in Siberia. In the early seventies groups of highly educated men and women were organized under the inspiration of Nicholas Tchaikovsky to study history, economics, and sociology for the purpose of finding a peaceful solution of Russia's problems.

Revolutionary propaganda among the peasants

Nihilism was essentially a literary and philosophic movement among the *intelligentsia*, as the Russian intellectuals are called, and among the "penitent noblemen," or those wealthy aristocrats who were conscience-stricken at the evil state of affairs from which they profited. It did not, however, satisfy many ardent spirits who longed to be doing things instead of talking about them. It was generally understood that Russia would not progress very far unless the bulk of her people, the peasants, realized their own and their country's condition. Emancipation had freed them civilly, but they were still steeped in moral serfdom, as centuries of bondage had left their evil impress on their minds and characters. During the decade following 1870, there began the *V Narod*, or "Go-to-the-People" movement,[1] which aimed to leaven the mass by a revolutionary propaganda among the peasants. Nothing could exceed the self-sacrifice and daring of these enthusiasts, mainly young men and women of the upper classes, who longed to "melt into one" with the people and who became village doctors, school teachers, and even laborers, in order to spread the gospel of freedom.

The Government was panic-stricken at the new activities of Young Russia and began making wholesale arrests, sparing nobody and stopping at nothing in order to destroy the movement. Hundreds of men and women of the finest type languished in prison or spent a lonely exile in the wilds of Siberia. Many fled to Switzerland, which became a haven for the Russian refugee. The conduct of the peasants toward their would-be liberators was anything but friendly. These simple people were shocked and angered by the denunciation of the Tsar, whom they loved and revered as the "Little Father," and would often themselves hand the propagandists over to the police.

Terrorism

Disappointed with the attitude of the peasants and exasperated by police persecution, Young Russia resolved upon a short cut to its hopes by a "propaganda of deed," and the revolutionary movement entered on a new phase, terrorism. In 1879 was organized the *Narodnaya Volya*, or the "People's Will" movement, which issued a stirring manifesto demanding complete democracy in government, full freedom of speech and of association, the maintenance of the *mir* as an independent communal institution, and the giving of the land to the peasants and of the factories to the workingmen. It openly declared war to the death against the Government, and it resolved to employ all methods, peaceful and violent, for it believed that to destroy tsarism all means were permissible. Terrorism was based on the idea that the Government could be frightened into making concessions by terrorizing the officials. A war of assassination was initiated by a daring group of cool, determined, and utterly fearless men and women who resolved neither to take nor to give quarter. High officials, both civil and military, especially those of the Third Section, were assassinated, and every one connected with the Government stood in danger of bomb, bullet, and dagger. Like all violence, Russian terrorism was the counsel of desperation and, as we shall see, it led not to reform but to reaction. It was, however, the expression of the natural exasperation of intelligent men and women with an unintelligent Government.

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[1] It is vividly described by Stepniak in the following way: "With the spring of 1874 all discussion abruptly ceased among the circles of the revolutionary youth. The time for talking was over: actual 'work' was in contemplation. The working-people's gear — boots, shirts, etc. — were hurriedly being prepared. Short greetings and laconic answers were heard: 'Whither?' 'To the Urals,' 'To the Volga,' 'To the South,' 'To the river of Don,' and so on. . . . There were warm wishes for success, and robust squeezings of hands. . . . 'The spring is ending; it is high time.' . . . And so like an electric spark, the cry, 'To the people,' ran through the youth. Sure of themselves, daring and wide-awake, though unarmed and unorganized, they dashed in full sight of the enemy into the storm." (Quoted in *Russia and its Crisis*, by Paul Miliukov, p. 406.)

Activities of the terrorists

The most fanatical of the terrorists was Michael Bakunin, the "apostle of destruction," who desired nothing less than the complete overturn of all government in order to establish a new society based upon anarchist ideals.[1] He spent many years in prison and in exile. He was once condemned to death, but he managed to escape to foreign countries, where he was active in organizing popular revolts. Another terrorist, who went by the name of Sergius Stepniak, assassinated the chief of the Third Section and escaped to Italy, where he wrote his interesting volume, *Underground Russia*, which gives a vivid description of the activities of the revolutionists. Another, Vera Zasúlitch, who became a terrorist while a high-school girl, attempted to assassinate General Trépov, the chief of the Petrograd police. Her arrest aroused widespread interest, and she was acquitted chiefly because it was discovered that Trépov was unscrupulous and corrupt. Secret societies that hatched conspiracies, circulated books and pamphlets, and organized demonstrations flourished in the face of police vigilance. The Government finally took vigorous action against "Underground Russia." A state of siege was practically declared for the entire country. Liberty of speech was rigidly suppressed, and any one suspected of being in the slightest way sympathetic with revolution was imprisoned, exiled, or executed without trial. Alexander II became the shining mark for the conspirators, because in their opinion he had betrayed the cause of political freedom by not going far enough in his reform measures. Three unsuccessful attempts were made upon his life. In one of these, a terrorist disguised as a carpenter blew up a part of the Winter Palace, killing ten persons; the Tsar escaped only because he came late to dinner. Compelled to action by these events, he was seriously considering a plan to convoke a Russian parliament. He had already commissioned his Minister, Loris-Melikov, to draw up a constitution, when he was assassinated, on March 13, 1881, by two terrorists who threw bombs at his carriage as he was driving through the streets of the capital.

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[1] See p. 597.

THE RUSSIAN NOVEL

Late appearance of Russian literature

It was not until the nineteenth century that great writers began to appear in Russia, which, until then, had made little or no contribution to the world's literature. Like unknown planets suddenly flashing forth their brilliance in the heavens, a group of Russian novelists appeared who astounded the world by their striking originality, moral depth, and literary art. "Russian literature," declares a well-known critic, "is the voice of a giant, waking from a long sleep, and becoming articulate. It is as though the world had watched this giant's deep slumber for a long time, wondering what he would say when he awakened. And what he has said has been well worth the thousand years of waiting."[1]

It is in the domain of prose fiction that these authors excel, and the novels of Turgeniev, Dostoievsky, and Tolstoy almost immediately took first rank as works of literature. Fiction has been the best medium for analyzing human motives and describing social conditions; and the Russian writers displayed such freedom and largeness in portraying man as an individual and as a social being that they have been given an undisputed place as the masters of Realism. No motive is so hidden that they cannot reveal it to the pitying gaze of humanity; no society is so complex that they cannot unravel its strands of good and evil. They rise to the loftiest heights of moral grandeur and sublime idealism, and they shrink at nothing in stripping bare the human soul in its deepest degradation.

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[1] W. Lyon Phelps, *Essays on Russian Novelists*, p. 2.

Russian fiction

Ivan Turgeniev (1818–83) lived most of his life in France and Germany and was greatly influenced by the culture of Western Europe, above all by that of France. His work is characterized by a most exquisite art, and few writers in any language have equaled Turgeniev's power of evoking a whole society by a delicate touch or suggestion, so that the moral is brought home with striking effect. This is notably true in *The Diary of a Sportsman*, which consists of sketches of peasant life before the Emancipation. Instead of denouncing the evils of serfdom, the author merely portrays the serfs in their ordinary routine life; but so real and true were these portraits that the book was a powerful influence in the freeing of the serfs. In *Rudin* the Russian national type finds its classical expression. Keen in thought, eloquent in word, the hero, Rudin, yet remains incapable of sustained effort, for he can be roused to action only by sudden passion. An atmosphere of "tender gloom" pervades Turgeniev's masterpiece, *Fathers and Sons*, in which is described the struggle between the older and the younger generations. The hero, Bazarov, is a brilliant Nihilist at war with the ideals of the older generation, but who has no plans or even constructive ideas for a new society.

Turgeniev

Feodor Dostoievsky (1821–81), the painter of saints, outcasts, criminals, and madmen, was pursued by poverty and ill-health all his life. At the age of twenty-eight he was condemned to death on the charge of rebellion, but just as he was about to be executed the sentence was reprieved to four years' exile in Siberia.

Dostoievsky

Dostoievsky is the creator and supreme master of the psychologic novel which aims to diagnose the mind as a physician does the body. His most famous book, *Crime and Punishment*, tells the story of a poor student, Raskólnikov, who deliberately murders an old woman because he feels that he is able to put her money to better use than she can. The planning and execution of the crime and the attempts of the murderer to escape detection are described with a minuteness and a piercing analysis of motives that border on the morbid. Raskólnikov feels no remorse, but only regret for his crime, which he considers a misfortune deserving of sympathy, not condemnation. In this book the author shows extraordinary mastery over the emotions of terror and pity. His most frequent theme is the sublimity of human suffering, which to his "mystic Slavic soul" means the redemption of mankind.

Tolstoy

Count Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) was the literary colossus of Russia during the latter half of the nineteenth century. His extraordinary art, his views on life and religion, and his character as a man made a profound impression on the whole world, and he has been the most widely read of all the Russian authors. A novel by this author-preacher consists of a series of incidents rather than of a continuous narrative, with a great theme instead of a plot as the connecting link. Tolstoy is at his best in describing critical moments in the life of a nation or of an individual. His historical novel, *War and Peace*, is a colossal prose epic, a modern Iliad, which treats of Russian conditions in the time of the Napoleonic invasion. Like that of a Greek tragedy, the leading theme of this book is that, when elemental forces are let loose, individuals are only the playthings of fate. Circumstances, not leaders, determine the outcome of great combats; therefore a true leader is one who, like the Russian general, Kutusov, does not attempt to hinder the inexorable laws of destiny, but allows them free play. Tolstoy's masterpiece is undoubtedly *Anna Karénina*, the theme of which is that happiness comes only to those who are engaged in doing good to others. The novel tells the story of two couples: in one case, the lovers, passionately devoted to each other and seeking their own happiness only, find their fate in misery and death; in the other, the lovers, devoting themselves to the welfare of the community in which they live, find that happiness which they sought to bring to others. With amazing art the author reveals the souls of men and women as they drift onward to their destiny, himself moved by compassion almost as great as that found in the Gospels.

A profound change gradually came into the life of Tolstoy. The novelist turned preacher and reformer. He came to the conclusion that modern civilization is a failure, that religion has been corrupted by the Church, law by government, teaching by schools, and love by marriage. Simplification of life became his first aim, but his solution of the problem was not a return to nature as preached by Rousseau, but a return to the Christianity that Christ preached. He then became a "seeker after God," and sought salvation in poverty, humility, and peace. Tolstoy was a thorough believer in the doctrine of non-resistance and in the theory that bloodshed, whether of man or of animal, is wicked under any and all circumstances. He strongly opposed war, capital punishment, and the slaughter of animals for food. The common peasant alone, according to this Russian seer, had achieved true happiness and understanding; therefore he determined to live the life of a common peasant. He deeded all of his property to his wife but continued to live in his old home. He dressed in the rough blouse of a peasant, worked daily in the fields or in the shop, and ate the simple fare of the common man. His home, Iasnaya Polyana, became a place of pilgrimage for people from all over the world.

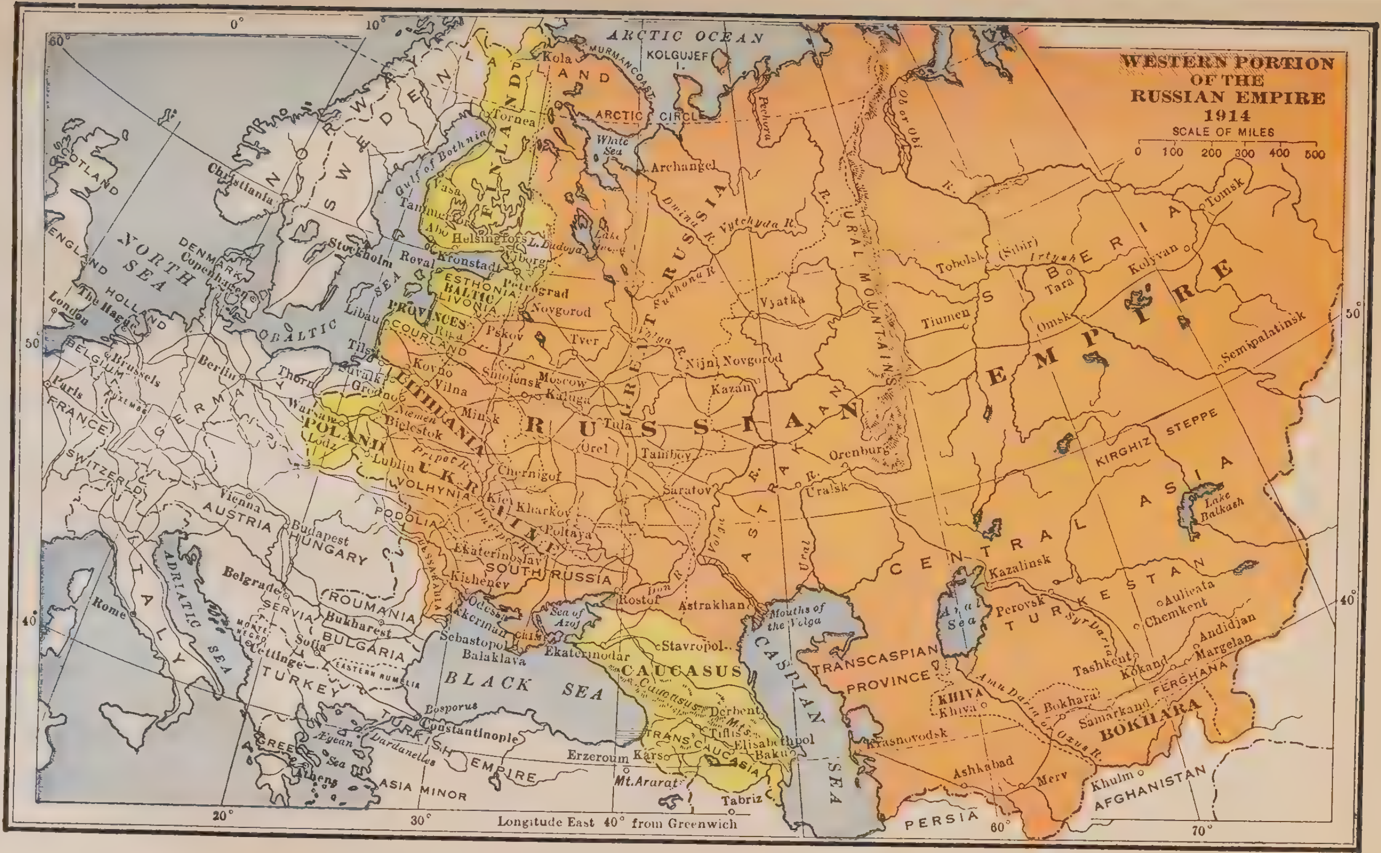
CHAPTER XXII

RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Reign of Alexander III (1881–94)

Manifesto of revolutionists to the new Tsar

The assassination of the Tsar-Liberator shocked the liberals no less than it did the conservatives. In spite of the reaction during the latter part of his reign, Alexander II had done almost as much as his great ancestor, Peter the Great, to make Russia a true member of the European family of civilized nations. If this was to be the fate of a liberal Tsar, what then was in store for a reactionary one? To the new Emperor, Alexander III, the revolutionists issued a warning manifesto, which declared that imprisonment, exile, and death would not stop them from prosecuting their aim of establishing democratic government in Russia; that autocracy was an evil, whether the autocrat was good or bad; that there were only two ways of establishing democracy: one, through a bloody revolution which would result in needless waste of blood and energy that could be better used for the welfare of Russia; the other, through the voluntary action of the Tsar in granting a general amnesty for all political crimes, and, especially, by summoning a representative assembly. The revolutionists promised to submit unconditionally to the will of a constitutional government. In a manifesto, issued March 23, 1881, the new Tsar indicated plainly enough what his future policies were to be. "The Voice of God," he declared, "orders us to stand firm at the helm of government . . . with faith in the strength and truth of the autocratic power, which we are called upon to strengthen and preserve for the good of the people." Shortly afterwards, he called upon his faithful subjects "to strive for the extirpation of the heinous agitation which has disgraced the land." "Gentlemen, rise! A *government* is now coming in!" exclaimed the reactionary Katkov.


WESTERN PORTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1914

Alexander III resembled in many ways his grandfather, Nicholas I. Like him, he was a soldier both by training and by temperament; and like him, also, he was a man of unimpeachable personal integrity, a devoted husband and father, and a loyal friend. Although Alexander possessed the will power, he did not have the ability of his despotic grandfather. He was moderately educated, rather dull, narrow-minded, and stubborn, but intensely Russian in his sympathies and prejudices. Mentally, the new Tsar was a peasant raised to the royal estate.

Alexander III

The power behind the throne and the most influential man in the Russian Government during his reign was the former tutor of the Tsar, Pobiedonostsev, who was appointed Procurator of the Holy Synod, or civil head of the official Orthodox Church. This powerful official hated democracy in any and all forms, thoroughly and consistently. According to Pobiedonostsev, who was a very highly educated and intelligent man, the institutions of Western Europe and of America ought to serve as a warning, and not as a model, for Russia. Democracy, he declared, was a sham employed by the rich and the cunning with which to ensnare the simple-minded: a free press meant the free dissemination of lies and calumnies; religious toleration meant division in the Church and rebellion in the State. Of all the nations of the world Russia alone had remained unspoiled; under the protecting care of her benevolent autocracy and of the Orthodox Church reigned peace, love, and true religion.

Pobiedonostsev

In this connection it is important to understand the ideas of a small but powerful group of Russian thinkers who called themselves Slavophiles.[1] As we have already seen, Russia, because of adverse circumstances, had lagged behind the other nations of Europe in the march of civilization. What was a misfortune became a philosophy. To some Russians the peculiar

Russian interpretations of Russia

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[1] Among the adherents of Slavophilism were Karamzin, the noted historian; Katkov, the popular editor of the *Moscow Gazette;* Miliutin, the adviser of Alexander II; and Pobiedonostsev.

history of their country meant that she was destined to develop a civilization wholly different from Western Europe; therefore, she, too, had a "mission" in the world. Early in the nineteenth century discussion raged over the question, "What is Russia?" The Nihilists declared that she was "virgin soil," a land fortunate in having no history; hence a *tabula rasa* upon which the future was free to write. "Not at all," replied the Slavophiles; "we are an old nation with a distinct type of government, benevolent autocracy, with a distinct type of religion, the Orthodox Church, and with a distinct type of communal life, the *mir*. Western Europe is decadent, rotting from rationalism in religion, revolution in politics, and class hatred in society; hence Russia can borrow nothing from other nations except their vices." "You are both wrong," replied the *Západniki*, or the champions of Western culture; "Russia is merely backward in her development; those institutions which she thinks original and peculiar to her are like those which existed in the rest of Europe in times past, and the more she progresses the more like Western Europe she will become." Because of national vanity and the support of the Government, Slavophilism had the best of the situation, even if it did not have the best of the argument. This movement later on assumed a more militant form known as Pan-Slavism, or the union of all the Slavic peoples under the hegemony of Russia. By their opponents the Slavophiles were ridiculed as a small group of "Old Believers" in politics, who tried to cover up an evil system of government and society by romantic appeals to an imaginary past. The one great service of the Slavophiles was their help in the emancipation of the peasants, whom they regarded as the only true Russian people.

Reactionary measures of the Tsar

Alexander III surrounded himself with a group of reactionary Ministers, chief among whom were Count Ignatiev and Count Dmitri Tolstoy. Loris-Melikov was dismissed and his constitution was rejected. War to the death was now declared by the Government against terrorism, and the "Nicholas System" was fully restored. All of Russia was practically placed under martial law. The assassins of Alexander II were executed, and revolutionists were sentenced to imprisonment, exile, or death by "administrative process," a form of court-martial which superseded the regular court trials. Thousands found in Siberian wilds their eternal abiding-place; thousands more fled to Switzerland, France, and America. Education in particular felt the heavy hand of reaction. The universities were deprived of the self-government granted to them by Alexander II. To the Minister of Education, the reactionary Count Tolstoy, was given almost complete power of appointing, promoting, and dismissing professors and of regulating the conduct of the students inside and outside of the classrooms. A severe press law was enacted which practically prohibited the existence of any but conservative journals. After three warnings a refractory newspaper was suppressed. Even the moderate Zemstvos were suspected, and some of the powers hitherto enjoyed by these assemblies were given to "land captains" appointed in each district. By these methods the revolutionary and liberal elements were either driven "underground" into secret agitation, or harried out of the country. During the entire reign of Alexander III terroristic activities were in abeyance, agitation ceased, and Russia was once more "frozen."

Persecutions of the non-Russians in the Empire

Next to the revolutionaries the non-Russians in the Empire provoked Alexander's strong resentment. "One Russia, one Creed, one Tsar," was to him a living motto, and there began a ruthless Russification of the subject races by means of force and coercion. The first to suffer were the Jews, who aroused Alexander's fury because of their resistance to assimilation and conversion. In 1890 an attack was made on the autonomy of Finland by attempts to make the postal, monetary, and fiscal systems of the Grand Duchy comply with those in Russia. All Finnish officials were henceforth obliged to have a knowledge of the Russian language. In the Baltic Provinces where German culture was dominant, Russian was likewise made the official language, and the University of Dorpat was converted from a German to a Russian institution. In Poland, the use of the native language was prohibited in all the educational institutions.

Favorable legislation for the peasants

Alexander prided himself on being a "Peasants' Tsar," and he did, to some extent, interest himself in the welfare of the peasants. The Emancipation Law was faithfully carried out, and during some years the redemption tax was remitted. In 1883 the Government founded the Peasants' Bank, the object of which was to advance money at low rates of interest to peasants in order to enable them to tide over bad years. A Nobles' Bank was also founded with the similar object of helping the landed proprietors out of financial difficulties. In 1894 the Government established a state monopoly in the manufacture and sale of liquor, primarily for the purpose of having a new source of revenue, but also with the object of limiting the sale of a particularly intoxicating liquor called *vodka*, to which the peasants were greatly addicted.

RACES IN RUSSIA

Russia, called the "adopted child" of Europe, has been and still is the enigma of Western civilization. Her archaic social system, her devout attitude toward religion, the amazing simplicity of her masses, and the still more amazing idealism and originality of her intellectual classes have made Russia a land of mystery and of wonder to Western Europeans and Americans. As a recent traveler well says: "Russia possesses the variety of the ages. Men and women, with the thoughts of the fourth century, the fifteenth or the eighteenth in their hearts, jostle others who are eager to cure the ills of mankind with the latest political and social nostrums of the twentieth. People of all periods rub shoulders, like the dancers in a masquerade. If one wants to know what an Anglo-Saxon villein was, it is more to the point to talk to a Russian peasant than to rummage in the libraries. The pilgrims, dressed like Tannhäuser in the third act, with staves in their hands and wallets at their sides, who wander through Russia on their way to pray at the Holy Sepulcher, belong to the age of the Crusades. The ascetic who spends his life in prayer and fasting and wears chains about his body seems to have found his way into modern Russia from the Egyptian Thebaïd of the fourth century." So writes one, Rothay Reynolds.

The Slavic inhabitants

Russia, unlike England and France, is not a homogeneous nation; it is an empire inhabited by a conglomeration of many national groups, varying from Mongolian tribes on the Pacific Coast to Germans living on the shores of the Baltic, all bound together by a highly centralized Government under an autocratic Tsar. The bulk of the inhabitants are the Russian Slavs, who number about 84,000,000 out of a total population of about 129,000,000.[1] These Russian Slavs are divided into three branches, the Great Russians, the Little Russians, or Ukrainians, and the White Russians. The first, numbering about 55,500,000, is the largest group and inhabits the great central plain known as "Great Russia." This region, of which Moscow was once the capital and is now the principal city, is the ancient home of the Russian people. The Ukrainians, numbering over 22,000,000, live in that part of the south known as "Little Russia," of which the principal city is Kiev. Although they are of the same racial stock as the Great Russians, the Ukrainians speak a slightly different language, or dialect. The White Russians are a group of about 6,000,000 who live in some of the western provinces, intermingled largely with Lithuanians, Poles, and Jews.

Non-Slavic races in the Empire

The inhabitants of Siberia, numbering about 10,000,000, are mainly the native Mongolian tribes and Russian colonists. In Central Asia, or Russian Turkestan, the people, chiefly nomads, are closely related to the Afghans. In European Russia there are about 14,000,000 Tartars, Mohammedans in religion, who inhabit Crimea and the southeastern provinces. In the Governments of Bessarabia and Kherson, near the Rumanian frontier, there are over a million Moldavians, who are closely allied in language, religion, and customs with the people of Rumania. In the Caucasus there are about 2,000,000 Georgians and Armenians, with distinctive customs and traditions of their own. The Lithuanians number about 1,500,000, and are to be found principally in the province of Lithuania, which also contains large numbers of Jews and Poles.

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[1] The figures here given are from the census taken in 1897: to-day (1918) the total population of the Empire is reckoned at about 175,000,000.

Races in the Baltic Provinces

The population of the Baltic Provinces Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland are Letts and Esths, who are the original inhabitants of the country, and Germans, who are descendants of the German colonists that came to conquer and to Christianize this region during the Middle Ages. The latter belong to the upper and middle classes and dominate the Letts and Esths upon whom they imposed the Lutheran faith. Between the native peasants and their German landlords there has been constant friction, which has at times resulted in riots and which led to a civil war on a small scale during the Revolution of 1905. These Baltic Germans form a small but highly important element in Russian life. From their ranks came many of the high officials in the Empire, both civil and military, who gave loyal service to the Tsar rather than to Russia, and for which they were amply rewarded.

The Finns

Finland, as we have seen, was acquired from Sweden in 1809. The bulk of the inhabitants, who number about 3,000,000, are Finns, a race supposedly non-European in origin. As is the case in the Baltic Provinces, an alien race, the Swedes, dominate the native Finns, upon whom they imposed the Lutheran faith. Between the Finns and the Swedes an unfriendly feeling has existed, of which the Russian Government frequently took advantage in order to control the province.

The Poles

The population of Russian Poland is about 10,000,000, of whom the Polish Slavs, who are Roman Catholic in religion, constitute three quarters; the rest are Jews and Russians. The great change in the system of landholding in Poland which came as a result of the rebellion of 1863 has already been described.[1] It resulted in creating over four millions of peasant proprietors, whose average holding is about twenty acres, a quantity far larger than that of the Russian peasant.

Industrial development of Poland

During the latter part of the nineteenth century there began an industrial development in Poland which has transformed the country from a purely agricultural to a semi-manufacturing region. This was due partly to the geographical position of Poland which makes her a convenient trade route between Western Europe and Russia, partly to her coal and iron deposits, and partly to the commercial activities of the large Jewish population settled within her borders. During the first decade of the twentieth century Poland produced one seventh of the entire industrial output of the Russian Empire, Russia proper constituting a large market for Polish manufactures. The cities of Lodz and Sosnovice are great cotton centers, almost rivaling in importance some of the textile cities of Lancashire, in England. The engineering works and beet-sugar refineries of Warsaw, as well as its textile mills, have made that historic city an industrial beehive.

Friendliness of Poles toward Russia

These great changes called into existence a powerful middle class which favored local autonomy under Russia rather than national independence. They feared that a separation from the Empire might lead to hostile tariff legislation by Russia, which would ruin Polish industries. In 1896, when Tsar Nicholas II visited Warsaw, he was accorded a warm welcome, quite an unusual thing for a Russian Tsar to receive in Poland. In 1907 the Polish members in the Duma openly declared themselves in favor of Poland as "an inseparable part of the Russian Empire."

ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION

Fully five million Jews, nearly a half of the entire Jewish race, live under the Russian flag. Russia acquired this large

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[1] See p. 515.

Jewish population largely as a result of the partition of the old Kingdom of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century; the parts which fell to her share had been a Jewish settlement for centuries.

Repressive measures against the Jews

Almost from the very start, repressive measures began, and the Jews were soon aware that the semi-tolerance of the Polish kings was giving place to the intolerance of the Russian Tsars. It was the policy of the latter to restrict the Jews to certain western provinces, which became known as the "Pale of Jewish Settlement." During the reign of Nicholas I harsh laws were continually enacted against the Jews. Most of these laws were repealed or not enforced under the mild rule of Alexander II, and the Jews enjoyed some of their former freedom. Many became assimilated completely in the general life of the Russian people and almost forgot that they were Jews.

Harsh attitude of Alexander III toward the Jews

When Alexander III ascended the throne a definite anti-Jewish policy was inaugurated which was followed consistently for over a generation. The declared object of this policy, ascribed to Pobiedonostsev, was to solve the Jewish problem by forcing one third to emigrate, by converting one third to the Orthodox Church, and by harrying the remaining third to destruction. This attitude was inspired by the Slavophile idea that the Jew was and would ever be an alien in religion, race, and traditions. Although they constituted only four per cent of the population of the Empire, it was feared by the Government that, under a system of equal rights, the Jews would soon rise to power and influence because of their intellectual attainments and their extraordinary capacity for business. As the Jews were inclined to be liberal in politics, their influence threatened to undermine absolute government; hence they were regarded with unconcealed enmity by the autocracy.

In 1881 a series of sporadic anti-Jewish riots took place which caused Alexander III to appoint a commission to study the Jewish question. The recommendations of this commission were embodied in the celebrated "May Laws" of 1882 which were enacted through the influence of the Minister of the Interior, Count Ignatiev. This anti-Jewish code contained many restrictions on Jews in regard to residence, occupation, and education.

The "May Laws"

The "Pale," consisting of fifteen Governments in western and southwestern Russia and the ten Governments of Poland, was declared to be the only place of legal residence in the Empire for Jews. An immense ghetto was thus constituted in which dwelt ninety-five per cent of the Jews of Russia. Deprived of the elementary human right of living where they pleased, thousands were torn from their homes in all parts of the country and confined to the "Pale."[1] Residence within the "Pale" itself was not altogether unrestricted. Jews were forbidden to move from cities to villages; they were thus compelled to live in cities, where they congregated in large numbers. Those who had already been settled in villages were permitted to remain there under many petty and annoying restrictions.

The "Pale"

The special privilege of living outside of the "Pale" was granted only to Jews who were graduates of higher institutions of learning, to professional men, wealthy merchants, artisans, and "Nicholas soldiers."[2] Except in the case of the last class, this privilege did not extend to their children, who were obliged to leave their homes as soon as they came of age, unless they could qualify under the law on their own part. Foreign Jews were forbidden to travel in Russia regardless of passports obtained from the Government of which they were citizens.[3]

Jews outside the "Pale"

Jews were denied the opportunity for higher education even though they might have the means to obtain it. Entrance of Jews to the *Gymnasia* and universities was limited to a definite proportion of the student body. Within the "Pale" it was ten per cent; outside of the "Pale" it was five per cent, except in Petrograd and Mos-

Educational restrictions

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[1] In 1891 over ten thousand Jews were expelled from Moscow.

[2] Jews who had enlisted in the army in the reign of Nicholas I.

[3] The failure to recognize the American passport caused the United States to abrogate its treaty with Russia in 1911.

cow, where it was three per cent. Those who had the means went to Germany or to France for their higher education; the others entered into fierce competition with one another for the few coveted places available in Russian institutions of learning. Although the laws were more liberal as regards the elementary schools, few Jews attended them; the large majority were taught in semi-religious schools maintained by the Jews themselves, where they received religious training and a knowledge of the Hebrew and Yiddish languages.

Civil disabilities

All public employments of whatever nature were closed to the Jews.[1] Even in those cities where they constituted a majority, they did not have the right to vote for members of the town council; the Governor of the district usually appointed a limited number of Jews to these bodies to represent the Jewish community. No Jew could become a lawyer unless he got special permission from the Minister of Justice; very few received this permission. In these ways the Jews were deprived of the elementary right of citizenship, although they were later permitted, with certain restrictions to vote for members of the Duma.

Economic disabilities

No Jew was permitted to buy or lease land in the rural districts anywhere in Russia. The purpose of this was to destroy the economic rôle of the Jew as the middleman and money lender in the rural districts. Hindrances to their industrial progress were also created by laws limiting the number of Jewish stockholders in industrial corporations.

Duties of Jews

In the matter of rights, the Jews were regarded as aliens by the Russian law; but when it came to duties, they were full citizens. They were required to serve in the army although they were not permitted to become officers. In addition to the ordinary taxes, they were required to pay special taxes on meat prepared according to the Jewish rite and on candles used for the Sabbath service.

Not only did the laws weigh heavily on the Jews, but they were capriciously enforced, because every official interpreted them as he saw fit. In fact, it was often well-nigh impossible to enforce the innumerable exceptional laws; hence they were frequently evaded, and so became a prolific source of corruption. Bribery of officials was the only possible relief from this intolerable situation. Outside of the "Pale" there were many "unlicensed" Jews and others with doubtful claims to residence, who lived in constant fear of being driven off. The status of the Jew being that of a semi-outlaw, he led a precarious existence under the watchful eye of the police. When the anti-Jewish feeling was particularly acute, raids would be organized against "unlicensed Jews"; homes were invaded by the police at night, and men and women torn from their slumber and driven out of town. Some were later allowed to return on payment of a bribe. Sometimes a town within the "Pale" would be declared a "village," and a wholesale expulsion of Jews would follow.

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[1] Exception was made in the case of army doctors, many of whom were Jews.

How the anti-Jewish laws were enforced

To this fearful persecution the Jews opposed a policy of passive resistance. "Infirm of body, but firm of mind," they resolved to weather this storm as they had so many others by clinging all the more firmly to their religion and traditions, and by relying upon their solidarity to break the force of the laws meant for their destruction. Thousands fled to foreign lands, particularly to America, cherishing undying hatred for the Russian Government.[1]

Passive resistance of the Jews

Crowded in the cities of the "Pale," these five million Jews lived in a condition of wretched poverty. Most of them gained a meager livelihood as small shopkeepers, pedlers, tailors, and cobblers. So small were many of the shops and so keen the competition that there developed among the Russian Jews a proletarian middle class who eked out an existence from their "stores," which often consisted of a few articles placed on a counter.

Poverty of the Jews

Influenced by the Russian persecutions and by the national awakening among other European peoples, the Jews have experienced a revival which, through the Zionist Movement, has as its principal aim the restoration of Palestine as their national homeland. The first international Zionist Congress, in 1897, owed its inspiration to Theodor Herzl, a Viennese writer, whose book, *The Jewish State*, focused the attention of the Jews of the world to a new solution of the Jewish problem. Through the use of Hebrew as a living tongue and the creation of Hebrew schools in Palestine, a modern Hebraic culture has been fostered. The establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies has helped to modernize that ancient land and to lay the foundation of a new Jewish life in its ancient home.

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[1] Between 1880 and 1900 over a million and a half Jews left Russia, most of them going to the United States.

Zionism

The Orthodox Church

No people in Europe are so devoutly religious as the Russians. Almost every home contains an *ikon*, or saint's image, before which prayers are said daily. All over the country there are innumerable shrines which are visited by thousands of pilgrims. Holy days are faithfully observed and church services are rarely, if ever, neglected. The simplicity and the unquestioning faith of the peasants in particular often find expression in acts of supreme kindness and devotion as well as in superstitious practices and beliefs. In 1911 the world was startled by a public trial in Russia of a Jew named Mendel Beiliss on the charge of murdering a Christian boy, in order to use his blood for the purposes of a rite supposedly required by the Jewish faith. Although Beiliss was acquitted, the case was an indication that the "ritual murder" myth, long exploded in Western Europe, was still believed by many Russians in the twentieth century.

The Russians an intensely religious people

The official Orthodox Church is an offshoot of the Byzantine Church of ancient times, from which it derived most of its doctrines and ritual. The services are conducted in a language known as Church Slavic, an old Slavic dialect resembling modern Bulgarian. It is governed by a commission of high ecclesiastical officials known as the Holy Synod, presided over by a layman called

The Orthodox Church

the Procurator, who is a direct appointee of the Government. To be a member of the Orthodox Church was to the average Russian the only true test of patriotism; to him, Church and State were not merely united, they were one and the same thing in different aspects. Time and again had Russia championed the cause of Orthodox believers, particularly those in the Balkans and in Austria.

The clergy

All high officials in the Church are appointed by the Holy Synod from the ranks of the celibate "black clergy," or monks, who live ascetic lives in secluded monasteries. The "white clergy," or ordinary parish priests, constitute almost a priestly caste. They are permitted to marry; and generally the son of a parish priest, or "pope," as he is called by the people, succeeds his father in that office. The "white clergy" are supported partly by subventions from the Government and partly by fees from the parishioners for christenings, weddings, and funerals.[1]

Russian sects

Among the Russians themselves there are many Dissenters who formerly were persecuted by the Government for their disbelief in Orthodoxy. Chief among these are the *Raskólniki*, or heretics, who agree with the Orthodox Church in its main tenets, but differ very sharply on slight matters of ritual. This numerous sect arose as a result of a revision of the holy books by the Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century. The Old Believers stand by the old editions, believing that the alteration of certain words meant the alteration of the original pure faith. There are also many sects that have no relation whatever with the Orthodox Church, such as the Dukhobors, or spirit wrestlers, whose faith is similar to that of the Quakers; the Stundists, whose faith is similar to that of the Baptists; and the Molokanye, who model themselves rigidly on the primitive Church.

THE PEASANTS

Russia is essentially a peasant empire, as fully three quarters of her population are engaged in tilling the sc

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[1] During the Revolution of 1917 Church and State were separated.

Since the time of Emancipation the average holding of the peasant has actually diminished, for the reason that the same quantity of land has been divided among a greatly increased population.[1] Vast as are the stretches of fertile soil in Russia, there has been a land famine because so much of it was in the possession of the State and the nobility. "More land!" has been the constant cry of the peasantry, who firmly believe that the day is coming when all the land in Russia will be given to them gratis.[2] It was this desire for free land, not for free government or for free speech, that was to make the peasant the powerful ally of the revolutionary forces in 1905 and in 1917.

Peasants and the land

As he was unable to make a living from his land, the *mujik*, or peasant, was forced to supplement his farming by working part of the time on the estate of the noble or by becoming a factory "hand" in the city during the winter. It is impossible to exaggerate the poverty of the Russian masses, who live in straw-thatched huts, housing beasts and family under the same roof, and whose main diet consists of cabbage soup and black bread. It is not unusual for large regions to be "under famine." During the great famine of 1891 thousands starved to death and many were driven to eat the straw roofs of their houses. Because in normal times only ten per cent of the peasants raise enough food for themselves and for their cattle, chronic underfeeding and slow starvation have been general.

Poverty of the peasants

Most onerous were the taxes which were collected from the peasant. In addition to the regular taxes, he had to pay the annual redemption dues for the land acquired at the time of the Emancipation. Moreover, there were heavy indirect taxes on those articles which the peasant must buy, like tea, sugar, matches, and

Peasantry heavily taxed

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[1] In 1860 the average peasant holding was about 13 acres; in 1900, it had decreased to 8.1 acres.

[2] It is related that shortly after the Emancipation, Alexander II himself addressed a crowd of the peasants, telling them that no more land would be given to them. The peasants simply refused to believe that the person speaking was the Tsar, but that he was a "general" who was induced to impersonate the Tsar by the officials.

kerosene. Knowing that almost everything that he produced would go to the tax collector, the *mujik* was not over-ambitious to improve his holding; he even preferred to receive the brutal flogging for arrears in taxes rather than work to pay them. Like the Poles and Jews who emigrated to America to improve their lot, many Russian peasants emigrated to Siberia, where they obtained large homesteads from the Government on easy terms.[1]

The Intelligentsia

Character of the Russian intellectuals

Although the great majority of the people of Russia are illiterate, a cultivated class has emerged from the ranks of the middle class and the nobility. The *intelligentsia*, as the educated class is generally called in Russia, has no counterpart anywhere in the world. It is composed of men and women, mostly university students, who have a love for philosophic ideas amounting to a passion, and to whom the traditions and conventions of their country, and for that matter of the world, count for naught. "An intellectual Russian," once wrote Herzen, "is the most independent being in the world. . . . We are independent because we have no possessions — nothing to lose. All our memories are full of gall and bitterness. . . . We have no traditions; therefore, far from being inferior on that account to countries who possess them, we are superior to them."

The *intelligentsia*

To show their contempt for conventions, the men wore their hair long, and the women, short, an outward and visible sign of their spirit of revolt. Dressed as peasants out of love for the people, the *intelligentsia* would gather in secret meeting-places, where they sat far into the night, drinking hot tea, smoking cigarettes, and discussing philosophic ideals. From that to hatching plots against the Government was but an easy and quick transition. Many, if not most, of the terrorists came from this class, to whom the assassination of tyrants was the first moral duty of a freedom-loving individual. Although not all the educated Russians were counted among the *intelligentsia*, the latter became the spokesmen of the discontent of educated Russia with the autocracy. From their ranks came the leaders of the workingmen and of the peasants during the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

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[1] The Trans-Siberian Railroad greatly aided this emigration. During 1906-10 fully a million Russian peasants became colonists in Siberia.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

The vast region known as the Russian Empire, comprising one half of Europe and one half of Asia, was governed by a highly centralized administration located at the capital, Petrograd. So complete was the centralization that even small matters were frequently referred to the capital from the uttermost parts of the Empire.

Power of the Tsar

All power and authority radiated from the Tsar, the "Autocrat of all the Russias," who ruled by "divine right." All laws had to have his sanction and all officials held their posts through his grace. The chief governing bodies were the Senate, which was not, as its name implies, a legislative body, but a high court of justice; and the Council of the Empire,[1] which was the center of imperial administration.

Centralization of the government

Because of great distances and variety of population, Russia is well adapted to a federal system. But very little local self-government was permitted lest it should disrupt the unity of the Empire. It was divided into seventy-eight "governments," which corresponded to the French *départements;*[2] in each a governor and an administrative council were appointed by the Tsar. Sometimes there was also a governor-general, who had supreme military authority over a historic entity, such as Poland or Finland. There were also eighteen "provinces" in the sparsely settled regions of Asia, each under the rule of a military governor. To the elected bodies in the country districts, known as Zemstvos, and to the city councils, only limited power was given to legislate on local affairs.

The two most powerful supports of the Government were the bureaucracy and the police. By the bureaucracy is meant the large number of civil officials, about half a million, called the *tchinovniki*, who conducted the business of the Empire. Its members were recruited from the ranks of the aristocracy and the middle class. Many of the highest positions were given to the Germans of the Baltic Provinces because of their administrative capacity and because of their excessive loyalty to the autocracy. The pay of the officials being small, they commonly accepted bribes in order to raise their salaries. So prevalent was bribery among the Russian officials that more than once it broke the force of tyrannical laws. The Russian Government was once described as "a despotism tempered by corruption." "The administration's inertia or duplicity, duly paid for," writes Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in his famous work, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, "paralyzed bad laws as well as good ones. The functionary sold liberty to one, tolerance to another; he sold immunity to both innocent and guilty. The Russian Dissenters (*Raskólniki*) could not have weathered two centuries of persecution but for the police's and the clergy's willingness to ignore them — for a consideration. The Russian spirit could never have withstood the pressure put on it under Nicholas but for the connivance of the employés, who secretly suffered the forbidden books and the revolutionary papers of Herzen and the other emigrants to be circulated — for a consideration."[1]

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[1] For the reorganization of this body, see p. 556.

[2] See p. 234.

Corruption of the officials

By far the most important element in the administration was the police, who formed the Prætorian Guard of the autocracy; for the Russian Government under the Tsars was really a police department writ large. There were three kinds of police: the civil, used for the ordinary purposes of keeping the peace; the military, or gendarmes, to quell riots; and the political, or a body of spies, to ferret out conspiracies against the Tsar. In each "government" there was a chief of police called the *ispravnik* with large and ill-defined powers. Everybody

The police

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[1] Vol. II, p. 97.

traveling in Russia, natives and foreigners alike, had to be provided with a passport, or official paper, describing minutely the traveler's appearance, faith, errand, and occupation, in order to enable the police to apprehend those who might be on errands of mischief to the Government. The janitor, or *dvornik*, of almost every house was enlisted in the service of the police; it was his duty to mount guard over the house and to report any suspicious persons frequenting it.

The Third Section

The political police of Russia were widely known as the Third Section. The name was officially suppressed in 1880, but their functions were continued and even enlarged. They were made independent of the other police, and almost of the administration itself, by extra-legal powers; and, in order that they might work silently and swiftly, they were supported from secret funds and made responsible only to the Tsar himself. Between the secret service and the terrorists there was a duel to the very death; both sides neither asked nor gave quarter. So efficient was the spy system that police agents were received even in "Underground Russia." They would ingratiate themselves with the revolutionists by pretending to be violent enemies of the Tsar; and frequently the very inciters to deeds of terrorism and the organizers of conspiracies were themselves spies who would betray their "comrades" to the Government.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Reasons for Russia's industrial backwardness

It was not till the end of the nineteenth century that the great economic transformation, known as the Industrial Revolution, began in Russia. The reason for Russia's backwardness in this respect was not due to her lack of natural resources, for she is unusually rich in coal, iron, and oil; nor to her lack of labor supply, for her teeming population constitutes an almost inexhaustible source of cheap labor; but to her lack of capital and to the conservatism of a Government which discouraged business enterprise.

Witte and the Industrial Revolution

In 1894 Sergius J. Witte, a former railway manager, became Minister of Finance under Alexander III. This was an event of prime importance in the history of Russia, for he was to be the Colbert of his country, the initiator and director of new economic policies. Witte was a totally new type of Russian, a keen business man thoroughly conversant with the problems of modern finance and industry, a bold speculator, and an energetic organizer of business enterprises. His main policy was to induce foreign capitalists to invest their money in Russia, which, because of her abundant resources and cheap labor, offered an excellent field for exploitation. As special inducements, large government orders for supplies were to be placed with the newly established factories, their products were to be transported at low rates on the State-owned railways, and they were to be protected from foreign competition by high tariffs. Witte also put the finances on a sound basis by introducing the gold standard in Russia's monetary system.

Industrial development

As a result of these policies Russia underwent a marked industrial development during Witte's administration. Factories seemed to grow up overnight like so many mushrooms. In 1900 there were over thirty-eight thousand factories and two and a half million factory and mine workers. In the production of iron and steel Russia, in a short time, outstripped France, Austria, and Belgium.[1] From 1870 to 1900 the coal fields of Poland and Southern Russia tripled their output. Railways developed rapidly under State ownership. In 1860 there were less than a thousand miles of railway in the entire Empire; in 1895, there were over forty thousand miles. The greatest railway in the world, the Trans-Siberian, was constructed by the Government with the aid of French loans between 1891 and 1900. It served to develop Siberia into a home for emigrants and a market for Russian manufactures. Much of this industrial progress was due to the investment of foreign capital, especially German, and to an increased demand for Western products by the Russians. German business enterprise was so active in Russia that the latter country was once described as an "economic colony" of Germany.[1]

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[1] During the decade following 1890 the production of steel and iron in Russia increased 196 per cent.

In relation to Asia Russia is a manufacturing country; in relation to Western Europe it is agricultural, as fully eighty-five per cent of Russian exports to the latter consists of products of the soil, such as wheat, rye, and oats. The cottage industries, known as the *Kustari*, flourish greatly and support about eight millions of people, who in little coöperative shops make all sorts of articles from wood, copper, brass, leather, and cloth.

Appearance of industrial classes

The results of the Industrial Revolution were the same in Russia as elsewhere. A prosperous middle class and a numerous working class made their appearance. Both were opposed to the autocracy because it represented the interests of the landed proprietors and because it was despotic and corrupt. Waves of peasants began to surge toward the cities looking for employment in the newly built factories, and a working class arose which began to organize unions and to strike for better conditions, activities hitherto quite unknown in Russia. The Government, quick to see that any organized discontent would soon become political, pronounced unions illegal; and strikes were suppressed by the police in the belief that they were organized rebellions against the authority of the State.

The new revolutionary elements

Both the middle and the working classes were excellent soil for the seeds of revolution. Grouped as they were in large cities, it was easier to form societies, distribute pamphlets, and organize demonstrations among them than among the widely scattered peasants. The factory, with its thousand laborers meeting daily and discussing their condition, became the nucleus of a revolutionary society. Hitherto opposition to the Government had been the work of small groups of militant idealists who had waged a desperate war against an autocracy intrenched by the loyalty of a helpless and ignorant peasantry. Were a new revolutionary movement to arise now, it could command the powerful support of the industrial classes. Strange as it might have seemed, it was during the iron régime of Alexander III that conditions were ripening for the great Revolution of 1905.

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[1] Between 1904 and 1914 German exports to Russia rose from twelve and a half to two hundred million dollars.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS II

WHEN Alexander III died in 1894, Russia breathed a sigh of relief. His son and successor, Nicholas II, was a young man of twenty-six who had traveled widely and who was known to possess a genial personality. Many hoped, therefore, that the spirit of Alexander II would once more dominate the Government. But shortly after his accession to the throne, the new Tsar frankly made known his position by declaring, "I shall preserve the principles of autocracy as firmly and unswervingly as my late father of imperishable memory." He rebuked a body representing the Zemstvos, who came to petition for a constitution and a national legislature, by telling them that such things were "senseless dreams." It was soon realized that Nicholas resembled neither his father in strength of purpose nor his grandfather in liberality of spirit; and that he was a weak though amiable man, possessing only a modicum of statesmanlike ability and likely to be dominated by the strong men among the reactionary bureaucrats.

Character and ideas of Nicholas II

The Tsar's despotic tendencies began to show themselves in his treatment of Finland. That country, enjoying constitutional government and freedom of speech, had always been an eyesore to the Russian officials who regarded this arrangement as an evil example to the rest of Russia. Moreover, the high degree of local autonomy enjoyed by the Finns affronted their passionate desire to unify and to Russify every part of the heterogeneous Empire. In spite of the fact that Nicholas had sworn to observe the constitution of the Grand Duchy, he issued an ukase in 1899 which practically rendered it

Finnish liberties restricted

inoperative. The powers of the local Diet were greatly abridged, and it was put under the tutelage of the central Government; the local army, hitherto under Finnish control and regulation, was incorporated with that of Russia; the Russian tongue was declared the official language; and Russian officials were sent to draft bills for the Diet and to administer the laws, which they did in an arbitrary and persecuting spirit. So great was the indignation of the Finns at this violation of their rights that a day of mourning was declared, which was observed throughout the Grand Duchy. A monster petition, signed by over half a million names, was sent to the Tsar asking for the restoration of the liberties of Finland, but it received no attention. In 1904 the Russian Governor-General, Bobrikov, was assassinated by a Finnish patriot who then committed suicide, leaving a letter in which he explained that this act was due to the desire on his part to call the attention of the Tsar to the outrageous treatment of his country by the Russian officials.

War on the intellectuals

The agitation throughout the Empire for reform soon made great headway under the impetus of the new spirit of opposition to the autocracy manifested by the middle and working classes in the towns. Revolutionary societies multiplied rapidly. Every form of private association, like engineering societies, academies of science, lawyers' clubs, trade unions, chambers of commerce, and even public bodies, like the provincial Zemstvos and city councils, became identified with some form of agitation for political freedom. Because the *intelligentsia* were the leaders among the reformers, the Government undertook to wage relentless war on students, teachers, and even books. The writings of Herbert Spencer and James Bryce and Green's *Short History of the English People* were forbidden to be read in Russia. A distinguished historian and sociologist, Professor Miliukóv, who later became the leader of the Liberals in the Duma, was removed from his university position because of his "generally noxious tendencies." Students especially were under the watchful care of the police, who spied on their activities in and out of the classroom and arbitrarily transported to Siberia those suspected of entertaining revolutionary ideas.

Contrast between this and former agitations

The great error made by the Government was that it classed this agitation with its predecessors, the Nihilist and *Narod* movements, which were inspired by small groups of conspirators and which were easily suppressed. It was not till the new agitation had assumed alarming proportions that the authorities realized that they were face to face with a great social upheaval supported by the industrial elements in Russian society that had come into existence with the factory system.

Plehve

In 1902 the Minister of the Interior, Sipiagin, was assassinated by a revolutionist. As his successor, the Tsar appointed Viatscheslav Plehve, who had achieved an unenviable reputation as a police officer and who had made himself particularly odious as the Russifier of Finland and Poland. Plehve was to Nicholas II what the Earl of Strafford had been to the English Charles I, a determined and resourceful supporter of absolute monarchy who believed in a policy of "Thorough" in suppressing hostility to the Throne. He had been a consistent opponent of Witte, whose industrial policies he believed would in the end undermine the autocracy by changing the social and economic conditions on which the latter was built.

Activities of the spies

Under Plehve the entire Russian Government became a Third Section. A net of secret police was cast over the whole country; spies were everywhere, in the classrooms, in counting-houses, in workshops, in clubs, in public offices, in foreign countries where Russian refugees congregated, and in the secret councils of the revolutionary brotherhoods. An *agent provocateur*, or police spy, by pretending to be an ardent revolutionist would incite the enemies of the Tsar to violent deeds at a time and place agreed upon with the police and military, who would be on hand prepared to trap them. There was the strange case of Azev, half-spy half-revolutionist, who had become the trusted leader of the "militants," the most daring group in the war against Russian officialdom. In order to convince the revolutionists of his loyalty to the cause, Azev himself would organize conspiracies against high officials. It is now known that it was he who planned the murder of Sipiagin, Plehve, and the Grand Duke Sergius, though the true motives for these crimes have not yet been explained. This extraordinary man established a dynamite laboratory where bombs were manufactured; and he was very energetic in organizing revolutionary groups and then secretly betraying them to the police. In 1903 there were as many as twelve thousand "political cases" and about five thousand people were imprisoned, exiled, or executed by administrative process with hardly a pretense of legal trials.

Attacks on the Jews

It was part of Plehve's policy to excite racial and religious animosities among the people in order to distract them from revolutionary activity. He was particularly bitter against the Jews, whom, like all Russian officials, he hated because of their resistance to Orthodoxy and to Russification, and especially because many of the revolutionists were of Jewish origin. Societies called "Leagues of True Russians" were organized by government officials for the purpose of convincing the people that all truly patriotic Russians supported the Tsar and that his opponents were enemies of the fatherland. It was also the policy of Plehve to fight terror with terror, and bands of roughs called "Black Hundreds" were encouraged to attack the Jews and revolutionists. Proclamations were spread broadcast, denouncing the Jews as instigators of revolution and as enemies whose object it was to destroy the Russian Government because it was so truly Christian and patriotic. A series of attacks on the Jews, called *pogroms*, took place which culminated in the famous massacre of Kishinev in 1903. Hundreds of houses and stores belonging to Jews were pillaged and burned; about fifty persons were killed and about five hundred wounded. Hardly an effort was made by the authorities to stop the rioting. Soldiers and police stood by while people were being murdered, and they even arrested those who tried to defend themselves.

The Massacre of Kishinev horrified the world, and great indignation was expressed in public meetings called throughout Europe and America to protest against the Russian Government's countenancing such barbaric cruelties. Plehve had breathed a spirit of savagery into the bureaucracy such as had not been known even in the days of the "Nicholas System," and the revolutionists determined to "execute" him. On July 28, 1904, as he was driving in his carriage a bomb was thrown at him by a student, and the career of the Tsar's favorite was closed. In explanation of this deed the revolutionists issued a proclamation to the world regretting the murder but declaring that it was justified for the reason that in Russia the peaceful means of agitation, freedom of speech, did not exist as a check upon irresponsible power; therefore the only means left was to meet the "violence of tyranny with the force of revolutionary right."

Assassination of Plehve

The events which led to the calling of the first Russian Parliament, or Duma, may be grouped under the following headings: (1) The Russo-Japanese War; (2) petitions and demonstrations of peaceful citizens; (3) violent attacks on high officials; and (4) a series of revolutionary strikes culminating in the famous General Strike of 1905. Throughout, the autocracy seemed to have only one policy: to yield only after the greatest pressure had been brought to bear upon it, and then to modify and even to nullify the concessions it had granted, once the pressure was removed.

Early in February, 1904, the war with Japan broke out.[1] A stirring appeal was issued by Nicholas to his subjects, asking them to save their country from its foes abroad and from those at home for the sake of "the Faith, the Tsar, and the Fatherland." The appeal met with little response among the people, who feared that a foreign war might be used as a distraction from reforms at home. Many of the peasant soldiers did not know who the Japanese were and actually thought that they were again fighting the Turks.

Unpopularity of the war with Japan

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[1] See p. 668.

Some of those called to the colors tried to escape, but they were forced into the military trains for the Far East at the point of the bayonet. Several mutinies occurred, particularly in the navy. The sailors on board the warship Prince Potemkin raised the standard of revolt and cruised about the Black Sea giving aid to the revolutionists in the ports till they were forced to abandon the ship. Mismanagement and corruption characterized the conduct of the war. It was openly charged that the highest officials, including members of the imperial family, were benefiting from war contracts; and that the very funds of the Red Cross were misappropriated for private use. The terrible defeats of the Russian army in the battles around Mukden, the capture of Port Arthur after a long, desperate siege, and the total destruction of the Russian fleet in the Straits of Tsushima[1] shattered the almost universal belief in the military impregnability of the Russian Empire. Humiliation at the defeat of their armies and contempt for the weakness and incapacity of the Government combined to give the revolutionists great confidence in their attacks upon the autocracy. Huge mobs marched through the streets of Petrograd and Moscow brandishing weapons and shouting, "Down with the autocracy!" "Stop the war!"

Attempts at moderate reform

As the successor to Plehve the Tsar chose a popular, liberal-minded aristocrat, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski, who believed that the monarchy could be saved only by a benevolent and liberal attitude toward the people. He induced the Tsar to abolish the flogging of peasants and to remit their arrears in taxes, which were so burdensome that to collect them was almost impossible. The censorship of the press was greatly relaxed and, for a brief period, Russia enjoyed comparative freedom of speech. Prince Mirski encouraged the moderate element among the opponents of the Government to present its plans of reform in the hope of establishing a cordial understanding between the Tsar and the people. Accordingly, a congress composed of delegates from the Zemstvos convened at Petrograd in November, 1904, to discuss reforms. It finally drew up a notable petition to the Tsar, which frankly declared that the conduct of the bureaucracy had alienated the mass of Russians from the Throne itself; that in order to restore good feeling between the people and the Government, it was absolutely essential to establish full civil, political, and religious liberty; and that a representative assembly should be immediately summoned. Similar petitions poured in from civic bodies, learned societies, and commercial organizations. On December 26, 1904, Nicholas issued a proclamation promising to grant reforms, but he insisted that under no circumstances would he permit his autocratic power to be impaired. Prince Mirski found that his efforts to introduce liberal measures were thwarted by the Tsar, either directly or indirectly, through administrative ordinances and secret orders, and he resigned in disgust.

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[1] See p. 670.

Terrorist activities

The militant element among the revolutionists was more than ever convinced that violence was the only efficient method of bringing the Government to its knees, and assassination of officials became the order of the day. No member of Russian officialdom, from the lowest policeman to the Tsar, was safe from terrorist attacks. We have already seen how Bobrikov, Sipiagin, and Plehve paid with their lives for their activity on behalf of the autocracy. It was known that Grand Duke Sergius, uncle of the Tsar, was bitterly hostile to reform, and that he had declared that what the people needed was a "stick," not a constitution. One day a bomb was thrown at him and he was instantly killed. General Trépov, son of the man whose life was attempted in 1878, was made head of the police with full power to restore order. A policy of wholesale repression was inaugurated, and the country was put under "reinforced protection," or semi-martial law. Hundreds of men and women were imprisoned, beaten, tortured, exiled, and executed without even a pretense of legal procedure.

The spirit of revolt spread to the peasants in the country, and many uprisings took place on the estates. The *mir* served as a center for revolutionary organizations, as the peasants would assemble in the village to plan attacks on the proprietor. Generally they would content themselves with carting away the produce stored in the granaries; sometimes they would also burn the buildings on the estate and threaten the life of the owner. When a raid of this kind occurred, the Cossacks would be sent to restore order; and when these savage warriors were turned loose on a village, the horrors which they perpetrated are beyond description. Shootings, stabbings, rape, and the burning of homes were the order of the day, and neither sex nor age was spared.

Outbreaks of the peasantry

The General Strike

Almost from the beginning the leadership in organized rebellion was assumed by the working classes in the cities. Many labor unions were formed under the auspices of the Socialists, and "Young Russia" became the leader of the workers. Strikes were matters of daily occurrence; and every strike had a double motive, the bettering of the condition of the laborers and the securing of a constitution. A kind of labor "General Staff," the Council of Workingmen's Delegates, was organized at Petrograd during 1905, which assumed charge of a gigantic labor agitation inaugurated throughout the country. The autocracy keenly realized the danger from a well-organized working-class uprising. It endeavored, therefore, to circumvent the agitation in two ways: first, by bringing pressure to bear on the employers to provide good conditions in their factories; and, secondly, by organizing labor unions under its protection. "No Politics!" was the motto of these Government unions. They chose as their chief a priest known as Father Gapon.

Organized labor begins a political agitation through strikes

During the year 1905 a strike fever seemed to seize upon the Russian masses; even the Government unions were swept into the current of agitation, which soon became political in character. It was

"Red Sunday"

Father Gapon's idea to organize a procession of people who were to present a petition to the "Little Father" in person, asking him to help his children, the people, to get better living conditions and to show his confidence in them by convoking a popular assembly. It was understood that, if the Tsar refused the petition, an uprising would follow. On Sunday, January 22, 1905, an enormous crowd of unarmed men and women, led by Father Gapon in priestly attire and carrying a crucifix, began to move through the streets of Petrograd. When they arrived at the Winter Palace, instead of finding the Tsar, they found a body of armed Cossacks waiting to receive them. Then the order was given to fire; and, at each volley, men and women fell on all sides. "Red Sunday," as the day of the massacre was called, horrified the world and implanted a grim determination among all classes of Russians to destroy a Government which knew no other way of communicating with its people than through the rifle and the saber.

Nationalist uprisings

Revolutionary fury raged throughout the country. Barricades were erected in the capital, and strikes involving thousands of workingmen took place in almost every industry. The subject peoples in the Empire took advantage of the situation to add to the general turmoil in the hope of getting concessions for their nationality as well as for democracy. They reasoned that a fallen autocracy might mean the breaking or the loosening of the chains which bound them so tightly to the Empire. Warsaw was a hotbed of insurrection, and a mob of two hundred thousand persons marched through its streets carrying Polish flags and demanding political freedom and autonomy for Poland. So dangerous was the situation that all of Poland was placed under martial law. In Finland a general strike took place which brought that country to the verge of anarchy. Nicholas decided to yield, and on November 4, 1905, he issued an ukase, repealing the anti-Finnish laws. Later (1906) a new constitution was granted to the Grand Duchy, which abolished its medieval assembly of four estates and established, instead, a modern legislature of one House, elected by popular vote. Woman suffrage was also granted, and the Finnish Diet could now boast of being the most modern of the world's parliaments. In the Baltic Provinces the Lettish peasants rose and pillaged the estates of their German landlords. So widespread was the revolt that an independent Baltic Republic was organized in Riga; but it was unable to maintain itself very long, for it was suppressed by Russian armies. In the Caucasus the Armenians and Georgians rose in rebellion but were likewise suppressed. In the "Pale" a powerful Socialist organization of Jewish workingmen known as the "Jewish Bund" battled against the "Black Hundreds."

The general strike

The autocracy was tottering fast and it endeavored to save itself from complete destruction by granting concessions. On August 19, 1905, the Tsar promised to summon a Duma, or national legislature, to be composed of elected representatives. This promise aroused little enthusiasm, for the reason that the proposed Duma was to be elected by a restricted suffrage, which was so arranged as to deny the vote to the chief enemies of the Government, the professional and working classes. It was plain that the moment was now propitious for a decisive blow against the tottering system. During October, 1905, there took place one of the most extraordinary popular demonstrations in all history. A general strike was declared throughout the whole Empire. It began with the railway men and telegraphers, and all communication was cut off when they ceased working. It then spread rapidly to the shipyards, factories, mines, and shops. The strike fever seemed to seize all classes. Gas and electric companies refused to operate their plants and many cities were in darkness; merchants closed their stores; teachers dismissed their classes; domestic servants refused to cook, to clean house, or to wait on table; druggists refused to prepare prescriptions and doctors closed their offices; lawyers refused to plead in court and judges and juries refused to render verdicts; public bodies, like the city councils and the Zemstvos, adjourned their meetings; and even the ballet dancers refused to dance. Life in Russia came virtually to a standstill.

The Government was now face to face with a situation such as had never confronted it or any other government before, and there was nothing else to do but to yield. On October 30, 1905, the Tsar issued his famous manifesto which declared that it was his wish to "establish an immutable rule that no law will be considered binding which has not the consent of the Duma; and that to the people will be given the power to exercise an effective supervision over the acts of the officials." Freedom of speech, association and religion, "the immutable foundations of civic liberty," were guaranteed; and the electoral law was drastically revised so as to establish virtual universal suffrage. As a further sign of his liberal intentions, Nicholas dismissed the hated officials, General Trépov and Pobiedonostsev, and appointed the moderate liberal, Count Witte, as his Prime Minister.

The uprising in Moscow

In spite of the capitulation of the Government, or rather because of it, the revolutionists continued their activities. Another general strike was declared in November of the same year, but it had to be abandoned on account of the refusal of many workingmen to join. The city of Sebastopol was seized by mutinous soldiers and sailors, and it took an army of twenty thousand men to recapture it. A desperate uprising broke out in Moscow on December 21. Barricade fighting took place such as had not been known in Europe since the "June days" of 1848 in Paris. After a week of desperate struggle, in which about five thousand men were killed, the army succeeded in quelling the revolt. On March 5, 1906, the Tsar issued a manifesto which converted the Council of the Empire, hitherto an advisory body entirely appointed by him, into an upper House of two hundred members, one half to be appointed by him and the other half to be chosen by various bodies, such as the Zemstvos, the universities, chambers of commerce, the Synod of the Orthodox Church, and associations of nobles. A cabinet, called the "Council of Ministers," was also organized. It consisted of ten members and was presided over by a Prime Minister appointed by the Tsar.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Octobrists and "Cadets"

There now came a lull in revolutionary activity, and preparations were made for the coming elections to the Duma. Although there was nothing in Russia that approximated a political party in the American or English sense, yet there existed various groups with distinctive programs for the solution of Russia's problems. The most moderate called themselves Octobrists, because their platform consisted of the Tsar's manifesto of October 30. Its supporters were liberally inclined nobles who favored a government like that of Prussia, in which the Duma was to play a decidedly subordinate part in the government of the country. By far the most important group were the Constitutional Democrats, popularly called the "Cadets," who looked to England rather than to Prussia for political inspiration. Their program comprised the establishment of a constitutional monarchy based upon universal suffrage, complete freedom of speech and of association, and, especially, the responsibility of the Ministers to the Duma. On the land question which, next to free government, was the most important issue before the Russian people, the "Cadets" advocated the giving of more land to the peasants through the compulsory sale of some of the larger estates at prices fixed by commissions composed of peasants and proprietors, as well as the granting of farms from the vast Crown lands. Most of the supporters of this party came from the middle classes, the professional men, merchants, and capitalists, whose spokesman and leader was Professor Miliukóv.

The Social Democrats

During the reign of Alexander III the exiled revolutionists had turned to the study of the writings of Karl Marx, and many were converted to socialism by a brilliant writer and lecturer named Plekhánov. Socialistic ideas were enthusiastically seized upon by the *intelligentsia*, and so many different schools arose that it was said that when two Russian Socialists met there were three Socialist parties. The Social Democratic Party, called the "S—D," subscribed fully to socialist doctrines.[1] In regard to Russia it believed that her political progress would coincide with her economic development, that the Industrial Revolution was bringing into existence a liberal bourgeoisie and a revolutionary proletariat, and that it was the destiny of the former to overthrow the autocracy and establish in Russia, as it had done in Western Europe, a constitutional form of government. But this would be merely a "rest house" in the march toward socialism. The working class in the cities was to be the nucleus of revolution, and a great agitation was undertaken by the "S—D" among the workers in order to educate and organize them for this great future.[2]

The Socialist Revolutionists

Contrasts between the two Socialist factions

A smaller but yet highly important group was the "S—R," or Socialist Revolutionists. Now the "S—D" and the "S—R" agreed in their political program, which was the establishment of a democratic republic by a national convention representing the Russian people, but the latter disdained to ask for any reforms whatsoever at the hands of the Tsar, while the former were more conciliatory. They agreed in favoring the ultimate establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth in which the industries of the country would be publicly owned and administered; but they disagreed sharply as to the immediate program of economic reform and as to methods of agitation. To the Socialist Revolutionists, the essential thing about Russia was that she was an agricultural country; consequently the condition of the peasant, not that of the factory worker, should be the main concern of reformers. They were firmly convinced that the Russian problem would be solved only so far as the land problem was solved; hence they became the revolutionary champions of the peasants in demanding "the transformation of the land from private property, as it is now, into the property of the whole people"; in other words, the confiscation of the landed estates. Unlike the Social Democrats, who wished to abolish the *mir* as an outworn institution, the "S—R" wished to preserve and strengthen it as a democratic institution peculiar to the Russian people. It was also the fond belief of this group that Russia could escape the period of capitalism with its attendant evils, and so make a leap from autocracy to socialism. They therefore favored terrorism in any and all forms: assassination of officials, mutinies of soldiers and sailors, strikes of workingmen, barricade fighting, and, especially, peasant uprisings; whereas the "S—D" relied largely upon peaceful agitation to reach their socialist goal, though they were not averse to violence when necessary. The importance of the "S—R" lay in the fact that they succeeded in exerting a powerful influence over the peasants, to whom one had to say merely the magic words, "More Land," in order to win them to any program, no matter how revolutionary.

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[1] See pp. 579 ff; also pp. 744–751.

The Labor Group

Closely allied with the Socialist Revolutionists was the large and powerful organization of peasants known as the Peasants' Union. Its program was summed up in the demand, "The Whole Land for the Whole People!" In the first and second Dumas over one hundred delegates, calling themselves the Labor Group, represented the Union. It was this attitude of the peasants which frightened the Government into making great changes in the system of landholding which will be described later.

THE DUMAS

The first meeting of the Duma

On May 10, 1906, the Duma began its session in the Winter Palace, under the presidency of a distinguished jurist, Múromtzev. It was a historic day for Russia, and the meeting was opened with impressive ceremony by Nicholas II in person. He exhorted the representatives "to work for the rejuvenation of Russia's moral outlook and for the reincarnation of her best powers." However, even before the Duma had met, the

Government had begun a counter-revolution. A reactionary, Goremykin, had succeeded the liberal Witte as Premier.

Parties in the Duma

In spite of the system of indirect elections through electoral colleges, almost the entire membership of the Duma was anti-Government. Of the five hundred and twenty-four members elected, about forty were Octobrists, one hundred and eighty-five were "Cadets," one hundred belonged to the Labor Group, and fourteen were Social Democrats; the rest represented various national and religious elements of the Empire. Neither reactionaries nor Socialist Revolutionists were chosen; the former had too few supporters, and the latter boycotted the elections because, as they claimed, the lower classes were not given sufficient representation.

The Duma criticizes the Government

Almost from the start the Duma became the scene of forensic battles between the Government and its opponents. A demand was made that amnesty be immediately granted to all political prisoners, to which only a partial concession was made. Committees were appointed to investigate the charges of corruption in the conduct of the Russo-Japanese War and the part the police had played in the instigation of *pogroms*. Bills abolishing capital punishment and granting autonomy to Poland and Finland were favored by overwhelming majorities, but to all of these demands the Government gave flat refusals or evasive replies. The Duma soon found itself impotent to accomplish any vital reforms, as the Tsar had no inclination to allow a representative body to assume the reins of power. Yet never before in the history of Russia had the shortcomings of the autocracy been so freely discussed. Scathing denunciations of the Government were delivered by impassioned orators who demanded an accounting for the brutal and illegal acts of the officials.

Conflict between the Duma and the Tsar

A conflict over the question of land reform arose between the Duma and the Government. The proposal of the latter was to abolish the *mir* and institute peasant proprietorship, but without giving the peasants any more land. This did not satisfy the former, which desired to increase the holdings of the peasants through sales, at fair prices, of the Crown lands and of some of the large estates. A vote of censure was passed against the Ministry, but it refused to resign. The Duma then demanded that the Ministry be made responsible to it and not to the Tsar. On July 21 a manifesto was issued by Nicholas which declared that the Duma was meddling with affairs which were not its concern, and that its refusal to "coöperate" with the Government was "a cruel disappointment to him." He then ordered its dissolution and the election of another Duma.

The Viborg Manifesto

A critical moment had now arrived. Would the Russian people rise in case the Duma defied the Tsar? About half of the members retired to Viborg, in Finland, where they drew up a manifesto to the people, exhorting them to refuse to give taxes and military service to a Government which had violated the constitution by governing without Parliament. But there was no organized response on the part of the people. The signers of the Viborg Manifesto were disfranchised and declared ineligible for membership in succeeding Dumas; and later they were prosecuted for conspiracy against the authorities.

The second Duma

In the next election the Government did its best to return a friendly assembly, but the second Duma, which met on March 5, 1907, was, if anything, more anti-Government than the preceding one. About sixty-five Social Democrats and thirty-five Socialist Revolutionists were elected; the membership of the Octobrists, "Cadets," and the Labor Group was about the same as in the first Duma. To counterbalance this anti-Government majority, there were elected about sixty reactionaries.

Once more did the Duma enter the lists against the autocracy. Criticism of the Government and bitter denunciation of officials were even more marked in the second than in the first assembly. Premier Stolypin, who in the meantime had succeeded Goremykin, was determined that under no circumstances should parliament be permitted to control the policies of the Empire. After a stormy life of one hundred and four days, the second Duma was dissolved, on the pretext that some of its members were implicated in revolutionary conspiracies.

Hostile attitude of the Tsar toward the Duma

An Imperial edict, in June, 1907, declared that the two Dumas did not truly represent the Russian people because of the "imperfections of the electoral law which enabled men who were not representatives of the needs and desires of the people to be elected to membership." The Tsar made an open declaration that he had the right to make and unmake laws, "as it was God who bestowed upon us our power as Autocrat. It is before His altar that we shall answer for the destinies of the Russian State."

The new electoral law

Contrary to the constitutional requirements that all laws must have the consent of the Duma, a new electoral law was promulgated by the Tsar alone which radically altered the system of representation and which violated the democratic principle by requiring class and property qualifications for suffrage. This edict had two objects: to reduce the number of representatives of the non-Russian elements in the Empire and to increase the representation of the landed nobility at the expense of the town-dwellers and of the peasants. The Polish delegation was reduced from thirty-seven to fourteen; that of the Caucasus from twenty-nine to ten; about twenty cities lost the right to elect members directly to the Duma. That body, now reduced to a membership of four hundred and forty-two, was to be chosen by a very complicated system of which the main features were as follows: the population was divided into four classes, landowners, merchants, peasants, and workingmen, to each of which was allotted a certain number of members in the electoral colleges that chose the representatives to the Duma. But the allotments were outrageously unfair, as the landowners got sixty per cent of the electors, the peasants twenty-two per cent, the merchants fifteen per cent, and the workingmen only three per cent. The machinery of election was entirely in the hands of the officials. Districts were gerrymandered in the interests of the conservatives, and prosecutions were frequently instituted against opponents of the Government to prevent them from becoming candidates. As was expected, the third Duma, which met on November 14, 1907, contained an overwhelming conservative majority with a sprinkling of "Cadets" and Socialists. In this " landowners' Duma," as it was called, the majority having been chosen by about twenty thousand landed proprietors, the Tsar finally got an assembly which did not "cruelly disappoint" him.

Premier Stolypin's reactionary policies

The autocracy was again in the saddle and a counter-revolution was begun under Premier Stolypin. "First, pacification, then reform," was his formula, and he grimly determined to snuff out the flickering flames of revolution. The hangman's noose, "Stolypin's necktie," was constantly in service. In 1907 about twenty-seven hundred persons were sentenced to death for political causes and eighteen hundred were executed; in 1908, about eight hundred were put to death by court-martial and fourteen thousand sent into exile. The old revolutionist, Nicholas Tchaikovsky, was arrested on charges based upon acts committed thirty years before, and he was kept in prison until released on bail, raised by friends in America and England. A remarkable old woman named Katherine Breshkovsky, "the little grandmother of the Revolution," was sent to the wilds of Siberia at the age of seventy. The terrorists of reaction, the Black Hundreds, were once more incited against the Jews, and they committed many outrages with the connivance of the authorities. Reaction spread to Finland. An imperial rescript in 1909 deprived the local Diet of the control of the Finnish army and declared that the Grand Duchy must subordinate itself to the wishes of the Russian Government. In 1910 a law was passed which greatly restricted the autonomy of Finland by giving the Duma large powers of legislation in Finnish matters. Protests were sent to Russia by European parliaments, denouncing this law as a violation of the principles of liberty and democracy. Because of these policies Premier Stolypin was hated as much as Plehve had been. Many attempts were made on his life; and on September 14, 1911, he was shot to death in a theater by a half-spy half-revolutionist named Bogrov. His successor, Kokovtsov, declared, however, that he would pursue the same policies.

The fourth Duma

The third Duma lived out its term of five years and an election took place for the fourth Duma, which met on November 28, 1912. This body was, if anything, more conservative than its immediate predecessor, for the majority, called the "Black Block," consisted mainly of reactionaries of the most extreme type. The opposition barely counted eighty members, although a sufficient number of Octobrists was elected, which held the balance of power. At last the voice of revolution was stilled and, for a time at least, peace reigned in Russia.

Failures of the Revolution

Government won in spite of its weakness

The Russian Revolution of 1905 failed in its main object of establishing a thoroughly constitutional régime. There was not only universal disappointment, but also astonishment at the outcome. The autocracy, discredited by the humiliating defeat in Manchuria, by corruption and incompetence at home, by weakness in the face of revolution, nevertheless did manage to cope successfully with the greatest popular uprising since the French Revolution. Several explanations may here be offered tentatively, as we are still too close to the great event to comprehend it fully.

Loyalty of the army

In the first place, the loyalty of the army was a matter of vital importance to the Government. In our day of huge standing armies based upon popular conscription, it is well-nigh impossible for a rebellion to succeed unless it has the unswerving support of the military. Louis XVI had but a small band of mercenaries and adventurers with which to defend his throne, whereas Nicholas II had the support of a vast military machine which, in spite of mutinies here and there, rallied loyally to his side. To suppress the uprisings the Government was careful to employ only the older soldiers for fear that the younger ones might be infected with revolutionary ideas. It also made use of race antagonisms for its own welfare. Regiments of Poles were used to put down the Lithuanians, whom they hate. Moscow was garrisoned by troops from Little Russia, who despise the people of that city because they are Great Russians. Soldiers from the cities were used against the peasants; and soldiers from the rural districts were used against the city workingmen. The officials, being almost entirely from the noble class, were of course faithful to the Government. Most faithful of all were the Cossacks, recruited from the semi-civilized tribes who live on the steppes, or plains of Southern Russia. These tribesmen, who are half-Russian, half-Tartar in origin, form a "rough-rider" contingent of over three hundred thousand men enlisted for life. The Cossacks are not bound by social, cultural, and economic ties to the rest of the Russian people; they had no interest, therefore, other than that of fighting for the Tsar by whom they were greatly favored. These savage fighters were always used when the Government resolved upon severe measures, because their well-known cruelty excited terror and dismay.

Lack of organization among the revolutionists

As Russia is a vast domain with poor means of communication and inhabited by a heterogeneous population composed mainly of ignorant, superstitious peasants, it was difficult for the opponents of the autocracy to organize their forces effectively. There was no central revolutionary organization corresponding to the Jacobins in France to direct the movement all over Russia, to plan attacks when most propitious, and to confront the Government at every turn with a well-thought-out plan of opposition. What really occurred was a series of sporadic uprisings without effective leadership and without sufficient direction, — desperate and dangerous, it is true, but not very difficult to suppress by a determined autocracy having a large army and the savage Cossacks at its command.

For the subject nationalities, such as the Poles, Finns, Georgians, and Letts, the Revolution was an opportunity to assert their particular claims. This, instead of helping the movement, seriously hindered it; for the Government was now able to make an effective patriotic appeal to the Orthodox Russians by declaring that the Revolution had for its object the destruction of the unity of the Empire. Racial and religious hatreds, too, expended revolutionary energy which might have been better used in opposing the Tsar. In the Baltic Provinces, the Letts fought the Germans; in the Caucasus, it was Tartar against Armenian; in the "Pale," it was Christian against Jew.

Nationalist divisions

Great assistance was rendered to the Government by foreign bankers and by investors in Russian industries, who feared that the success of the Revolution would mean the possible repudiation of national debts and the depreciation of foreign investments. They therefore gave invaluable, though invisible, service to the embarrassed autocracy by supplying it with liberal loans; for money was essential to maintain the official machine and to keep the army faithful. The Government of Germany, being autocratic, naturally sympathized with the Russian authorities, because it feared the spread of revolutionary ideas within its own borders. For her activities on behalf of the Tsar, Germany earned the bitter enmity of the revolutionists.

Foreign bankers support the Tsar

We now come to what is, perhaps, the most important cause for the failure of the Russian Revolution. In the beginning of the movement all the opponents of the autocracy, from the most moderate liberal to the most violent terrorist, united to present a solid front to the Government. The temporary collapse of the latter as a result of the general strike, and its complete surrender, as shown by the October manifesto, encouraged the extreme element among the revolutionists to believe that the time had now come for a redistribution of property as well as of political power. The Petrograd

Division among the opponents of the autocracy

Council of Workingmen's Delegates assumed the functions of a provisional socialist state. It issued orders establishing a work-day of eight hours in all industrial establishments. A large number of violent strikes occurred in which factories were burned and their owners maltreated. The capitalists replied with a series of lockouts, and thousands of men were thrown out of work. In 1906 on the heels of a half-accomplished Revolution, a serious struggle was going on between capital and labor. Banks, stores, post-offices, and even private houses were robbed by terrorists, who claimed that the money thus "expropriated" would be used to further the Revolutionary cause. The middle classes, hitherto solidly opposed to the Government, were frightened at this turn of affairs. It is true that they hated the autocracy, but they hated still more to lose their property; hence many now rallied to the side of the Tsar. The Government was not slow to see the division in the ranks of its opponents and quickly recovered its courage and energy. It is therefore not surprising that the Revolutionary proletariat, weak in numbers and still weaker in organization, being now left alone to fight the battle with the autocracy, went down to swift destruction.

Successes of the Revolution

Abolition of the *mir*

However, there were some gains. The Government was surprised and frightened at the growth of radicalism among the peasants, and it determined upon agrarian reforms to placate them. Accordingly, half of the redemption tax[1] for the year 1906 was remitted; and the tax was entirely abolished in January, 1907. The peasant was no longer the "serf of the State." On November 22, 1906, a notable law was passed through the influence of Premier Stolypin, which instituted a fundamental change in the relations of the peasants to the *mir*. The purpose of this law was to destroy the communal system of the *mir* and to establish peasant proprietorship. It therefore provided that a peasant could withdraw from the *mir* at pleasure and thereupon receive his allotment of land, which must be given to him, not in strips, but in solid fields. Between 1906 and 1913 about two and a half millions of peasants left the *mir* to become peasant proprietors. On June 14, 1910, another law declared that in the communes where there had been no periodic redistribution of lands[1] since Emancipation, the *mir* was to have no legal existence; as a result, three million more peasants became individual proprietors. But, in fact, these peasant proprietors continued to observe the customs and traditions of the *mir* under which they had been living for many generations.

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[1] See p. 512.

Conservative class of peasant proprietors

It was the purpose of the Government to establish a large number of peasant landowners who, as in France, would be inclined toward conservative policies because of their property interests. As no more land was given to the peasants, those who could not live on their small holdings now had the opportunity of selling them to their well-to-do neighbors, who profited greatly from the change as these lands were often sold very cheaply. The landless ones became agricultural and industrial laborers or emigrated to Siberia and Central Asia.

Duma jealous of its independence

Another gain made by the Revolution was the introduction of the thin end of the wedge of popular government. The constitution, promulgated on April 23, 1906, declared that the "supreme autocratic power is vested in the Tsar of all the Russias," who was to appoint and dismiss ministries, to initiate legislation, and to have an absolute veto power over bills passed by the two Houses, the Council of the Empire and the Duma. Although the constitution stated that all laws must have the consent of the Duma, so many restrictions and limitations were put on the latter that it was hardly a legislature at all. Nevertheless, a representative assembly, no matter how unfairly chosen and how limited in power, did now exist in Russia. In spite of the fact that it was dominated by conservatives and reactionaries, this Russian Parliament, like all public bodies, had a growing sense of its own importance. Although it generally coöperated with the Tsar, the Duma occasionally exhibited a spirit of independence and even of defiance toward the Government. It refused by an overwhelming majority to insert the word "Autocrat" in an address to the Tsar; this in spite of Premier Stolypin's urgent appeals in behalf of the Tsar. The President of the fourth Duma made the following declaration: "I have ever been and always shall be a convinced champion of the representative régime based on constitutional principles, granted to Russia by the great manifesto of October 30, 1905. To consolidate the foundations of this régime should be the first and constant care of a Russian representative assembly." On June 3, 1912, the Duma passed a resolution censuring the home policy of the Government for resorting to "exceptional measures" to maintain order. When, in 1914, the well-known reactionary, Goremykin, was again appointed Premier, the Duma became exceedingly critical and passed another vote of censure on the Government, this time for its interference with elections.

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[1] See p. 512.

By far the greatest outcome of the Revolution was the moral downfall of the autocracy. The Russian masses were now less inclined than formerly to regard the Tsar reverently as the "Little Father" who had been commissioned by God to rule them. The Revolution was the first great step in their political education. It taught them in a highly dramatic manner that the autocracy, which they had long regarded as the special gift of God to his beloved Russia, was essentially brutal and selfish, and that in order to advance the well-being of their fatherland they themselves must control its destinies.

CHAPTER XXIV

REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENTS

SOCIALISM

(*a*) *Introduction*

Revolutionary character of socialism

ONE of the most distinguishing characteristics of the nineteenth century was the advance of democracy. How oppressed and divided peoples achieved national independence, how unenfranchised lower classes gained political freedom, and how persecuted faiths won toleration have already been told. There still remains to tell the story of the extraordinary advance of a movement which, unlike the others, did not merely seek to liberalize existing institutions, but aimed to change the very constitution of the present system of society and to establish an entirely new one in which the production and the distribution of wealth would be radically different from what it is at present. This revolutionary movement goes by the general name of "socialism." It is by far the most significant movement of our day; not only has it enlisted the enthusiastic devotion of millions of followers throughout the world, but it has also profoundly influenced the views of many who are not its adherents. Socialism has been fervently defended and bitterly attacked. By many of the working class it has been accepted as the gospel which would free them from economic slavery; by many of the property-owning class it has been regarded as a "red specter," threatening to inaugurate a reign of terror which will destroy organized society and plunge the world into chaos and ruin.

The socialist indictment: exploitation of labor

Socialism is the most comprehensive as well as the most widespread of modern social movements. It is at once a bitter indictment against the present social order, a philosophy of life, a program of action, and a promise of a future goal. The existing economic system, which is based on private ownership of capital and on competition in industry, has undergone severe criticism at the hands of the socialists. They claim that in spite of the extraordinary increase of wealth since the Industrial Revolution, the masses of people live in a state of dire poverty and misery, because, through a faulty and unjust method of distribution, the few have reaped the benefits of industrial progress at the expense of the many. Production, assert the socialists, is "social," by which they mean that many laborers coöperate to produce an article; but distribution is "individual," that is, each laborer is paid a certain sum of money as wages by the owner of the machine, the capitalist. The laborer's wages are so low that he cannot maintain a family without the aid of private or public charity. Moreover, he may be deprived of his job at any time by his employer, or he may lose it through no fault of his own or of his employer, but through the uncertain working of the industrial system. Unemployment, they say, is an essential feature of this system, for capitalism needs an "industrial reserve army," ready to supply the demand for more labor in case of a sudden expansion of the market or to take the places of those who may be unwilling to work for the wages offered to them. The much-lauded freedom of the workingman of to-day, argue the socialists, is an illusion; for, deprived of his tools by the competition of machinery, he must either sell his labor at the price offered him by the capitalist or starve. Economic necessity is the invisible whip that drives him to his daily task; hence he is in reality a slave with liberty simply to change masters. The present industrial system is based on the exploitation of labor. As producers, the workingmen are exploited by the capitalists; as consumers, by the middle classes; and as tenants, by the landlords. There can be no solution of the labor problem, conclude the socialists, without a dissolution of the capitalist system.

Capitalist methods are the essence of chaos, wastefulness, and corruption. Overproduction one year and underproduction the next dislocate market conditions and cause panics which bring ruin and destitution to many. Competition engenders wastefulness in energy, time, money, and product, because competitors maintain separate establishments with their attendant expenses. The various middlemen, from wholesaler to retailer, take toll from the product as it passes from producer to consumer. A centralized industry, argue the socialists, would save in countless ways by regulating the output of the whole of the product itself and by distributing it directly to the consumers. To be strictly honest in business, they furthermore declare, is to invite disaster; hence business men who would prefer to deal fairly are forced to adopt the methods of their dishonest competitors. Modern business reeks with corruption, from stock-watering by financiers to putting sand in sugar by corner grocers. Swindling purchasers through dishonest advertisements and through adulteration have become widely existent. Colossal fortunes are made in stock exchanges by manipulating the market or by sheer gambling, frequently to the ruin of thousands of innocent investors. Capitalism, declare the socialists, has created a world in which the swindler, the manipulator, and the corruptionist prosper at the expense of millions of toilers who are thus condemned to misery and want. The much-vaunted freedom of enterprise of the capitalist is largely the "freedom of a fox in a free hen-roost."

Incompetence and corruption

Conversion to socialism is not an indication of a change of political belief only; it frequently means a change of attitude toward the problems of life, both private and public. The convert to socialism rejects many cherished traditions and principles that guide the thoughts and actions of his fellows. He is apt to question institutions of all kinds, religion, property, marriage, patriotism. In their earlier and more violent days, socialists were wont to attack these institutions as "bourgeois prejudices"; but in recent years they have concentrated their attacks upon capitalist production, and regard religion and marriage as "private matters" in which they, as socialists, do not care to pronounce judgment.

Socialism: as an attitude toward life

As a program of action socialism has been the advance guard of radical political movements. It maintains a political party which, unlike all other political parties, is international in scope. The socialists hold frequent international conventions representative of the socialist parties in every country to direct the common aims of socialism throughout the world. Socialists are everywhere actively fighting reactionary measures, exposing corruption, championing the cause of the labor unions in their struggles with capital, and, above all, maintaining a vigorous propaganda for their cause.

As a program of action

Finally, as a future goal, socialism means the public ownership and democratic management of all means of production, factories, mines, railways, land, and stores, and the distribution of wealth by public authority. It does not mean, as is popularly supposed, confiscating private property and dividing it equally among all the people. Quickly or slowly, as conditions may determine, the public authorities in the central and local governments will take over the ownership and operation of the industries. Under the socialist régime there will be one vast civil service: every one will be required to work at salaries fixed by the Government according to position and ability. People will continue to possess private personal property, such as clothes, houses, books, and furniture, but not industrial property, such as factories, mines, or railways, which will be State monopolies. By this system, known as the Coöperative Commonwealth, socialists hope to abolish poverty and misery and to inaugurate the golden age of a happy humanity.

As a future goal

(*b*) *The Utopians*

The French Revolution had given a great impetus to schemes for reconstructing society. During the stirring days of that great upheaval men beheld institutions hallowed by age, custom, and sentiment vanish overnight, and new institutions suddenly called into being. It is not surprising, therefore, that

Influence of the French Revolution

many came to believe that social institutions are merely creations of man who, by his own fiat, can easily usher in a new system of society and government provided he has his plan ready. This idea was common during the early part of the nineteenth century, especially in France, where it inspired a group of social reformers, known as Utopians,[1] who desired to emancipate humanity from the evils of capitalism as their fathers had set it free from feudalism.

Saint-Simon

The first of the Utopians was Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), a wealthy French noble who, when a young man, had fought under Washington during the American Revolution. He became intensely interested in reforming mankind and spent his life and fortune advocating schemes of social reconstruction, with the result that he became so poor that he was reduced to utter destitution. One of his projects was to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of a canal. Saint-Simon's writings, scarcely known while he lived, attained influence after his death when a group, calling themselves "Saint-Simonians," began to advocate his ideas. Some of the members of this group later became famous. Foremost among them were the philosopher, Auguste Comte; the engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps; and the economist, Michel Chevalier. Saint-Simon's important book, *Nouveau Christianisme*, is a fervent appeal for the establishment of a new system of society, the new Christianity, for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of those who are at once "the most numerous and the most poor." This new society was to be based on the principle of "association" and not on that of "antagonism," the principle underlying present society. Land and capital were to be held in common, and the right of inheritance was to be abolished; property was to be shared on the principle of "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his need." Saint-Simon's views were hazy but suggestive, and they greatly influenced early socialistic thought.

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[1] The Utopians were so named after the book, *Utopia*, by Sir Thomas More, which describes an ideal society.

Fourier

Another famous Utopian was Charles Fourier (1772–1837), whose published works presented a carefully worked-out ground-plan of the new society. Like Saint-Simon, Fourier believed that the chief evil of the present social system was its spirit of antagonism between persons, classes, religions, and countries. "Harmony" should be the basic principle of the new stage of civilization that the world was about to enter. He worked out a scheme of communal living to which he gave the name of *phalanstery:* it was to comprise farm lands, workshops, and living apartments in which a *phalanx*, a group of about fifteen hundred persons, were to live and work coöperatively. A person entering a *phalanstery* would engage in such work as suited his tastes and desires; and he would be permitted to change his occupation freely until he found one congenial to his temperament. It was Fourier's idea to allow free play to human instincts and passions which, he declared, frequently work harm because the present system of society gives them no legitimate outlet. Once an environment was created which gave opportunities to all sorts of people to express themselves, harmony would result and the world would become peaceful and happy. Fourier's ideas were taken up by many ardent reformers of his day. They found an echo even in America in the famous Brook Farm Colony, which numbered among its members such men as George Ripley, Horace Greeley, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Owen

A far different type of Utopian was the Englishman, Robert Owen (1771–1858), practical business man, philanthropist, and reformer. At the age of nineteen Owen became the manager of a large cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, of which he later became the chief proprietor. New Lanark was a wretched factory town inhabited by a laboring class sunk in poverty, squalor, and drunkenness. Owen's heart was touched by this state of affairs, and he energetically set about transforming the place; for he believed firmly that a good environment would result in an improved population. Owen gave his employees good wages; he improved factory conditions; he organized schools for the children; and he built wholesome houses for his operatives. New Lanark was transformed into a model town with happy, contented people. In spite of the additional expense, Owen's business continued to prosper and his factory became a place of pilgrimage for people who were interested in the experiment. Owen, however, was not content to play the part of a benevolent despot. He was a man of fine mind as well as of great heart; and he believed that true reform lay in people solving their own problems and not in having them solved for them by "good men." He therefore became deeply interested in schemes of social reform and was converted to socialism,[1] to which he devoted his life and fortune. Owen was active in establishing communistic colonies in many parts of the world. Believing that America, being a new country, would offer a freer field for social experiments, he came to Indiana in 1825 and founded a colony called New Harmony. For many years Owen was a notable figure in English public life and a leader in the radical movements of his day.[2]

The failure of utopianism

Utopianism was essentially a humanitarian movement. It made no special appeals to the working classes for support and was, therefore, not inclined to be revolutionary in its methods. Saint-Simon appealed even to the Pope and to King Louis XVIII of France to establish his ideal society. Fourier was regularly at home every day at noon for twelve years, hoping that philanthropists would come to finance his scheme. Kings and other famous persons were welcomed at New Lanark by Owen, who was eager to convince them of the beneficence of his reforms. Utopians, however, were generally regarded as unpractical, fantastic persons. Their schemes were discredited partly because their colonies proved failures and partly because of their attacks on religion and the family. Moreover, it was displaced by a new movement, first called communism and later socialism, which broke sharply with utopian schemes and founded its philosophy and methods on an entirely different basis.

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[1] It is said that the word "socialism" was coined by Owen; it was then synonymous with "utopianism."

[2] See pp. 66, 344.

(*c*) *Karl Marx*

Karl Marx: his early life

The father of modern socialism was Karl Marx (1818-83), who was born in Trier, Rhenish Prussia. The family of Marx were well-to-do Jews who had been converted to Christianity, in which faith young Karl was reared. He went to the Universities of Bonn and Berlin to study law, but found that his interests lay rather in the fields of philosophy and history. Like many other young Germans of this period he became an ardent admirer of the philosophy of Hegel, who was then the guiding star of the rising generation of German intellectuals. In 1842, at the age of twenty-four, Marx became the editor of a radical paper, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which was suppressed by the censor a year later because of its attacks on the Government. Shortly afterwards Marx was married to Jenny von Westphalen, whose family belonged to the Prussian nobility; but the young couple were not destined to spend their lives in peace and plenty. Hearing of the new social doctrines preached by the French Utopians, Marx determined to know more of them and their ideas; accordingly, he and his young bride left their native land and went to live in Paris. Henceforth, to the day of his death, Marx's life was one of long exile, sometimes that of a hunted agitator driven from land to land, at other times a poverty-stricken recluse poring over books in the British Museum. Throughout all his vicissitudes, his wife was his faithful and loving companion, sharing his exile, privation, and obloquy.

His life in Paris and London

Marx's visit to Paris was the beginning of his new life and of his new ideas. There he fell under the influence of the Saint-Simonians whose doctrines awoke new trains of thought in his mind, for until then he had been merely a political Liberal. In Paris he met Friedrich Engels (1820–95), who became his lifelong friend and co-worker. Like himself, Engels came of well-to-do German parents, but he nevertheless dedicated his life to the service of the working class. Marx was driven out of Paris in 1845 and fled to Brussels, where he joined an association of radicals calling itself the Communist League. In 1848 this organization issued the famous *Communist Manifesto*, "the birth-cry of modern socialism," which was written by Marx and Engels. When the Revolution of 1848 took place in Germany, Marx left for Cologne, where he became the editor of a socialist paper which was, however, soon suppressed and Marx was expelled from Germany. He then fled to London, where he lived to the end of his life, devoting himself almost entirely to study and writing. During this period of almost thirty-four years, he and his wife suffered the greatest privation, often lacking the necessities of life. He supported himself partly by writing for the New York *Tribune*, then under the editorship of Horace Greeley. The result of Marx's labors in London was his famous book, *Das Kapital*. In spite of the fact that it is a serious work on economics and is in many parts quite obscure, no book since Rousseau's *Social Contract* has had such an enormous and far-reaching influence. It has been translated into almost every living language and has become a bible for socialists in every part of the civilized world.

Character and influence of Marx

Marx was one of the great figures of the nineteenth century and a world force like Luther and Voltaire. He possessed an unusual combination of qualities, profound learning, striking originality, a keen mind, and, at times, a rare gift for literary expression. This scholar, philosopher, and agitator was a man of stern, unbending uprightness, with indomitable will power and dynamic energy. He was indeed well fitted to be the spokesman of the most revolutionary thought of the nineteenth century.

To this very day the recognized principles of socialism, those that inspire fear in its opponents and hope in its adherents, are Marxian, pure and simple. They are clearly and forcefully expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, a brilliantly written pamphlet designed to appeal to the working classes. These principles are:

Marxism

The materialistic interpretation of history. "In every historic epoch," reads the preface to the *Communist Manifesto*, "the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." In other words, the entire course of history in all its manifold phases has been determined by economic conditions. Ideas and emotions centering within race, religion, culture, and fatherland are declared to be "ideological veils" obscuring the real motive forces, which are material. Nothing is left to chance; everything is predetermined. Socialists declare the materialistic interpretation of history to be "the one pass-key which will unlock all the secrets of the past."

The class struggle. "The history of all hitherto existing society," begins the *Manifesto*, "is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted fight, now hidden, now open, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contesting classes." Out of the economic divisions of society arise classes of exploiters and exploited which correspond in the political sphere to the governors and the governed. In a capitalist society founded on wage labor the exploiters and governors are the bourgeoisie, and the exploited and the governed are the proletariat.[1] In the past the historic stage was the scene of conflict between landlord and peasant, now it is between capitalist and workingman. The *Manifesto* sings a pæan of praise to the bourgeoisie as the revolutionary class that has swept away "all fixed, fast-frozen relations with their train of ancient prejudices and opinions" characteristic of the feudal and ancient worlds, and that has inaugurated the modern dynamic world in which constant change is the law of life, and in which all newly formed institutions become "antiquated before they can ossify." The bourgeoisie, being masters of society, are necessarily masters of the State, which is merely an "executive committee" for the management of their common affairs. "Society as a whole is splitting up more and more into two great hostile camps, into two great classes facing each other, bourgeoisie and proletariat," the only bond between them being "cash payment." It is, therefore, of vital importance for the proletariat to become "class conscious"; namely, to recognize that all laborers have common interests which are irreconcilably opposed to those of the capitalists. This common interest must always be first and foremost in the minds of the working class, to whom law, morality, and religion are "so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush so many bourgeois interests." Class consciousness will result in class solidarity, which is essential to the proletariat in their struggle to overthrow the capitalist system.

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[1] "By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor; by proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live." — Engels.

Surplus value. The fundamental doctrine of Marx's economic system, and the central theme of *Das Kapital*, is known as the theory of "surplus value." According to Marx the exchange, or market, value of a commodity is determined, not by the amount and character of raw material that is put into it, but solely by the amount and character of the total labor power necessary to produce this commodity: to state this doctrine more briefly, labor is the source of all value. It is necessary to add that by "labor" Marx means both mental and physical labor; the well-paid superintendent of a factory as well as the poorly paid operative is a "laborer." Of the total value produced, the workingmen get a small part in the form of wages; the rest, or surplus value, is appropriated by the capitalist in the form of profits. This method of exploiting labor is the very essence of the capitalist system, but under a just system of distribution to be created by socialism, the workingmen will receive the full product of their toil; exploitation will cease, as all value created by labor will go to labor.

Inevitability of socialism. "Capitalism produces above all its own grave-diggers," states the *Manifesto.* Centralization of industry and of labor is, according to Marx, the inevitable tendency of the modern system of production; more and more will the capitalists combine, and wealth will be consequently in fewer and fewer hands. As with capital, so with labor. The factory tends to centralize many laborers of different trades and localities and to reduce them to a common wage level, for all workingmen are equal before the machine. Their lot will steadily grow worse, till finally they are reduced to a state of semi-pauperism. Into the ranks of the proletariat will sink the middle classes, shopkeepers, small farmers, and professional people, ground out of existence by the upper and nether millstones of capital and labor. In time there will be facing each other only two classes, the propertied few and the propertyless many. To save themselves from destruction, the working class will be compelled to overthrow capitalism and to establish the Coöperative Commonwealth, in which class rule will be forever abolished. This change will be accomplished by force if necessary, but preferably through the peaceful action of parliaments controlled by representatives of the proletariat. Unlike other revolutions, which were the work of minorities, the socialist revolution will be the first truly democratic one, as the working class constitutes the majority of the population. In a notable passage Marx thus summarizes the inevitability of socialism. "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalism is sounded. The expropriators are expropriated."

Internationalism. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a whole world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!" concludes the *Manifesto.* In their struggle for emancipation the workingmen must not be diverted from their goal by patriotism, for the proletarian has no country, only a birthplace. All socialists are "comrades," whatever be their nationality. Class interests must, therefore, always take precedence over national interests, even in times of war, as there is more in common between the workingmen of different countries than between workingmen and capitalists of the same country. Modern wars, the socialists assert, are due to the machinations of capitalists, who rouse the masses of the various nations to slaughter one another for the benefit of the capitalists. This does not mean that socialists advocate the abolition of national frontiers; what they advocate is the organization of the world into an international federal union which will lead to the establishment of permanent peace and to fraternal relations between different peoples.

Scientific *versus* Utopian socialism

Marxism, which is sometimes called "scientific socialism," is grounded on the theory of social evolution. Capitalism, according to Marx, is not an evil system inflicted on the world by wicked men, but a stage, and a necessary one, in the development of mankind; and socialism is not an ideal commonwealth to be called into being by enthusiastic reformers, but the logical and inevitable outcome of capitalism. Marx had scant sympathy with ready-made schemes to reorganize society off-hand, and he sarcastically referred to the Utopian experiments as "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem." For the first time in the nineteenth century, a philosophy appeared which gave assurance to millions that the stars in their courses were fighting the battle of the proletariat, whose emancipation might be delayed but not frustrated by the antagonism of the propertied classes. The socialism that emerged from Marx was bristling with the heavy armament of a new philosophy, a new economics, and a new international organization that immediately began an aggressive war on capitalism.

(*d*) *Criticism of Socialism*

To the challenge of socialism its opponents reply that, although present society is far from being perfect, the remedy is not socialism, but social reform. Were socialism, with its regimentation of humanity into an office-holding hierarchy, ever to come, it would destroy initiative and enterprise by eliminating the incentive to gain; and the consequence would be most calamitous for the progress of mankind. Socialism would not eliminate the class struggle; it would, in fact, accentuate it. All being office-holders, a struggle would ensue for the best places in the Government, and the political faction in control would be able to exercise an intolerable tyranny over their less fortunate fellows who, having no other avenue for a livelihood, would have to submit. Politics would then become the one channel for all discontent, and revolutions would be more apt to take place under a socialist régime than under the present system, in which discontent expresses itself through many channels.

Socialism, enemy of progress

Marxian analyses and prophecies are declared by anti-socialists to be faulty. They maintain that the economic interpretation of history is a gross exaggeration, and that by its crass materialism it holds a low view of human nature. If economic motives played their part in the great epochs of history, so did racial, religious, cultural, and patriotic; it is impossible to say which one of these motives was most influential in any given period of history. Men are not sharply divided into three classes but into many, whose interests and ideals shade into one another so imperceptibly that frequently the interests of one group of laborers harmonize more with those of capitalists than they do with those of another group of laborers. The only true goal is the welfare of all classes, that is, the entire community, and not that of one class, the laborers. Furthermore, "the increasing misery" prophecy of Marx has not been fulfilled, because the average workingman is now better fed,

Materialism

Three-class division erroneous

Increasing prosperity

housed, clothed, and cared for than at any previous period. Nor, also, are the middle classes disappearing; on the contrary, they are constantly increasing in numbers and in influence. The concentration of industry is admitted by anti-socialists, and they advocate government regulation of great corporations; but this concentration, they add, has not taken place in agriculture, in which the tendency is toward the division of great estates into small peasant properties. "Surplus value" as an economic doctrine is essentially untrue, for it leaves out of consideration the leading part played by capital in the creation of value by initiating enterprises and by directing their development. Without capital labor is of no value at all; hence the laborers are not an exploited class but share in the product, though at times to an insufficient degree; higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions generally will eliminate whatever exploitation now exists. Anti-socialists indignantly deny that the workingman is a man without a country or even that he thinks that he is. Patriotism is the monopoly of no class: it is the common emotion of a community with common ideals and traditions; and in proof they instance the spontaneous loyalty of the working class to the flag in times of national crises.

Important rôle of capital

Patriotism of the working class

The term "socialism" is frequently used to designate ideas quite different from and even hostile to the revolutionary working-class movement that goes by this name. By state socialism is meant the interference of the State in the affairs of capital and labor through regulation and through social legislation. Capital is regulated as to investments, prices, and rates; and labor, as to hours, wages, and factory conditions. Railway rate-fixing, eight-hour and minimum wage laws are good examples of state socialism. Another important aspect of the latter is the system of social insurance inaugurated by Bismarck in Germany and by Lloyd George in England.[1] The essential idea of state socialism, as expounded by the well-known

State socialism

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[1] See pp. 294 ff; 364 ff.

German economists, Professors Wagner and Schmoller, is to maintain the present economic system intact, but to give its benefits to labor as well as to capital.

Christian socialism

"Christian socialist" is a term used to describe a type of social reformer whose aim is to apply the principles of Christianity to our economic system, which he condemns as unchristian because of the suffering it entails among the laboring classes. The Christian socialist is as much opposed to the materialism and class hatred of Marxism[1] as he is to the ruthless competition and *laissez faire* of individualism. Some of the Christian socialists accept the ideal of the Coöperative Commonwealth and agitate for its establishment through moral and religious appeals. But most of them are really state socialists; for they are opposed to a radical change in the present economic system and wish merely to see it improved through social legislation. The English writer and reformer, Charles Kingsley, the French writer and reformer, Abbé Lamennais, and the German Catholic Bishop, Ketteler, were prominent exponents of Christian socialism during the middle of the nineteenth century. In May, 1891, Pope Leo XIII issued a famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, in which he declared that the hostility between capital and labor was growing because of the tyranny and the greed of employers, and that the condition of the lower classes must be improved. But the remedy was not socialism, for its principles violate the natural right to property and incite to class hatred, which is unchristian. Harmonious relations between capital and labor was the solution of the social problem, and he enjoined workingmen to be peaceful and loyal to their employers and the latter to treat their men as Christian freemen and not to exploit them as slaves. This encyclical inspired many Catholics to advocate policies in favor of social reforms. The Center Party of Germany and the Catholic Party of Belgium have been very active in this direction. To Marxian socialism the Catholic Church has shown uncompromising hostility; and in almost every country Catholics and socialists are bitterly opposed to each other.

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[1] See pp. 579 ff.

(e) *The Socialist "International"*

The "International"

The beginnings of the great socialist international organization were made in 1862 on the occasion of the London International Exhibition, when a body of French workingmen were entertained by their English fellows. Again, in 1864, there was held a great meeting in London of workers from many countries, at which an organization known as the "International" was formed. This body contained radicals of all sorts, English trade unionists, Polish and Italian nationalists, German socialists, Russian nihilists, and anarchists. Its constitution was drawn up by Marx, who committed the "International" to the doctrines of socialism, with the result that the moderate elements left the body. Later the radicals split into two violent factions, one composed of socialists led by Marx and the other of anarchists led by Bakunin;[1] and after a bitter struggle the latter and his followers were ousted from the organization by Marx. For a time the "International" inspired fear among the propertied classes that it would become the rallying-point for a general uprising of the working class. After holding congresses for about ten years the "International" quietly disbanded and gave place to a new type of international association, one representative of the socialist parties in every country. The new socialist organization, in its international congresses, recognized the nation as the basis of representation, delegates being apportioned according to the size of a country; and even dependent nations, like Bohemia, Poland, Finland, Canada, and Australia were allowed representation. The growth of international socialism has been phenomenal. In 1914 it polled about eleven million votes and elected over seven hundred representatives to the various parliaments. The socialist parties are efficiently organized and ably led, with dues-paying members, a well-edited press, and an enthusiastic corps of volunteer workers, who proclaim the gospel of socialism in all places and at all times.

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[1] See p. 598.

Ferdinand Lassalle

It is of interest to trace the history of socialism in the important European countries. Germany was the home of the new movement in all its phases, and the socialists throughout the world took their philosophy from Marx and their methods and policies from the German Social Democratic Party. The founder of this famous organization was Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–65), the son of a wealthy Jewish merchant of Breslau. Like Marx, Lassalle was a deep student of philosophy and history and an active, eager propagandist. This intellectual agitator had received all the advantages that wealth and education could bestow, and he once declared, "Every line that I write, I do so fortified with the whole culture of my century." Possessed of a chivalrous, romantic temperament as well as of a brilliant mind, Lassalle became the idol of the German working classes, whose cause he warmly championed. His fascinating personality charmed all who came in contact with him, so that he was a favorite even in aristocratic circles. Bismarck himself welcomed him as a friend, and it is believed that he adopted universal suffrage for the Reichstag through Lassalle's influence.

His theories

In his pamphlet, *The Working Class Program*, published in 1863, Lassalle says that history may be divided into three periods: (1) the period prior to the French Revolution, which was dominated by the landed aristocracy; (2) that between the French Revolution and the Revolution of 1848, dominated by the bourgeoisie; and (3) that since the Revolution of 1848, in which the aspirations of the working class have been the dominant feature. Under the capitalist system it is impossible for the workingmen to better their condition, as they are subject to the "iron law of wages" which allows them merely enough to live and to reproduce their kind. An increase in wages is followed by an increase in the number of working-class families; hence their standard of living remains ever the same. Only the interference of the State can save them from this evil and hopeless situation. He therefore urged that the State advance money to workingmen to form coöperative productive associations, which would eventually lead to the public ownership of the means of production. Lassalle declared that the bourgeois conception of the State was that of a "night watchman" whose function was to guard life and property; but for the working class the State was the greatest agency for benefiting mankind in every possible way. As long as the working class was economically dependent it could never be politically or morally free; hence socialism was the only solution: under a socialist régime capital would be the servant, not the master, of labor. Unlike Marx, Lassalle was a strong nationalist and a great admirer of Prussia as the supreme type of a strongly organized State, able to solve the problems of the working class provided its direction was in their hands.

The "Eisenachers" and the Lassalleans

In 1863 Lassalle founded the General Workingmen's Association, which adopted his program. It failed, however, to attract many followers. Two years later Lassalle was killed in a duel over a love affair, which left the organization in a precarious state. In 1869 Wilhelm Liebknecht, a radical journalist, and August Bebel, a wood-turner, both converts to Marxism, organized the Social Democratic Labor Party, which met at Eisenach and adopted a Marxian program. The "Eisenachers," as the latter were called, and the Lassalleans were for a time rivals for the favor of the German working class; but they united at Gotha in 1875 to form the political party that later became known as the Social Democratic Party. In the Reichstag elections of 1877 the Social Democrats received about half a million votes and won twelve seats.

The Erfurt Program

Bismarck became apprehensive and he determined to stem the "red flood" by drastic measures. The struggle that followed between the Government and the socialists has already been described elsewhere;[1] its outcome was, as we have seen, a distinct triumph for the latter. In 1891, soon after the repeal of the anti-socialist laws, a congress of the Social Democrats was held at Erfurt. It revised the Gotha Program which advocated the ideas of both Marx and Lassalle, and adopted one that was purely Marxian. This Erfurt Program later became the model for the socialist parties in all countries. Its *maximum* demands were the abolition of private capital and the establishment of the Coöperative Commonwealth; but it included *minimum* demands, or immediate reforms, the most important of which were woman suffrage, equal, direct, and secret suffrage for all legislatures, proportional representation, the substitution of a popular militia for the standing army, full freedom of speech and assembly, civil equality of men and women, separation of Church and State, free secular education, heavy income and inheritance taxes, a universal eight-hour work-day, and factory reforms.

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[1] See pp. 292 ff.

Peaceful methods of socialists

The growth of German socialism has been phenomenal, as nearly every election has seen a large increase in its vote.[1] The socialist leader, Bebel, a self-educated workingman, developed marked ability as a parliamentary orator and tactician. He was a man of high ideals and inflexible character, greatly admired by his opponents as well as by his devoted followers. Large numbers of progressives among the middle classes, disgusted with the timorous attitude of the Liberal parties toward politi-

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[1] The following table shows in round numbers the Socialist vote for the Reichstag: —

	Votes	*Seats*
1871	124,500	2
1874	352,000	10
1877	493,000	13
1878	437,000	9
1881	312,000	13
1884	550,000	24
1887	763,000	11
1890	1,427,000	35
1893	1,787,000	44
1898	2,107,000	56
1903	3,011,000	81
1907	3,260,000	43
1912	4,250,000	110

cal reform, began to vote "red" as a protest against autocracy and militarism in Germany, thus swelling the ranks of the Social Democrats. To fight "with intellectual weapons" only and to discountenance violence of all kinds was the policy of the party from its birth, because it felt certain of dominating the Reichstag in the course of time.

"Revisionism"

At the beginning of the twentieth century a new tendency in German socialism known as "revisionism" appeared which attracted considerable attention. Its spokesman was Eduard Bernstein, a socialist journalist, whose writings roused a storm of opposition which threatened to divide the party. Bernstein boldly declared that not all of Marx's prophecies had been fulfilled: the rich were not growing richer and the poor, poorer; the middle class was not disappearing, but increasing; the consolidation of industry did not mean the consolidation of wealth, because of the larger number of small shareholders; and peasant proprietorship was increasing. Hence the time had come to "revise" Marxian theories and tactics. The "revisionists" fully accepted socialism as an ultimate goal, but they urged that the Social Democrats work "less for the better future and more for the better present" by coöperating with the progressive forces in German political life. They declared that the mass of workingmen were unwilling to wait "until some fine day when the roast pigeons of the socialist revolution would fly into their mouths," but desired immediate reforms. The leadership of the party was, however, in the hands of the "orthodox" socialists, who stood hard and fast by Marxism and who emphasized the revolutionary aspects of socialism by holding aloof from all other parties. They declared that reforms were "bribes" offered by the Government to the workers in order to quiet their demands for fundamental changes; that agitation and criticism were the only legitimate activities of socialists in a capitalistic society; and that the only function of their representatives in Parliament was "to speak through its windows" to the masses without

These two opposing views did not lead to a split in the party, but to efforts of each faction to control its policies.

Socialism in France

The growth of socialism in France was seriously retarded by the Commune. Its ideas and methods were discredited and its leaders imprisoned and exiled as a result of the bloody uprising of 1871. Soon after the exiled communists were permitted to return, a vigorous socialist agitation was begun among the French working classes. One of the returned exiles was Jules Guesde, who had spent several years in Germany and who came back filled with admiration for the theoretical system of Marx and for the unity and discipline of the German Social Democrats. He devoted himself tirelessly to trying to induce the French workingmen to follow the German model, but they showed a temperamental distaste for the rigor of Marxism as well as for the discipline of the Social Democrats. A number of socialist factions appeared in the early eighties, each with its own views and methods, the Guesdists, the Broussists, and the Allemanists, so called after their leaders, Guesde, Brousse, and Allemane. In 1893 a group calling itself the "Independent Socialists" was organized by Jaurès and Millerand, anti-Marxians, who believed in progressive socialization of the means of production. In general, the French socialists were of two kinds: Marxians, who closely followed their German master, and "possibilists," or "reformists," who favored the more moderate policy of progressive social reform with socialism as the ultimate aim. In spite of these divisions, the Socialists polled about half a million votes in the elections of 1893 and elected forty members to the Chamber.

Guesde

Two dominating personalities came to the fore as leaders of French socialism, Guesde and Jaurès. Jules Guesde (1845–), a rigid adherent of the principles and methods of Marx, was profoundly convinced that the world was predestined to socialism. He therefore would not tolerate any modification of its plan of social salvation. "No compromise with the bourgeois State and no alliance with bourgeois parties," was his policy. The proletariat must agitate till it gains control; then a socialist national assembly will abolish capitalism in the same manner in which feudalism was abolished in 1789.

Jaurès

A far different type was Jean Jaurès (1859–1914), who gained world renown as the greatest orator of his day. Jaurès began his career as a professor of philosophy. Later he entered politics, first as a radical Republican, then as a Socialist. Because of his eminence as an orator, scholar, and parliamentary tactician, he came to be known as the world's leading Socialist. Unlike Guesde, Jaurès was an opportunist, for he favored the peaceful penetration of democracy by socialism "until the proletarian and socialist State shall have replaced the oligarchic and bourgeois State." He therefore advised his followers to join the Radicals in the Chamber in their war upon the royalists and clericals and in their efforts to better the conditions of the lower classes through social legislation.

The Dreyfus Affair

The Dreyfus Affair brought further division into the ranks of French socialism. Guesde and Jaurès differed violently as to what attitude the Socialists should take toward the Affair. The former believed that they should remain neutral, but the latter took the side of Dreyfus with passionate ardor, and played an important part in the celebrated case and in the events that followed. When the Cabinet of Republican Defense was organized by Waldeck-Rousseau, the Socialist, Alexandre Millerand, was made a minister with the consent of Jaurès. This roused the bitter opposition of Guesde and his followers, who denounced Millerand as a "hostage" held by a bourgeois Government for the good behavior of the Socialists. At the international socialist congress at Amsterdam, in 1904, Guesde introduced a resolution to the effect that no bona-fide socialist should be permitted to hold office in a bourgeois cabinet. This resolution led to a notable debate between Bebel, representing the "orthodox" wing, and Jaurès, the "reformist." The Congress supported the former and recommended that the various French factions unite in one party with a common policy. Jaurès accepted the decision, and there was formed the Unified Socialist Party of France which, in subsequent elections, made large gains both in seats and in votes.[1]

Socialism in England

In spite of the fact that England is the classic land of capitalism, the growth of socialism in that country has been very slow. English workingmen have generally looked to the Liberals for political reform and to their trade unions for economic betterment. The pioneers of English socialism were Henry M. Hyndman and the poet, William Morris, who, in 1880, organized the Social Democratic Federation on strictly Marxian principles. But this body failed to make much headway among the working classes, and a new organization, called the "Independent Labor Party," was formed in 1893 by Keir Hardie, a popular trade unionist. The "I.L.P." favored socialism as the ultimate goal, but it was "reformist" inasmuch as it rejected Marxism. Some years previously (1883), there was organized the famous Fabian Society, to which were attracted some of the intellectual élite of England, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sidney Ollivier, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The Fabians were socialists in principle, like the Marxians and the "reformists," but they differed from both in refusing to commit themselves to any party; to them socialism was a principle of social action, not a formula or party platform. They proposed to follow a "Fabian" policy,[2] and sought to influence all parties and all sections of opinion in favor of social reforms. This group of brilliant intellectuals carried on a ceaseless agitation and succeeded in converting the Liberal Party from its historic policy of *laissez faire* to state socialism. These

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[1] The following table shows the growth of the party: —

	Votes	*Seats*
1906	878,000	54
1910	1,125,000	76
1914	1,500,000	102

[2] The name of the society was taken from the famous Roman general, Fabius the Delayer, whose tactics against the Carthaginians was not to engage them in a decisive battle, but to wear them out by many attacks.

several socialistic groups joined with the trade unions in 1906 to form the Labor Party[1] which, for the time being, refused to commit itself to the doctrines of socialism. It contented itself with demanding labor reforms and supported the Liberal Government to obtain them. The Labor Party although composed in the main of conservative trade unionists, was led by Socialists, Keir Hardie, J. Ramsay MacDonald, and Philip Snowden. In 1914 it adopted a resolution in favor of the collective ownership of capital and land; but this resolution was merely nominal, for its tactics remained unchanged.[2]

Austrian socialism

Austrian socialism took its doctrines and methods from Germany. Owing to the racial divisions and to a restricted suffrage, it was not till 1901 that a Socialist Party appeared in Austrian politics. When universal suffrage was granted in 1907 the Socialists scored their first important success by polling over a million votes and by electing more than eighty members to the Reichsrat. Racial differences, however, divided the Socialists into national groups, Bohemian, German, Polish, and Slavonian, so that their progress has been slow. Socialism in Hungary is still in its protesting stage, as Hungary does not yet have a system of universal suffrage and, like Austria, is rent by racial antagonisms.

Italian socialism

In Italy there took place a long struggle between the socialists and anarchists, each trying to commit the working class to their doctrines. A Workingmen's Party composed of both these elements was organized in 1885; later the anarchists were expelled and the party was reorganized on a socialist basis. Many middle-class intellectuals, the best known of whom were Professors Ferri and Labriola, joined the Socialists and became their leaders. Italian Socialists, like those in France, were divided by the rivalries of the Marxians and the "reformists";

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[1] See p. 347.

[2] In 1918 the Labor Party adopted an important change in its constitution. All workers "by hand or brain" were invited to join its ranks; hitherto, only members of trade unions and socialist societies were eligible to membership in the Labor Party.

however, a congress, held in 1906, decided in favor of the latter, and the two factions, for a time, healed their differences. But the Tripolitan War, supported by some members and opposed by others, once more rent the party in twain. In spite of this division and in spite of the strong rivalry of syndicalism, Italian socialism attracted so considerable a following that in the elections of 1913 it polled about a million votes and captured seventy seats.[1]

Opposition of socialists to militarism

Though socialists differed radically in their views of many matters, there was one article in their creed upon which they were in complete unanimity, and that was hostility to militarism. They everywhere consistently opposed standing armies and they regularly voted against military budgets. In Germany the socialists had stubbornly fought against the influence of the army in the Government. In France, they had gone to the length of launching an anti-militaristic crusade which seriously threatened the morale of the French army. Jaurès flouted the *revanche* and sought to establish good relations between his country and Germany. Nevertheless, socialists believed in defending their country against invasion. Bebel himself had once declared that German socialists would fight shoulder to shoulder with the bourgeoisie were Germany invaded by Russia, "a barbarian who is the greatest enemy of our [socialist] aspirations." Jaurès, too, believed that aggression should be fought, and he declared that the nation who refused to submit its case to arbitration was to be considered the aggressor.

Socialists and war

What socialists should do in case of a European conflict was frequently discussed at their international meetings. At the Congress of Stuttgart, in 1907, the French delegates proposed that a general strike of all labor should be called in case of a general war. But the German delegates succeeded in defeating this resolution and in carrying one which declared that, should a war threaten, socialists should vigorously oppose it; but should it come nevertheless, they should then strive to bring about an early peace. At the Congress of Copenhagen, in 1910, another resolution favoring a general strike in case of war was introduced. But the German delegates succeeded in postponing action on it to the next congress.[1] When the military budget of 1913 came before the Reichstag,[2] the Social Democrats astonished every one by voting for it. As this action was unprecedented, they apologetically declared that it was because the burden of expense would fall on the wealthy classes through the new income and property taxes provided in the law. The French Socialists, on the contrary, led the opposition to the Three Years' Military Law,[3] and Jaurès was roundly denounced as an enemy of his country by those who advocated that measure.

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[1] The progress of socialism in Russia has already been described on pp. 557 ff.

Socialists support their Governments in the World War

During the anxious days between July 28 and August 4, 1914, when war clouds were rapidly gathering, the socialists in all countries organized peace demonstrations. On July 30 Jaurès made a stirring address at a great mass meeting in Brussels in which he warned the Governments of Europe against plunging the world into a general conflict and threatened them with a general strike. Shortly afterwards he was assassinated in Paris by a man who regarded him as a traitor. When Germany declared war, all eyes were turned toward the Social Democrats in the Reichstag. To the amazement of the world the socialist delegation supported the Government and unanimously voted for the war credits. Their defense was that as Germany was being invaded by the Russians, it was their duty to defend the Fatherland.[4] The Austrian socialists followed their example. There was now no alternative for the socialists in the Allied countries but to do likewise. The French socialists thereupon voted for the war credits, and Guesde, the lifelong opponent of compromise with the "bourgeois State," himself went into the Cabinet. The English Labor Party, with the exception of the "I.L.P." faction, voted for the war. And so the great labor international, which for two generations had preached the solidarity of the working classes of all countries, went down to destruction in the general conflagration.

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[1] The Congress of Copenhagen was the last international congress held by the socialists.

[2] See p. 321.

[3] See p. 272.

[4] The only Socialist in the Reichstag who from the first opposed the German Government's war policy was Karl Liebknecht, the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, for which he was expelled from his party. As the war progressed a group of about twenty socialist members of the Reichstag seceded from their party and organized a minority socialist group to oppose the war.

ANARCHISM

Principles of anarchy

Almost from its beginning socialism encountered the hostility of a group of revolutionists calling themselves anarchists. Repudiation of authority in whatever form, state, church, or family, is the essence of anarchy; and to substitute the principle of freedom for that of authority in all relations of life is its chief object. "The liberty of man," declares Bakunin, "consists solely in this, that he obey the laws of nature because he himself has recognized them as such and not because they have been imposed upon him externally by a foreign will, human or divine, collective or individual." Any interference with an individual is resented as an "invasion" of his personality. All of life's activities are to be carried on by free associations that combine and dissolve at will. Coöperative productive associations, in which the product is shared among the laborers, are to supersede the present capitalist system; mutual protective associations, the State; and free love, marriage. The State, as the embodiment of the highest authority, is, according to anarchists, the arch-enemy of freedom; it must therefore be destroyed, the democratic ones no less than the autocratic, because "all government of man by man, under whatever name it may disguise itself, is tyranny." Inasmuch as anarchy is the extreme of individualism, and socialism is the extreme of collectivism, these two movements have been constantly at war with each other.

Proudhon

The father of modern anarchy was the Frenchman, Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–65), a self-educated man who developed remarkable gifts as a controversial writer. Proudhon wrote many pamphlets. One, *The Philosophy of Poverty*, so roused the ire of Marx that he attacked him in a pamphlet, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. In 1840 appeared Proudhon's best known work, *What is Property?* To this question his answer was, "Property is theft"; for it reaps without sowing and consumes without producing, thereby enabling its possessor to rob other men of the fruits of their toil. The term "anarchy" was invented by Proudhon, who used it to designate a system of society in which the State would be non-existent, and all activities, political, economic, and social, would be carried on by free associations.

Bakunin

Proudhon was a philosopher and humanitarian and opposed to violence, for he believed strongly that social changes could be brought about through the power of ideas. A wholly different school of anarchists appeared, who advocated the "propaganda of deed," or the establishment of anarchy through acts of violence. The assassination of rulers was the favorite method of this group of anarchists in their war against the State; and several well-known rulers, King Humbert of Italy, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, President Carnot of France, and President McKinley of the United States, met death at their hands. The father of anarchist terrorism was Michael Bakunin (1814–76), who was described as "the apostle of universal destruction." Bakunin came of an aristocratic Russian family, but he was attracted to the revolutionary movement in Russia and was recognized as a leader among the terrorists.[1] He was possessed of the idea that the State was now an anachronism and that the simplest way to destroy it was to destroy its chiefs. He became a wandering conspirator, hatching plots and fermenting disorder in many lands. A large part of his life was spent in prison and in exile.

Anarchism was not a labor propaganda and it did not at any time attract considerable numbers of workingmen; it was primarily a philosophy of life appealing to individuals of all classes; hence it has had slight influence as a movement.

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[1] See p. 518.

SYNDICALISM

Growth of moderation among Socialists

The most trenchant criticism of socialism came from an unexpected quarter, the radical workingmen. What had drawn millions of workers to the standard of socialism was that it offered them a definite plan of emancipation and clearly indicated ways of realizing it. The socialist argument ran as follows: Let the workingmen keep on voting for socialist candidates; and, as the laboring masses constitute the majority of the nation, in time the socialist representatives will control parliaments and enact laws expropriating the capitalists. Society will thus pass from capitalism to socialism. The Socialist vote did grow apace; and the Socialist parties became so strong that their assistance was sought by the other parties and their leaders were even made Ministers of State. Face to face with practical problems, they tended to become moderate in their views and methods; their old revolutionary fervor abated, and the great day of emancipation was put off or forgotten. The success of the Socialists attracted to their ranks aspiring young men of the middle class to whom socialism offered a political career, so that almost the entire leadership of the Socialist parties was in the hands of men whose families and traditions were bourgeois.

Criticism of Socialist parties

This led to uneasiness among the workingmen, who charged the Socialist parties with being more eager to win elections than to win emancipation for the proletariat. Socialist leaders were denounced as parliamentary politicians who preferred their own and their party's welfare to that of the working class. There was also a growing conviction that the working class could never hope to control the political machinery, because they were actually outnumbered by the propertied elements, the middle classes and the peasant proprietors. Was then the work of Marx all vain?

A new movement, known as "syndicalism,"[1] appeared in France and spread rapidly among the working classes in Europe and in America. Syndicalism subscribes fully to the socialist indictment of present society and to socialist philosophy; but its practical program and future goal are very different from those of socialism. According to the syndicalists the dependence on parliamentary action is the great error of socialists. Parliaments, they contend, can never be the means of emancipating the working class, for they are essentially bourgeois institutions created by them in their struggle against the landed aristocracy represented by absolute monarchy. Hence the political activity of the working class is a waste of time and energy; it moreover dulls their revolutionary ardor, because the class struggle is frittered away in fruitless party strife. The few reforms passed by parliaments in the interest of labor are nullified in effect by hostile or corrupt officials and judges. Real reforms can be extracted in one way only, directly by the workingmen from the capitalists, not indirectly through acts of parliament. "Direct action" is, therefore, the only logical policy of the proletariat, and they should eschew politics and give their whole time and energy to the struggle in the economic field, the real battleground of capital and labor.

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[1] From the French word, *syndicat*, a trade union.

Criticism of parliamentary action

The only pure working-class institution, created by them and for them alone, is the trade union, and the only true working-class weapon is the strike; on these alone must the workingmen depend for their "integral emancipation," declare the syndicalists. Hitherto the trade union has been weak and inefficient, because its potentialities were not realized. Once its scope is broadened by larger organization and its significance deepened by a revolutionary philosophy, this much despised working-class institution will become a most powerful organ in the hands of the proletariat. The unions are, therefore, to be reorganized on an industrial basis; small craft unions within an industry are to amalgamate into one big *industrial* union, comprising both skilled and unskilled workers. For example, the carpenters, iron-workers, steam-fitters, painters, and

Industrial unionism

others employed in the building trades should form one union having a common policy and a common direction. A strike is to be *general*, that is, of all the workers in the industry. Should any one group of workers have a grievance, the entire trade is to support it in a general strike. For example, should the carpenters have a grievance, a strike should take place not of the carpenters only, but of all those employed in the building trades. An industrial union will emphasize class solidarity more than does the craft union, which is merely a labor corporation; and a general strike will give the workingman a vivid sense of the class war, which is all important in syndicalist methods. Laborers should make no contracts or agreements with their employers, but at every opportunity they should strike; for the war between capital and labor is unceasing and ruthless. Strikes, whether they achieve their immediate end or not, are never lost; for they keep alive the revolutionary spirit of the working class and so prepare it for the day when all labor will rise to take possession of the means of production. War against capitalism is to go on even when the laborers are at work by means of *sabotage*,[1] by which is meant the impeding of the process of production in all possible ways: by breaking machinery, by spoiling materials, by deliberately making errors, and by working in a dilatory fashion. "Poor work for poor pay," is the syndicalist alternative to a strike.

The "social myth"

If the methods of the syndicalists are concrete, their aims are vague. They preach what is called the "social myth" of a universal strike of all labor, "a revolution with folded arms," when the capitalists will be rendered powerless and the laborers will take over the factories, mines, and railways, and work them on a coöperative basis. The industrial union, now "a group of resistance," will in the future be "a group of production and distribution." It will form the "cell" of future society, and a general federation of industrial unions will supersede the State. In theory, syndicalists are as bitterly hostile to the State as are anarchists; but their violence does not take the form of assassinating kings and presidents. They declare that they prefer to wage war "directly" on the capitalists themselves, rather than on their agents in the Government; their violence is therefore entirely in the economic field. Violent methods cannot be dissociated from this new gospel. The syndicalists believe that, just because the working class is in a minority, their emancipation can be brought about through violent revolution only. The supreme need is for effective and daring leadership by a group of revolutionary workingmen, the conscious "minority of a minority." Under such leadership the mass of laborers, the "human zeros," will succeed in gaining their emancipation.

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[1] The term comes from the French word *sabot*, a wooden shoe commonly worn by French workingmen. It is related that once when a strike was declared in a French factory, the laborers threw their *sabots* into the machinery, thereby ruining it.

Syndicalism had its origin in France among obscure workingmen.[1] Its ideas found coherent expression for the first time in *Réflexions sur la Violence* (1909), by Georges Sorel, a philosophical writer living in Paris. Sorel declared that Marx had a thorough understanding of capital, but that he failed to grasp the significance of the labor movement; for that reason socialists have generally been contemptuous of, if not hostile to, trade unions. The working class is the only class that has not yet fulfilled its historic mission; it must, therefore, be aroused by a sublime ideal and must strive to attain it regardless of criticism by democrats and socialists. The former once had a great mission, but they have degenerated into office-seekers and charlatans; and the latter, being under the influence of bourgeois ideals and methods, are not and can never be the true leaders of the working class.

Sorel

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[1] See p. 268.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

Position of Woman in Society

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of a movement among women that was universally regarded as strange and fantastic. This movement, known as "feminism," aroused not so much hostility as ridicule; and it was a long time before its claims received serious attention. Although distinctly revolutionary, feminism was not feared for the reason that women could not, like the workingmen, threaten the existing order by an armed uprising. Nevertheless, in spite of general hostility, contempt, and ridicule, feminism has in recent years made surprising advances both as a philosophy and as a program of action; and it is, therefore, necessary to describe its ideas and history.

Inferior position of women

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the position of womankind was not very different from what it had been for centuries. Women, being universally regarded as the inferior sex, "the weaker vessels," were not given equal rights with men in government or equal opportunities with them in society. Their only function was the bearing and rearing of children, and their only occupation, housekeeping. Women led private lives, secluded and sheltered in their homes and busied with their household duties. They played no part in the public life of the world, in government, industry, education, or religion, spheres of interests preëmpted by men in a "man's world." Should a woman venture to express her opinion on general affairs, it was received with contempt as foolish and childish; her sphere was the home. "Women are only children of a larger growth," said Lord Chesterfield, the first gentleman of his age; "a man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humors and flatters them as he does with a sprightly, forward child." In the State women were non-existent even in the days of property suffrage, for they were excluded from voting whether they possessed property or not. In the Church they were welcomed as communicants but excluded from the ministry; neither Catholics nor most Protestants permitted them to be ordained.[1] In commerce and industry women had no share, either as capitalists or as workers: their economic activity was entirely in the home.

Woman's dependence on man

The most important fact in a woman's life was her relation to man. Not being engaged in any gainful occupation, she was dependent for her support on her husband, father, or brother. This economic dependence was reflected in legal dependence. Before the civil law woman was a minor: she could make no contracts; could not sue or be sued; her husband or father was liable for civil offenses she committed. In criminal matters only was she responsible for her acts. Marriage meant woman's complete surrender of her person and property to her husband, whom she promised "to love and to obey." According to the law, husband and wife were "one," but as the husband bore the responsibilities of both, he had the rights of both. Since a wife could legally hold no property, her possessions passed to her husband on marriage. The children born to them were legally his, the mother having few rights over them. It was generally believed that woman was by divine design made for man; hence it was her highest duty to please him in every way possible.

Her lack of education

Woman's mind being thought inferior, to educate her was considered wasteful. An intellectual woman was regarded as a monstrosity and she was socially ostracized. Very few women were given opportunities for higher education. Those who were, received one of inferior quality in the boarding-schools and female seminaries, where much of the time was devoted to teaching them "lady-like accomplishments," such as music, dancing, dress, and etiquette. Woman's sole aim was to be attractive in order to win a husband; sound learning, it was thought, would spoil a girl's "charm" and consequently ruin her prospects for marriage.

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[1] Only a few of the Protestant sects allowed women in their ministry.

Chivalry of man

This inferior position of woman in society was veiled by her intimate association with man. Woman was regarded as the chosen of God and nature for the welfare of the race; she was, therefore, entitled to special protection in society. Her physical constitution was more delicate, her nature more refined, and her person more comely than man's; it consequently behooved him to treat her with consideration in all personal relations: to be kind and gentle in speech and in action, and to be ever ready to sacrifice his comfort and even his life for the sake of the "fair sex." This chivalrous attitude cast a halo of romance about women, through whose spiritual influence man was inspired to brave deeds, noble sentiments, and virtuous acts. As they were considered incapable of producing great works of art, literature, or science, their part was to be an "inspiration" to men of genius.

Origin of Feminism

The French Revolution

The French Revolution, which set all social theories and institutions rocking on their foundations, caused bold inquiries to be made into the status of woman as well as into that of man. When the National Assembly was in session a group of women drew up a Declaration of the Rights of Women, demanding equal rights of women with men, which they sent to that body for adoption. Scant attention was paid to it. The woman's liberal movement was suppressed by Napoleon, whose Code, very liberal and enlightened in many respects, was reactionary in regard to woman, for it put the wife completely under the control of her husband.

Mary Wollstonecraft

It was England rather than France that saw the rise and growth of the feminist movement. Its pioneer was Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97), whose book, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1792, was an eloquent appeal for the full and complete equality of women with men in every sphere of life, in order to emancipate them from "sex bondage." Woman, Mary Wollstonecraft declared, was an *individual*, with her own powers to develop, for which she needed the fullest opportunity. It was to her detriment that too much emphasis had been put on her sex. Her welfare demanded that she be regarded as a human being as well as a wife and mother, because "the desire of always being women is the very consciousness that degrades the sex." Woman's intellectual inferiority was not due to her nature, but to her inferior education; she would quickly rise in mental capacity were she given full educational opportunities. Women must be enfranchised, as the vote is as much her natural right as man's; to keep unenfranchised half the human race is to make a mockery of democracy. Above all, women must become economically independent of man; they should, therefore, be permitted to engage in industry and in the professions; too long have women lived by their "charm." Mary Wollstonecraft's bold pronouncements shocked her contemporaries. She was denounced as a "hyena in petticoats," and good women were warned not to fall under her influence.

The Industrial Revolution

Far more influential than radical theories in changing the status of woman was the Industrial Revolution. The factory drew women from the home as it did men from the shop. Home industries, like spinning, sewing, baking, and brewing, largely conducted by women, rapidly became obsolete. Women were welcomed into the factory because they accepted lower wages than men and were less likely to prove recalcitrant. The factory, for all its evils, low wages, long hours, and unsanitary conditions, yet proved of immeasurable importance in the emancipation of women; for the first time an opportunity was given to them to become wage-earners and thereby gain a degree of economic independence. Soon many began to rise in the economic field, to enter the semi-skilled occupations and the professions. Driven from the confining influences of the home into the great world and forced to earn their livelihood like men, women began seriously to consider the problem of their political and social status. In large measure it may be said that the rise of modern industry was responsible for the growth of feminism.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman suffrage

England, as the home of the Industrial Revolution and of political liberalism, naturally became the center of the woman's movement. Almost from the start feminism's first demand was for woman suffrage. It was realized that in a country like England, where political activity plays a great part in the life of the people, the enfranchisement of women would be universally regarded as a step of prime importance in their emancipation. Woman suffrage found a powerful champion in John Stuart Mill, whose book, *Subjection of Women* (1869), remains to this day the classic exposition of the case for woman suffrage. During the debates on the Reform Bill of 1867, Mill introduced an amendment for the enfranchisement of women, but it was defeated by a vote of 196 to 73. Many woman suffrage societies were organized for the purpose of conducting a vigorous agitation to convert England to the new reform. Equal franchise bills were introduced in Parliament which at first brought forth flippant remarks, but which later led to serious debates on the question. The women claimed the vote both as a moral right and as a practical desirability. They declared that so long as they remained unenfranchised they were aliens in their own country, subject to its laws but having no share in making them. At best they were citizens who bore the obligations, but received few of the privileges, of citizenship; and they raised the time-honored cry, "No taxation without representation!" They also urged that the enfranchisement of women would lead to the improvement of their condition and to that of society in general, for women would be certain to wield political power in favor of social and moral reforms. The opponents of woman suffrage contended that the entrance of women into politics would lead to the neglect of their home duties with dire consequences for family life, and that it would also promote antagonism between the sexes. Women would become coarsened in the rough-and-tumble game of politics, which is more to the taste of men than of women. The ballot need not be exercised by women in order to advance their interests: laws favorable to women were passed without it. In answer to the claim of the suffragists that the ballot was their right, the anti-suffragists replied that government rests on force, and since women are not required to fight for their country they should have no voice in directing its policies.

The "suffragettes"

The agitation for woman suffrage proceeded along constitutional lines for about a generation. Its progress was slow, and the more ardent spirits among the suffragists became impatient. In 1903 there was organized the Women's Social and Political Union by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and her two daughters, Christabel and Sylvia. This body resolved to bring the question of woman suffrage prominently before the English people by adopting "militant" methods. The "suffragettes," as the militant suffragists were called, began in a mild way by "heckling" prominent speakers; before long they took to breaking up political meetings. No public man was safe from their questions or their missiles. They finally resolved on a policy of committing outrages. Buildings were set on fire, windows broken, letter-boxes ruined, pictures and statues in museums destroyed, telegraph wires cut, and the sessions of Parliament disturbed by riotous demonstrations in the galleries. For a decade all England was in a turmoil. No one knew what outrage the daring "suffragettes" would commit next, so that extra guards had to be stationed in many public places. Combats between the police and the "suffragettes" were matters of daily occurrence. When imprisoned, they would go on a "hunger strike," that is, refuse to eat and drink; and to prevent them from starving to death the prison officials adopted methods of "forcible feeding."

Militancy was based on the idea that political rights are never granted save in response to an irresistible demand; and as the women could not threaten revolution, as did the middle classes in 1832 and the working classes in 1867, they resolved to coerce the Government through annoyances and outrages. The outbreak of militancy did serve to bring the question of woman suffrage prominently before the English public, though many were repelled from the movement because of the methods of the "wild women." Bills to enfranchise women were frequently introduced in Parliament and gained considerable support from both Liberals and Conservatives. When the World War broke out, English women, led by the suffragists, rallied to the support of the Government, and they rendered patriotic service by working in the munition factories, in the fields, and in the hospitals. This caused many Englishmen to view the suffrage movement more favorably, and an equal franchise bill, supported by both parties, was passed by Parliament in 1918.[1]

Women and the World War

PROGRESS OF WOMAN

English women have made notable progress in the emancipation of their sex. The institutions of higher learning, the colleges, universities, and professional schools, have gradually opened their doors to them, so that to-day their educational opportunities are equal to those of men. Large numbers of women have entered the professions and some have made notable careers. A very important change in their legal status came with the passage of the Married Women's Property Act in 1882 which, for the first time, established the married woman as a distinct legal personality by giving her the right to own property in her own name. Another important law, passed in 1886, gave the mother equal right with the father in the control of their children.

Progress of women in England

The woman's movement is farthest advanced in the Scandinavian countries. Norway was the first nation to admit women to full parliamentary suffrage. Denmark followed shortly after. Sweden, how-

Scandinavia

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[1] See p. 757.

ever, still withholds the ballot from women.[1] In all three countries the legal and social status of woman is almost the same as that of man. Since 1906 woman suffrage has existed in Finland, and women have been elected as members of Parliament.

France

In France the woman's movement has not progressed as rapidly as in England. There is little suffrage agitation among French women, partly because they are more sensitive to criticism and ridicule than are their English sisters. All educational and professional opportunities, however, have been opened to them, of which many have taken full advantage. The distinguished scientist, Mme. Curie, was, in 1907, appointed to the chair of physics at the Sorbonne. The Napoleonic Code has been modified so as to give a married woman the right to her own earnings.

Germany

In Germany the cause of woman has had to contend against the unfavorable atmosphere of autocratic rule and military ideals. The only element to sympathize with the movement has been the least influential, the socialists. The woman-suffrage movement in Germany is very weak; but strong women's organizations have come to the front that agitate for the rights of women in the social and economic spheres.[2] Until recently women's educational opportunities in Germany were very limited, but now they are generally permitted to enter even the highest institutions of learning.

Considering the many handicaps women have had to face in their struggle for equality, the progress of their cause has been amazing. Woman's entrance into the world outside the home has had the effect of stimulating her to do many things of which she was once generally thought incapable. There is to-day hardly a field of endeavor in which women are not to be found, so that the "man's world" is becoming a "man's and woman's world," wherein both are free to give their best to the progress of the race.

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[1] See p. 476.

[2] For the adoption of Woman Suffrage, see pp. 757, 762.

CHAPTER XXVI

SCIENCE[1]

THE nineteenth century may truly be called the Age of Science. In no other period of human history did mankind make such extraordinary advances in the knowledge of the world, its origin, its inhabitants, and the forces that control it. The scientist, laboriously experimenting in laboratories and announcing his results in technical language understood by few, has not impressed himself on mankind as vividly as the statesman and the soldier. Yet his work has exercised perhaps a deeper influence in moulding our present civilization than eloquent speeches or brilliant strategy, for he has originated ideas and mechanisms that have revolutionized the life and thought of mankind.

Influence of science

Science has been a truly international force. It knows no frontiers, whether of nationality, race, religion, or region, for the laboratory has been a common meeting-place of all scientists whatever their origin. Every civilized nation has produced men who have contributed to the development of science. Through their conventions and journals, scientists in all countries are in constant communication with one another in order better to advance their work; and a discovery once made immediately becomes a common human possession.

GEOLOGY

Until the nineteenth century it was generally believed that the earth was five or six thousand years old and that it was created by God inside of a week; its inhabitants, both men and beasts, were created in pairs and put into the world to multiply their

Origin of the earth's surface

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[1] This chapter does not pretend to cover the subject: it is merely a bare outline of the most important facts in the history of science during the nineteenth century.

kind. The scientists and philosophers of the eighteenth century had challenged the idea of creation, asserting that the earth was millions of years old, and that its surface was due to convulsions of nature which brought into existence mountains, valleys, plains, lakes, streams, and waterfalls.

Lyell's theory

A new theory as to the origin of the earth's surface was promulgated by the Englishman, Sir Charles Lyell, in his book, *The Principles of Geology*, published in 1830. Lyell contended that the surface of the earth came into existence not as a result of catastrophe, but as a result of slow and constant changes, ages and ages in duration, and that the process is still going on. Valleys are being excavated by floods, rain, and snow; rocks are being decomposed by the action of water; flowing rivers are wearing away their shores by cutting deeper and deeper into the surface; vegetation is becoming coal; new strata are being constantly formed. Lyell's theory soon superseded all others in explanation of the earth's surface.

EVOLUTION

The theory of evolution

The scientific theory that created the greatest sensation is known as "evolution," or the theory that all animal and plant life is the result of a gradual development through different forms. The idea of evolution had been suggested by the ancients; and the eighteenth-century scientists, Buffon and Lamarck, had foretold its development. But it was the Englishman, Charles Darwin (1809–82), who first presented the theory clearly and fully in his famous book, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859). Darwin's theory of evolution is briefly this. The individuals of a species vary: some are stronger, others fleeter of foot, others more cunning, others so colored as to escape detection, others have sharper claws and teeth, and others have heavier furs. Countless numbers of progeny are born, for animals and plants are extremely prolific, and the earth would be quickly filled; but such is not the case. Evidently not all that are born live out their span of life, because relatively few survive. The elimination of countless millions is directly accomplished by nature through exposure to cold and heat, through lack of food and drink, and through accidents of all kinds. Millions more are destroyed in the struggle that ceaselessly goes on among animals and plants. Some, in order to live, destroy others weaker than themselves physically and mentally. Animals of one species prey on those of another; and the struggle is sharp within the species itself. The individuals that have the best chance for survival are those variants that have the characteristics above mentioned, which enable them to win out in the "struggle for existence." The others succumb. In other words, by means of "natural selection" the unfit are eliminated by nature, which selects those that are the strongest, the most cunning, and the most adaptable. The result of this process is the "survival of the fittest," who reproduce their kind in their turn. In this way new species are in time developed. Man himself has come into existence as part of the greater process of the evolution of life. His "place in nature" is that of a highly developed animal who sprang from the lower animals through variation, selection, and heredity. He is closely related to the anthropoid ape, whose physical structure strikingly resembles his own, because both are probably descended from a common ancestor.

Controversy over Darwinism

Darwinism aroused a storm of discussion which lasted a generation. It was enthusiastically espoused by many distinguished scientists and philosophers: in England, by Alfred Russel Wallace, who had developed the theory of evolution independently of Darwin; by Thomas Henry Huxley, who became Darwin's leading expounder and defender; and by Herbert Spencer, the great philosopher and sociologist; in Germany, by the well-known biologist and philosopher Ernst Haeckel; and in America, by the historian John Fiske. Opposed to evolution were the older scientists and especially the theologians. The latter asserted that the theory was a direct attack on the Biblical idea of the creation of man by God, and they denounced the evolutionists as enemies of religion.

CHEMISTRY

Lavoisier's researches at the end of the eighteenth century laid the basis of modern chemistry.[1] The science made a rapid stride during the early part of the nineteenth century after the announcement of the atomic theory by the Englishman, John Dalton. According to this theory, each element is composed of atoms, or particles of matter so small that they cannot be subdivided; these particles, when combined, form substances with properties different from those of the constituent elements. By determining the atomic weights of the various elements Dalton fixed the proportion in which they combine; for example, one pound of hydrogen will combine with eight pounds of oxygen to form nine pounds of water. Dalton's atomic theory was corroborated by the Frenchman, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac who, in 1809, discovered that gases, when put under the same conditions as to temperature and pressure, combine in definite proportion as to volume; for example, two volumes of hydrogen will combine with one volume of oxygen to form two volumes of water vapor. Important contributions to the atomic theory were made by the Swede, Johann Jakob Berzelius, and by the Italian, Amadeo Avogadro.

The atomic theory

In Germany, chemical science made great strides as a result of the researches of Friedrich Wöhler and Justus von Liebig. It had been generally supposed that organic substances, such as plants and animals, were not subject to the same chemical laws as inanimate matter. In 1828 Wöhler prepared in the laboratory an organic product, urea, thus laying the foundation of synthetic organic chemistry. To-day chemists produce by laboratory methods many of the substances that are ordinarily found in animal and plant life. They also improve and change materials through chemical treatment. Liebig's researches in the chemistry of animal and vegetable life were of the greatest importance in the production of food.

Organic chemistry

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[1] See p. 8.

Plants get nourishment from air and soil; air is inexhaustible, but the soil is soon impoverished; hence, it is necessary to restore to the soil those ingredients essential to the growth of plants. Liebig's experiments on artificial fertilizers laid the basis of scientific agriculture.

The periodic law

Within the latter half of the nineteenth century the Russian, Dmitri Mendeléef, stated the so-called "periodic law," whereby it was shown that when the elements are listed serially in the order of their atomic weights, they show a recurrence of similar properties at intervals of eight.

Radium

In 1898 Professor and Madame Curie of Paris astonished the world by their discovery of a new element, radium. Radium compounds give out enormous quantities of heat and possess other unique properties, which has led some chemists to question the very fundamentals of their science. Radium is obtained from a mineral called pitchblende, but it takes one ton of the latter to yield one seventh of a grain of radium.

PHYSICS

Electricity

At the end of the eighteenth century two Italian physicists, Luigi Galvani and Alessandro Volta, laid the foundation of the science of electricity by discovering the electric battery. Early in the nineteenth century the Englishman, Sir Humphry Davy, produced a bright light from the points of carbon by means of an electric battery, which is the beginning of modern electric lighting through the use of arc lamps. Davy made a great advance in electro-chemistry by using an electric battery to decompose substances. By decomposing potash he discovered a new metal, potassium. The relations between electricity and magnetism were discovered by a Dane, Jean Christian Oersted, who moved a magnetic needle from its position by means of a current. Two French scientists, André Marie Ampère and Dominique François Arago, proved that electricity could produce magnetism under certain circumstances. These discoveries prepared the way for the invention of the electric telegraph. The English physicist, Michael Faraday, discovered the principle of the dynamo, a contrivance which generates electrical energy; as applied to the electric motor it is now used to run cars, elevators, and other means of locomotion.

Heat

Until the nineteenth century it was believed that heat was an imponderable fluid the presence of which produced warmth, the absence, cold. At the end of the eighteenth century an American, Benjamin Thompson, later known as Count Rumford, discovered that heat may be generated by friction. This principle was illustrated by Sir Humphry Davy, who melted two pieces of ice by rubbing them together. During the middle of the nineteenth century the famous theory of the conservation of energy was formulated, which is as important in physics as the theory of evolution is in biology and as the atomic theory is in chemistry. This discovery was the outcome of the work of the German, Julius Robert Mayer, and the Englishman, James Prescott Joule. These scientists proved that energy cannot be annihilated; it can be made merely to change its form. The energy of motion is translated into the energy of heat, and a given quantity of heat equals a like quantity of mechanical energy. Heat is itself a form of energy, and is due to the vibratory motion of molecules, of which matter is said to be composed. The theory of the conservation of energy has been greatly developed in our day by the researches of the English physicist, Lord Kelvin.

Light and sound

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the German, Herman Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, laid the basis of the science of acoustics by his experiments in the nature of sound. Heinrich Rudolf Hertz, basing his researches on the work of the English physicist, Clerk-Maxwell, advanced the theory that ordinary light consists of electro-magnetic vibrations in the ether, a substance permeating all space and matter. These vibrations, termed "Hertzian waves," were the foundation for the invention of wireless telegraphy.

Medicine and Surgery

The germ theory

The advance made in the sciences of biology, physics, bacteriology, and chemistry revolutionized the study and practice of medicine, and led to discoveries that saved countless persons from death and pain. A new theory, the famous germ theory, was formulated in explanation of the origin of many diseases. According to this theory infection takes place when microscopic vegetable and animal organisms called bacteria, or germs, present in food and drink, enter the body through its openings. If the body is healthy it resists the onslaught of the germs; if it is not, they find lodgment in the blood and tissues, where they multiply very rapidly and generate poisons called toxins, causing illness and death. The Russian, Elias Metschnikoff, discovered that in some diseases the white blood cells defend the body by devouring the bacteria and that illness may be averted by increasing the number of these cells in the blood. In the course of other diseases, the toxins generated by the bacteria cause the production of chemical substances in the body called anti-toxins, or antidotes, which curiously enough have the power of neutralizing, and thus destroying, the power of the toxins. To cure a patient, a new treatment called serum-therapy was developed, whereby anti-toxins produced in the bodies of persons or animals sick with a similar disease are injected into the patient to strengthen his resistance to the toxins. The pioneer in serum-therapy was the Frenchman, Louis Pasteur, whose researches in this field are of inestimable importance. He found cures for hydrophobia and anthrax; and his studies of the diseases of the silkworm and the vine resulted in the adoption of methods which helped to save the silk and wine industries of his country.[1] Two German physicians, Emil von Behring and Robert Koch, made great contributions to medicine. In 1882 Koch discovered the germ of tuberculosis; and in 1892 Behring discovered an anti-toxin serum for diphtheria.

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[1] See p. 245.

The discovery of the germ theory inaugurated the practice of preventive medicine, or hygienic methods of living.

Preventive medicine

Water and milk are boiled to kill the germs; food is kept clean and fresh in order to prevent bacteria from infecting it; spitting is forbidden because the germs present in the dried sputum of a tubercular person might later infect others through being inhaled; individual cups and towels are provided to prevent contagion. The great plagues, yellow fever, cholera, and the bubonic plague that once scourged the earth, have almost been eliminated in civilized countries by sanitary precautions. Well regulated diet, careful nursing, bathing, and massage have frequently taken the place of drugs in the cure of the sick. Medical education has advanced rapidly upon the establishment of splendid medical schools, clinics, hospitals, and research laboratories. Wonderful mechanisms have been invented to detect the presence of disease, which have greatly improved diagnosis.

Anæsthesia

Surgery was revolutionized by the discovery of anæsthesia. To two American physicians belongs the honor of first using anæsthetics in operations, Dr. Crawford W. Long (1842) and Dr. W. T. G. Morton (1846). Previously surgical operations had been attended with great horror; and it required almost superhuman fortitude on the part of the patient to bear the pain. Operations were, therefore, rare and frequently resulted in death. To-day the patient inhales an anæsthetic, ether or chloroform, and immediately sinks into unconsciousness; the surgeon then operates undisturbed. In this way limbs are amputated, abdomens opened, growths inside the body cut out, and even the delicate brain operated on.

Antisepsis

Even with the use of anæsthetics great suffering was endured by the patient after the operation was over; and frequently death resulted because of blood poisoning. Another great step in surgical progress was made through the introduction, in 1876, of antisepsis by the Englishman, Lord Lister. This method lays great emphasis on cleanliness at the operation; the surgeon carefully washes himself and sterilizes his instruments to prevent bacterial infection, and, after the operation, the wound is disinfected and carefully dressed. Through the use of anæsthetics, antisepsis, and the new surgical instruments, even the most serious operations are fairly safe. The horrors of the battle-field are mitigated by skillful surgeons, who have saved thousands of wounded soldiers from death.

X-ray

In 1895 came the famous discovery of the X-ray by the German, Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen. This is a method of photographing through solids and is especially valuable in surgery. An X-ray photograph makes the body transparent, revealing fractures, the presence of bullets, and the condition of the organs, so that the surgeon may operate with greater certainty.

EXPLORATION

South America, Africa, and Central Asia

Like the sixteenth, the nineteenth century was an age of discovery and exploration. During the early part of the nineteenth century the German, Alexander von Humboldt, explored the regions of the Amazon and Orinoco valleys in South America. His book, *Kosmos* (1858), laid the basis of the science of physical geography, as it was the first to describe scientifically the physical universe and its influences upon the development of civilization. How the interior of Africa was discovered and explored will presently be told.[1] Central Asia was an unknown region till recently. A Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, made several expeditions to Tibet, one in 1899–1902 and another in 1906–08, as a result of which the geography of that country became known. In 1904 a British military expedition under Colonel F. E. Younghusband forced its way into the sacred Tibetan city of Lhassa, until then closed to the world.

Discovery of the Poles

The only parts of the earth that still remained undiscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century were the Polar regions. The renown that would attend the discoverer of the Poles and the immense difficulties that stood in the way attracted the most daring explorers of modern times. During the nineteenth century many attempts were made to reach the Poles, extending the world's knowledge of those regions. One of the most important was that led in 1881–83 by the American, A. W. Greely, who reached 80° 44′ north latitude. Another was that led by the Norwegian, Fridjof Nansen, who in 1893–95 reached 86° 14′ North, or within two hundred and seventy-two miles of the North Pole. The honor of discovering the North Pole belongs to an American, Robert E. Peary who, after many months of hardship, reached the North Pole on April 7, 1909. Antarctic exploration was attended with similar success. A British expedition, led by Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton in 1907–09, reached 88° 23′ south latitude, or within ninety-seven miles of the South Pole. The honor of discovering the only place till then unreached belongs to a Norwegian, Roald Amundsen, who reached the South Pole on December 16, 1911.[1] At last, after many centuries of effort, the entire earth's surface has become known to mankind.

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[1] See pp. 675 ff.

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[1] A British expedition under Captain R. F. Scott started for the South Pole about the same time as the Norwegian. Captain Scott reached the Pole on January 18, 1912, and found that Amundsen had been there before him. On his way back Captain Scott and his party perished through exposure.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION

Introduction

In 1453 the Ottoman Turks, who had already gained a foothold in the Balkans, captured Constantinople. They soon overran the Balkan Peninsula, and for several centuries Christian Europe was threatened by the Mohammedan invasions which swept all before them. In 1683 victorious Turkish armies laid siege to Vienna; but, fortunately for Western Europe, they were repulsed by the Polish King, John Sobieski, who came to the relief of the city. This was their first serious check; and, from that time on, the Turkish flood began to recede.

Invasions of the Turks

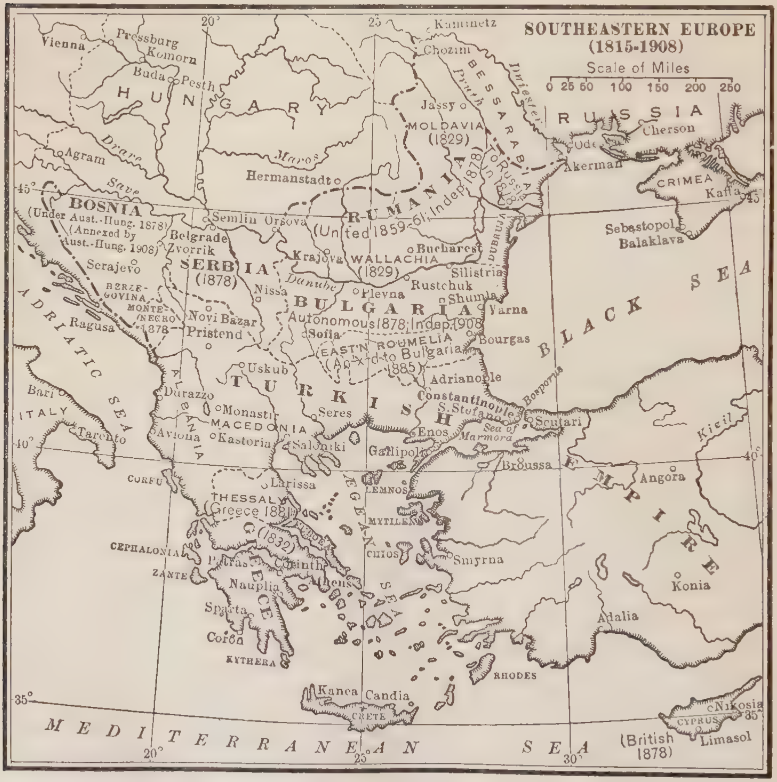
The Ottoman Empire was at its height at the end of the seventeenth century. In Europe it possessed the entire Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, Bessarabia, Crimea, and the lands bordering on the Black Sea; in Asia, the entire region that lay between the Mediterranean and the frontier of Persia; in Africa, all of the northern coast except Morocco. The Mediterranean had become almost a Turkish lake. Great difficulties were naturally experienced in holding so vast a region under one régime, and fissures soon began to appear in the imposing imperial structure. The various provinces in Africa, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria, became semi-independent under local rulers, who, however, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan. During the eighteenth century the Hapsburgs wrested Hungary from the Turks, and the Russians drove them from the northern shore of the Black Sea.

Vast extent of the Turkish Empire

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Balkan Peninsula and Western Asia were still under the direct rule of the "Sublime Porte," as the Turkish Government is called. Situated at the meeting-place

Races in the Empire

of three continents, the Ottoman Empire consisted of a conglomeration of races professing different faiths, speaking different languages, and strongly attached to their various national ideals and customs. In Asiatic Turkey the majority of the inhabitants, Turks, Arabs, and Kurds, was Mohammedan in religion; the minority was composed of


SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE (1815-1908)

Armenian and Greek Christians and of Jews. In European Turkey the Turks, the ruling race, were a small minority; the overwhelming majority were Slavic in race and Christian in faith. The Near Eastern Question concerns itself mainly with the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. This region has been the "danger zone of Europe" for centuries. Great wars, involving all the nations of Europe, have been fought to determine the fate of its inhabitants. It is important, therefore, to describe the peoples of the region and their various problems.

The Serbs and Bulgars

In no other part of Europe are there so many different races within so small a compass as in the Balkans. A succession of barbaric hordes from Europe and Asia had invaded the peninsula and had become permanent settlers, mixing with the native inhabitants and, in some cases, adopting their customs and language. The most important groups are the Serbs and the Bulgarians. The Serbs are of Slavic origin and speech, and dwell in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. The Bulgarians, or Bulgars, are also Slavic in speech and supposedly in blood as well, although the original Bulgars were a Turanian tribe from Asia who conquered the district centering in what is now called Bulgaria, but who were in time assimilated by the native Slavic inhabitants.

The Rumanians

The people of Rumania are of mixed origin. They proudly believe themselves to be the descendants of the Roman settlers in the ancient province of Dacia, as their language belongs to the Latin family. But the majority of the Rumanians, or Rumans, as they call themselves, are in all likelihood the descendants of the Slavic tribe of Vlachs, or Wallachs, who invaded the region centuries ago.

The Greeks

The southern part of the peninsula is occupied by Greece. The inhabitants, who call themselves Hellenes, never tire of boasting of their descent from the people of ancient Hellas; hence they consider themselves the leading nation of the Balkans. These "Greeks" are of mixed origin. Although speaking a language founded on ancient Greek, they are descendants mainly of Slavic tribes who invaded the country and intermarried with the native Hellenes and their slaves. The inhabitants of the islands near Greece are, however, in large part of pure Hellenic blood.

Albania is occupied by a nomadic, warlike people who speak a jargon made up of the various languages of the peninsula. The Albanians are rugged mountaineers who gain a livelihood as herdsmen, soldiers, and brigands. They are divided equally into Mohammedans and Christians. Naturally the Mohammedan half of the population is more faithful to the Sultan than the Christian half.

The Albanians

Scattered all over the Balkans are large numbers of Armenians and Jews. The former, not having a national center of their own race to champion their cause, have been the worst treated of all the Turkish subjects; time and again have these helpless Christians suffered massacre at the hands of fanatical Mohammedans. The Jews, also without a national center, have, on the contrary, been well treated, partly because of the affinity of Mohammedanism with Judaism and partly because they, until the appearance of Zionism, had no desire to establish a separate nationality. The Jews in Turkey are largely of Spanish origin, descendants of those who fled to escape the Inquisition in the sixteenth century. Most of the inhabitants of the Balkans are peasants engaged in tilling the soil in a primitive manner, or herdsmen whose flocks consist of hogs, sheep, and goats. Commerce is almost exclusively in the hands of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, who constitute the middle class in the peninsula.

The Armenians and Jews

Religion and politics were closely connected. The various races were divided according to their religion, each element constituting a *millet*, or religious group, which exercised a considerable degree of local autonomy in civil and political matters. The heads of the religious groups received recognition from the Government as the leaders of the community. In the Balkan Peninsula the great majority of the inhabitants are members of the Greek Church, which, in doctrine, ritual, and organization, is almost identical with the Orthodox Church in Russia. They acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople who, though the head of their faith, was generally suspected of being hostile to their nationalist aims because he was an appointee of the Sultan.

The religious groups

The Turks were the ruling race. From their ranks came most of the higher officials, the great landowners, and the upper classes generally. They regarded the Christians with contempt as *rayahs*, or "herds of cattle," whose main function was to obey and to pay taxes. In legal trials the word of a Mohammedan outweighed that of a Christian, the two faiths not being equal before the law. Christians were not admitted into the army in any capacity, for their loyalty was suspected; besides, as war was to the Mohammedan generally a crusade against the infidel, it could, therefore, be undertaken by the faithful only.

Discrimination against the Christians

The Sultan

The government of Turkey was an absolute monarchy, all power being lodged in the *Padishah*, or Sultan. In addition to his temporal power the Sultan claimed to be the spiritual leader of all his co-religionists by virtue of being the *Khalif*, or lord of Islam, as the Mohammedan world is called. His two chief assistants were the Grand Vizier and the *Sheik-ul-Islam*, the former the political, and the latter the religious, Prime Minister. Over each *vilayet*, or province, was a governor appointed by the Sultan.

Rule of the Turks

Turkish rule in Europe is a long story of despotism, incompetence, and corruption unrelieved by any notable contributions to civilization and, therefore, a striking contrast to Mohammedan rule in Spain. All that the Turks desired of their subjects was tribute and obedience; and they never managed to organize the former into a regular system of taxation nor the latter into a stable and orderly administration. Spasmodic fleecing was the practice, and when the money was not forthcoming, cruel punishment was the lot of the miserable *rayahs*. In case the rapacity of the tax-gatherers could not or would not be satisfied, *rayahs* would be buried up to their necks in the ground, stripped naked and tied to trees, or roasted over slow fires. The corruption of the Turkish Government became a byword in Europe. Money appropriated for public improvements went into the pockets of officials. Bribery was almost universal, for the officials were neither well nor regularly paid; hence they sought to recompense themselves by corrupt methods. In some regions disorder prevailed continually; armed bands of brigands terrorized the inhabitants and put their lives and property in continual jeopardy.

Turks an army of occupation

Until the beginning of the twentieth century the Turks scarcely made any serious attempt to adopt European civilization; nor did they ever try to assimilate the various peoples in the Empire to their customs and institutions. They were, in reality, an army of occupation encamped on European soil, interested only in governing and squeezing their subjects. Had it not been for the divisions among the latter, which the Turks encouraged on the principle of *divide et impera*, and for the rivalries of the European Powers, the Turks would long ago have been driven out of Europe.

Elements in the Near Eastern Question

Three elements entered into the Near Eastern Question: (1) the relation of the Porte to its Christian subjects; (2) the relation of the various Balkan nationalities to one another; and (3) the rivalry of the various European Powers, each intent on making its influence supreme in the Ottoman Empire. Many close students of the Near Eastern Question believed that there could be no solution of these vexing problems unless Turkey were driven out of Europe, because she had proved herself neither willing nor capable of establishing institutions and methods which conformed to the general European standard. Although not valuable industrially because it contains few natural resources, the Balkan Peninsula is of great importance because of its geographical location. It is the gateway to the East and the route to the Mediterranean. The European Powers have been interested in the fate of the peninsula mainly because it is the connecting link with the regions mentioned, where they have interests to protect or ambitions to satisfy.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Powers most interested in Turkish affairs were Russia and Great Britain. The geographical position of Constantinople makes this city the key to the commerce of the Eastern

Mediterranean, and puts it in control of the natural outlet of Russia to this sea. In case of war Russia could be bottled up by whatever Power was in possession of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The acquisition of Constantinople has, therefore, been a fixed point in Russia's foreign policy for several centuries. Russia's racial and religious affinities with the Slavic subjects of the Sultan had inspired her with the idealistic motive of liberating her "little Slav brothers" from the rule of the hated Turk. Moreover, to supplant the crescent with the cross on the dome of the great mosque of St. Sophia, once a Christian church, has greatly appealed to the religious imagination of the Russian people, to whom a war with Turkey would partake of the nature of a crusade.

Motives of Russia for warring upon Turkey

England, on the contrary, was interested in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and was chiefly instrumental in foiling Russia's many attempts to dismember it. England's attitude may be explained by the fact that some of her citizens had large commercial interests in the Near East which, she feared, would be put in jeopardy in case Russia controlled the region. There was also the dread lest the capture of Constantinople might be preliminary to a Russian advance upon India; hence, to many English statesmen the safety of the British Empire appeared to depend upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Motives of England for defending Turkey

INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE (1821–29)

Like the other peoples of Europe, those in the Balkans were inspired by the ideals of nationalism and democracy proclaimed by the French Revolution. After centuries of oppression there began a national revival among the races in the peninsula which was to end in their emancipation from the rule of the Sultan. Nationalism was especially strong among the Greeks, who found it intolerable that the "descendants of the wise and noble people of Hellas," as they called themselves, should bow beneath the Turkish yoke. A powerful secret society

National revival among the Greeks

was formed, the *Hetairia Philike* (Association of Friends), which conducted a vigorous and widespread agitation for Greek independence. An uprising in 1821 was followed by a war between the Greeks and Turks which was waged with savage fury by both sides for eight years. The encounters which took place were more in the nature of massacres than battles. Captured towns would be given over to pillage and slaughter; nor was age, condition, or sex spared.

Foreign aid to Greece helps her to win independence

The uprising of the Greeks awakened general enthusiasm throughout Europe, and many ardent lovers of ancient Hellas, among them the English poet Byron, volunteered to help in the Greek struggle for independence. In spite of many valorous deeds, the Greeks would have succumbed to the superior forces of Turkey had not Russia, England, and France intervened in their behalf. The Powers were induced to champion the cause of Greece chiefly through the influence of thousands of their citizens in whom the memory of the ancient land of philosophy, literature, and art had roused an intense desire to see it freed from Turkish misrule. In 1827 the representatives of the Powers met in London and demanded an armistice of the Sultan; but before final arrangements for this were made, a Turkish squadron was destroyed by the fleets of the Allies at the Battle of Navarino. The Sultan was furious, and he determined to resist the demands of the Powers at all costs. England now withdrew from the alliance because she feared that a war might lead to the destruction of Turkey, a consummation which she by no means desired. Tsar Nicholas I decided to wage war on his own account. Russian armies defeated the Turks in several battles and began marching toward Constantinople. At the same time French armies drove the Turks out of Morea, or southern Greece. These reverses compelled the Sultan to sue for peace, and he signed the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) granting complete independence to Greece. In 1833 the latter was organized as a constitutional monarchy with a Bavarian prince, Otto, as her first king.

Another people, the Serbians, benefited indirectly from the Greek revolution. Some time before, in 1804, they had risen under a swineherd named Kara George, and had partially won their independence; but they were later reconquered. In 1815 they rose again, under another national hero named Milosch Obrenovitch, and defeated the Turks. This led to their being granted local autonomy in 1830 under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Obrenovitch was made ruler with the title of "Hereditary Prince of the Serbians."

Serbia wins autonomy

THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854–56)

Russia emerged from the war of 1828–29 with little gain in territory,[1] but with great prestige among the peoples of the Balkans, who now began to regard her as the "big Slav brother" who was to liberate them from Turkish oppression. To Turkey, Russia was now the enemy to be feared above all others; she well knew that the Tsar's ambition to gain "a window on the Mediterranean" would lead to renewed attempts to capture Constantinople. Tsar Nicholas I was convinced that the Ottoman Empire was on the point of dissolution. He once referred to Turkey as the "sick man of Europe," whose death was imminent and whose estate ought, therefore, to be partitioned among the Powers. He several times suggested to the English Government that Great Britain and Russia agree upon a plan for the dismemberment of Turkey; but the former failing to fall in with the scheme, the Tsar determined to take the matter into his own hands.

Russian designs upon Turkey

An excuse for war was found in a quarrel that arose over the holy places in Palestine. For centuries Christian pilgrims had been visiting the places in the Holy Land that are considered especially sacred because of their connection with the life of Christ. In 1850 a quarrel arose between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox monks living in Palestine over the control of these holy places. Russia came forward as the champion

The quarrel over the holy places

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[1] She obtained a small concession in the Caucasus.

of the Greek Orthodox monks, and made a peremptory demand that the Sultan grant her a protectorate over all the Greek Orthodox Christians in Turkey. The Sultan refused on the ground that such a concession would give Russia the right to interfere in the internal affairs of his dominions.

Russia faces a coalition of Powers

War followed in 1854; but it was not between Russia and Turkey alone. To the support of Turkey came England, as the champion of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and France and Piedmont, for reasons that have already been stated.[1] To the amazement and anger of Tsar Nicholas, Austria maintained an attitude of friendly neutrality toward Turkey. He had fully expected Austria's help in return for the services Russian armies had rendered to the Hapsburgs in the trying days of 1848,[2] and he bitterly resented what he regarded as ungrateful conduct. The estrangement between Russia and Austria, begun as a result of the Crimean War, continued with increasing bitterness, and it was to influence international relations for many years to come. Prussia alone maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality toward Russia, which was now faced by a coalition of practically all the Great Powers of Europe.

The fall of Sebastopol

Russian armies invaded Moldavia and Wallachia, the Danubian provinces of Turkey, but were driven out by the forces of the Allies. It was now decided to punish Russian aggression by invading the Tsar's territory. Accordingly, large Allied armies invaded Crimea and laid siege to Sebastopol, which had been magnificently fortified by Russia with the object of dominating the Black Sea. The siege of Sebastopol, lasting eleven months, was the crucial event of the Crimean War. The great fortress was gallantly and ably defended; but it finally fell, on September 8, 1855. Many bloody battles were fought during the siege, the most famous of which were Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann. The Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, a troop of six hundred English soldiers against a large Russian army, roused the greatest admiration all over the world and was immortalized in poetry by Tennyson. The conduct of the war on the part of England was disgracefully incompetent, and thousands of soldiers perished through a breakdown of the English commissariat. Only two striking personalities emerged from the struggle, the Russian military engineer, Colonel Todleben, whose gallant defense of Sebastopol won universal admiration, and the English nurse, Florence Nightingale, whose tenderness and bravery while nursing the wounded soldiers gained her the deepest gratitude and affection, and whose labors inspired the organization, a generation later, of the Red Cross Society.

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[1] See pp. 162, 211.

[2] See p. 135.

The Peace of Paris

Peace was concluded in 1856 at the Congress of Paris. The treaty, which was signed by England, France, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Prussia, and Piedmont, provided that the Black Sea be "neutralized"; that is, that no nation was to build arsenals on its coast or station warships in its waters. Navigation on the Danube River was made free to all nations, and Russia was pushed from the banks of that river by the annexation of a strip of Bessarabia to Moldavia. Russia's claim to a protectorate of the Greek Orthodox Christians in Turkey was denied. The Danubian provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia, were each granted local autonomy under Turkish suzerainty.

Results of the war

Directly, the Crimean War accomplished little in the solution of the Near Eastern Question. Turkey came out unscathed and even respectable, for she was recognized as a member of the European family of nations for the first time by the Congress of Paris. The Sultan continued to oppress his Christian subjects in spite of promises to the contrary. Russia, too, violated the treaty by ignoring the clauses relating to the neutrality of the Black Sea. Indirectly, however, the results of the war were far-reaching. In Russia it led to the emancipation of the serfs;[1] in Italy, to the first step toward unification; in France, to the increase of Napoleon's influence.

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[1] See p. 507.

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR (1877–78)

Rumania

For a generation after the Crimean War British influence in the Balkans was predominant. Turkey regarded England as the bulwark of her defense against Russian aggression and, therefore, directed her policies to please the English Government. But the dismemberment of the Turkish dominions could not be stayed. Moldavia and Wallachia, both inhabited by Rumanians, desired to be united and to form an independent nation. In 1859 each province elected Colonel Alexander Couza as its Prince; and three years later, both provinces were completely united under one government with Couza as "Prince of Rumania." Couza proved to be a radical reformer. He freed the peasants from feudal dues, confiscated the property of the monasteries, and gave land to thousands of peasants. Naturally, his reforms incurred the hostility of the nobility and clergy, who in 1866 forced him to abdicate. As his successor they chose a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the House of Hohenzollern, who became Charles I, Prince of Rumania.

The Bulgarian atrocities

Turkish misgovernment was bound to bring the Near Eastern Question again to the foreground of European politics. The peasants of Herzegovina, unable to endure the heavy taxes and inhuman cruelty of the Turkish officials, rose in rebellion in 1875. The insurrection spread all over the peninsula. In the following year the Bulgarians rose and killed many Turkish officials. In revenge, savage warriors, called Bashi-Bazouks, were sent into Bulgaria, and they fell upon the inhabitants, slaughtering men, women, and children without mercy. These "Bulgarian atrocities" roused all Europe against the Turk. Gladstone came forward as the champion of the Christians and denounced the "unspeakable Turk" in unqualified language. He demanded that England cease to support a Power that was an "affront to the laws of God" and that the Turks be driven out of Europe, "bag and baggage."

Intervention of Russia

In 1876 a new Sultan came to the throne in the person of Abdul Hamid II, who proved to be as cruel and despotic as he was cunning and resourceful. As we have just seen, the year of his accession witnessed a general uprising of his Christian subjects which aroused wide sympathy, especially among the Russian people, many of whom volunteered to help their "little Slav brothers." Tsar Alexander II declared that the situation in the Balkans was intolerable and that unless Europe intervened promptly and firmly, Russia would do so herself. But the Powers, particularly England, hesitated; whereupon, in 1877, the Tsar declared war upon Turkey.

Plevna

Russian armies promptly crossed the Danube and invaded Turkey. Plevna, a Turkish stronghold in Bulgaria, was defended by a large army under the able and gallant Turkish general, Osman Pasha. The Russian forces made several attempts to carry it by storm, but were hurled back each time with great loss. Plevna was then besieged by a Russian army of one hundred and twenty thousand men under General Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol. After holding out for five months Osman Pasha surrendered on December 10, 1877. The passes across the Balkans were now open, and Russian armies poured into Turkey. In January, 1878, they captured Adrianople and prepared to march on Constantinople. But the Sultan decided to sue for peace; and on March 3 the Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey.

Treaty of San Stefano

According to this treaty the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania; a new state, "Greater Bulgaria," consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia, and Macedonia, was to come into existence. Of all his European territory the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had this treaty been carried out, the Near Eastern Question might have then been solved, as Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe. But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a

"Greater Bulgaria" because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves. Far more serious was the opposition that came from England and Austria. The former did not propose to sit tamely by and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states which her arms had brought into existence. Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Ægean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of her reach. Tsar Alexander was plainly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless she submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international convention.

Congress of Berlin

Russia felt obliged to yield. Representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and Turkey met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question. To this Congress of Berlin came the most famous statesmen of the day; Bismarck, who was its President; Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy; and Prince Gortchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Treaty of San Stefano was totally disregarded by the Congress, which proceeded to make quite another settlement of the Near Eastern Question.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows. Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania were declared entirely independent of Turkey. "Greater Bulgaria" was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given "administrative autonomy" under a Christian governor; and Macedonia was allowed to remain a part of Turkey. To Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally to remain a part of Turkey; she also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar. England was given the right to occupy the island of Cyprus. Russia, who alone had won the victory over Turkey, got almost nothing. She was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube; she received also Batum, Ardahan, and Kars in the Caucasus. After thus partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the Powers again solemnly guaranteed the "integrity" of Turkey.

The Near Eastern Question not solved by the Congress

The Treaty of Berlin was considered by many at the time as the final solution of the Near Eastern Question. But that did not prove to be the case, as the settlement left bitter animosities, which were to be productive of future wars. Bulgaria was especially disappointed and began preparing for the recovery of the "Greater Bulgaria" of San Stefano. Russia was incensed at being robbed of the fruits of her victory, and, in revenge, began to threaten English interests in India[1] and to intrigue against Austria in the Balkans.[2] England, in the words of Disraeli, achieved "peace with honor" in settling the affairs of Turkey; but time was to prove that she "put her money on the wrong horse," as Lord Salisbury, the colleague of Disraeli, later declared. A new factor, Austria, entered prominently into Balkan affairs, a circumstance fraught with ominous consequences for the history of Europe. Germany, as yet, took no interest in Turkey. In the opinion of Bismarck the whole Near Eastern Question was not worth "the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier." He contented himself, as President of the Congress of Berlin, with playing the part of "an honest broker" among the Powers by acting as intermediary between the various claimants.

BULGARIA (1878–1912)

Russian influence in Bulgaria

Bulgaria owed her existence, as we have seen, to Russia, who regarded the newly created Balkan state as her special protégé. Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a relative of the Tsar, was made Prince of Bulgaria in 1879, and a constitution was adopted establishing a parliament elected by universal suffrage.

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[1] See p. 673.

[2] See p. 707.

Most of the important officials, both civil and military, were Russians, and they directed Bulgarian policies to suit Russian interests. This aroused opposition among patriotic Bulgarians, and a strong Nationalist Party, whose motto was "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," demanded that their country be freed from Russian interference.

War between Serbia and Bulgaria

In 1885 the inhabitants of Eastern Rumelia flouted the Treaty of Berlin, and, with the consent of Prince Alexander, joined their kinsmen in Bulgaria. This greatly annoyed Russia, who did not desire her protégé to become strong enough to manage without her tutelage. The Tsar, in anger, withdrew the Russian officers from the Bulgarian army, thus badly crippling it. Serbia, the rival of Bulgaria, took advantage of the situation by declaring war in 1885; but, in spite of the disorganized condition of their army, the Bulgarians inflicted severe defeats upon the Serbians and emerged triumphant from the war.

Stambulov

The Russian party, incensed at the independent attitude of Prince Alexander, organized a conspiracy against him, and in 1886 he was forcibly compelled to abdicate. To succeed Alexander, the choice of the anti-Russian Nationalist Party fell upon the German Prince, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, who was elected Prince of Bulgaria in 1887 by the Bulgarian Parliament. Stambulov, the leader of the Nationalists, having the full confidence of Ferdinand, dominated Bulgarian politics in opposition to Russian influence. He became known as the "Bulgarian Bismarck" because of the thoroughness with which he organized his country's government and army and because of his ruthless suppression of opposition to his rule. The many enemies that he made conspired to destroy him, and in 1895 they succeeded in having him assassinated.

Bulgaria becomes a kingdom

Bulgaria was very ambitious to annex Macedonia in order to get an outlet to the Ægean Sea; but in this she encountered the opposition, not only of Turkey, but also of Serbia and Greece, who were also ambitious to expand in this direction. Bulgaria declared her complete independence of Turkey in 1908; and, as a sign of her increased dignity, she proclaimed herself a kingdom instead of a principality, and Ferdinand took the title of King, or Tsar, of the Bulgarians.

RUMANIA (1878–1912)

Persecution of the Jews

In recognizing the independence of Rumania the Congress of Berlin stipulated that equality be granted to all citizens irrespective of their religious beliefs. This was done mainly to protect the interests of the Jews, who were being discriminated against by the Government. But Rumania ignored this provision of the treaty and by law classed the Jews as aliens, and therefore not entitled to the privileges of citizenship. The persecution of the Jews which followed caused many of them to emigrate to the United States.

Prince Charles and his wife Elizabeth,[1] although foreigners, were very popular with their subjects. A thorough reorganization of the administration and of the army was undertaken, and a high degree of efficiency was introduced into the Government, mainly on the initiative of the Prince, who was able, hard-working, and conscientious. He was given large powers in the Government, as the constitution was framed on the Prussian model, with the three-class system of voting for members of Parliament. Charles died in 1914 and he was succeeded by Ferdinand I.

The "unredeemed" Rumanians

Rumania, like the other Balkan states, was eager to expand. The Russian province of Bessarabia, the Austrian province of Bukowina, and the Hungarian province of Transylvania contained many Rumanians; not unnaturally, therefore, the Rumanians wished to "redeem" their brothers from foreign rule. But Rumania was not strong enough to attempt their redemption and contented herself with watching the domestic politics of the Dual Monarchy.

In 1907 a serious outbreak of the peasantry took place, which was directed against the landlords and their agents because of their harsh methods. The insurrection spread rapidly, and it took an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to suppress it. Important reforms were then made by the Government. Taxes on peasants' lands were reduced, leases of land to middlemen were restricted, and land banks were established to aid needy peasants.

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[1] She gained fame and popularity as a poetess under the pen-name of "Carmen Sylva."

Outbreak of the peasants

GREECE (1832–1912)

At the beginning of her national life Greece was a devastated, poverty-stricken land with less than a million inhabitants. Two great problems faced the Greek people: to reorganize their country on a sound economic and political basis and to acquire the parts of Turkey inhabited mainly by Greeks.

Problems of Greece

King Otto was hailed with enthusiasm on his accession to the throne. But because of his arbitrary conduct and because of his filling the offices with Bavarians, he became very unpopular. In order to avoid an uprising, Otto granted a liberal constitution (1844) providing for a legislature elected by the people and a Ministry responsible to Parliament. This concession won him a new lease of power; but later he again became unpopular and in 1862 he was forced to abdicate. A son of King Christian IX of Denmark was chosen King of the Hellenes under the name of George I (1863). The constitution was then radically revised (1864) in favor of a more thoroughly democratic régime. The Senate was abolished, and the Government was put under the control of a parliament of one house, the *Boule*, elected by universal suffrage.

Extension of democracy

The territory of Greece was enlarged in 1864 by the acquisition of the Ionian Islands, ceded to her by England; later (1881), through the good offices of that country, she acquired Thessaly from the Sultan. Nevertheless, fully one half of the Greek people remained under Turkish rule, distributed through Macedonia, Epirus, and the islands of the Ægean Sea. A Pan-Hellenic move-

Pan-Hellenism

ment, known as the "Great Idea," manifested itself in a longing to wrest these lands from Turkey; and some of the more enthusiastic patriots dreamed of taking Constantinople itself and of reëstablishing the old Byzantine Empire under Greek auspices. The large island of Crete, inhabited almost entirely by Greeks, made many attempts to throw off the Turkish yoke and to join Greece. To aid her in accomplishing this purpose Greece declared war against Turkey in 1897, but she was badly defeated by that Power. A powerful exponent of Pan-Hellenism appeared in the person of Eleutherios Venizelos, a Cretan, who became the leader of the nationalist movement against Turkey in the island. In 1910 he was appointed Prime Minister of Greece, and he now turned his unusual diplomatic abilities toward enlarging Greece and organizing the Balkan nations into an alliance against Turkey.

Serbia and Montenegro (1878–1912)

The rival dynasties

The political history of Serbia during the nineteenth century is largely a narrative of dynastic feuds that raged violently between the Karageorgevitches and the Obrenovitches. Plots, assassinations, and uprisings were common occurrences in Serbian affairs, and the possession of the crown oscillated between the two dynasties.

Rule of the Obrenovitches

Prince Milan, an Obrenovitch, who became ruler in 1868, assumed the more dignified title of King in 1882. He ruled as an absolute monarch, supported by the aristocratic party and by Austrian influences. The unsuccessful war with Bulgaria in 1885 made the King very unpopular, and he sought to conciliate his disaffected subjects by granting a liberal constitution in 1889. But the dissatisfaction was not allayed by this concession, and he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, who succeeded to the throne as Alexander I in 1889.

The new King was even more autocratic than his father. He disregarded the constitution entirely and inaugurated a period of personal rule. Widespread opposition due to deep resentment at his course led to the formation of a well-laid conspiracy under the direction of army officers. In 1903 King Alexander, his wife Draga, and nearly all the members of the Obrenovitch family were assassinated. Peter, a Karageorgevitch, was then proclaimed King, and the constitution of 1889 was restored.

Assassination of King Alexander

This dynastic *coup d'état* had important diplomatic consequences. Austrian influences in Serbia ceased to have weight, because Peter's policies were pro-Russian. Serbia now succeeded Bulgaria as the protégé of the Tsar. A vigorous anti-Austrian policy was inaugurated with the object of annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are inhabited by Serbs. Patriotic Serb societies carried on an active propaganda in these provinces to the great anxiety of the Austrian authorities. In retaliation the latter began a tariff war on Serbia by excluding her exports, mainly swine and farm products. As Serbian trade was almost entirely with Austria and Germany, this "pig war" of 1905 brought great hardship to the Serbians and still further embittered them against Austria. When, in 1908, Austria announced the formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbians were infuriated to the point of war; it required the restraining hand of Russia to prevent an instant outbreak of hostilities.[1]

Serbia's anti-Austrian policies

The other Serb nation, Montenegro, was for many years an autonomous state in the Ottoman Empire. After her independence was recognized by the Congress of Berlin, Montenegro was ruled autocratically by Prince Nicholas, and it was not until 1905 that he granted a constitution establishing a parliamentary régime. In 1910 Prince Nicholas, although the ruler of the smallest state in the Balkans, assumed the dignified title of King.

Montenegro

TURKEY (1878–1912)

Turkey came out of the Congress of Berlin greatly reduced in size, but she was still a European Power and one to be reckoned with. In spite of solemn promises to reform the Government, Abdul Hamid's régime continued to be corrupt, incompetent, and tyrannical. Turkey was beaten but unrepentant. For a generation the wily Sultan managed to avoid foreign intervention by playing off one Christian Power against another, knowing full well that the nations of Europe were far more interested in advancing their own interests than in the fate of his Christian subjects, about whom they pretended to be so solicitous.

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[1] See p. 645.

Turkey unrepentant

Disorder was rife in Macedonia, where rival bands of Bulgars, Serbs, Rumanians, and Greeks, aided by their compatriots from without, made war on the Turks and upon each other. Innocent travelers were frequently sufferers from these brigand-patriots, who infested the mountains and who were not averse to robbing those who came their way. In Albania the warlike mountaineers were ever ready to rise in rebellion at the approach of the Turkish tax collectors. In Constantinople plots were being continually hatched against Abdul Hamid and his régime. In 1894 the world was shocked by wholesale massacres of the Armenians, who were suspected of being implicated in these plots. More than one hundred thousand men, women, and children were cruelly slaughtered by the Kurds, a fanatical Mohammedan tribe, whose religious zeal was fanned into a flame by the Turkish authorities. Once more the world, and especially England, gave vent to moral indignation at the slaughter of these Christians, who had no country of their own to defend them.

Growth of disorder; the Armenian massacres

During the period following the Congress of Berlin a profound change was taking place in the attitude of the European Powers toward Turkey. Russia, disappointed at the outcome of the Russo-Turkish War, retired from Balkan affairs and sought to find a "window on the Pacific." England, the traditional upholder of Turkish integrity and long the most influential factor in directing the policies of the Porte, began to lose interest in the Near Eastern Question, be-

Russia and England lose interest in the Balkans cause the acquisition of Egypt and the Suez Canal safeguarded her route to India.

Rise of German influence

A new Power, Germany, now came upon the scene and quickly assumed the leading rôle in Ottoman affairs. On the retirement of Bismarck, the German attitude toward the Balkans was reversed; the former indifference gave place to an intense interest in the fate of Turkey. The goal of Germany's ambitions lay, not in European, but in Asiatic Turkey, where she planned to secure economic control of the region known as Mesopotamia, which offered a rich field for the investment of German capital. To get concessions from the Porte to exploit this region, German diplomacy had to become all-powerful at Constantinople; and studied efforts were made by the Germans to cultivate the friendship of the Turks. In 1883 General von der Goltz, a German, was appointed by the Sultan to reorganize the Turkish army, and Turkish officers were sent for instruction to the German military schools. Emperor William II paid two visits to the Sultan, one in 1889 and another in 1898, to show his high regard for his fellow sovereign. During his second visit the Kaiser delivered an address in which he fervently proclaimed himself the friend of the Mohammedans. Great care was taken by the Germans not to wound the susceptibilities of the Sultan by criticizing his Government. A capable diplomat, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, was the German Ambassador to Turkey from 1897 to 1912, during which period he practically controlled the policies of the Porte, largely in Germany's interest and to the detriment of that of England. The first important gain made by Germany was a concession to her capitalists to build the Bagdad Railway (1899).[1]

"Young Turkey"

Abdul Hamid's régime was arousing great discontent, and uprisings constantly took place in Macedonia, Albania, Arabia, and Crete. The finances were in such a bad condition that the Government was always verging on bankruptcy. Promises of reform were often made by the Sultan and as often disregarded. Many patriotic Turks began to realize that any day might witness the spontaneous dissolution of their country, so great was the disorder, incompetence, and corruption. At last a movement to reform the Government appeared among the Turks themselves. A group, known as the "Young Turks," began advocating radical reforms in the hope of rejuvenating their country by introducing Western ideas, methods, and institutions. Many of the younger generation had been educated in the schools of Western Europe, particularly in those of France, where they had imbibed modern ideas. They were convinced that Turkey could be saved from final disruption only by adopting the twin principles of the French Revolution, nationalism and democracy.

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[1] See p. 704.

Revolution of 1908

Secret societies were organized, the most famous of which was the Committee of Union and Progress, that conducted an active revolutionary movement. The "Young Turks," realizing that it was necessary to win over the army in order to succeed in their plans, spread their propaganda among the officers and induced many of them to join the movement. With a swiftness and sureness that astonished the world, the Committee of Union and Progress executed a *coup d'état* on July 23, 1908, by proclaiming the constitution of 1876.[1] They then demanded of the Sultan that he legalize their action by a decree, and they prepared to employ the army against him in case he refused. Abdul Hamid yielded and issued a call for the election of a parliament. Before long he began to plot the overthrow of the constitution. When his duplicity was discovered, an army under the command of Shevket Pasha, a "Young Turk" general, took possession of Constantinople in the name of Parliament. Abdul Hamid, after a long reign of thirty-three years, was deposed and sent to the city of Saloniki to live in closely guarded seclusion. His brother succeeded to the throne and was crowned as Mohammed V on May 10, 1909.

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[1] On his accession, in 1876, Abdul Hamid had proclaimed a constitution, which he abrogated two years later.

There was widespread joy over the deposition of Abdul Hamid. The terror which for so many years had hung over the inhabitants of the Empire vanished with the fall of the dread Sultan. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly was granted; Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians were declared equal before the law; Christians were now admitted into the army, hitherto restricted to the Mohammedans. A new era had indeed opened for Turkey, with liberty, equality, and fraternity for all the races and religions under the Ottoman flag.

The new liberal era

The "Young Turks," however, were intense believers in the principle of nationalism. In spite of their liberal professions they therefore set about to Ottomanize the various races in the Empire by centralizing the administration, by establishing a system of national schools wherein Turkish was taught, and by removing the privileges as well as the disabilities of the various races in the Empire. Through such methods they hoped to generate a spirit of patriotism among the diverse elements, that Turkey would no longer have to appeal to the religious fanaticism of the Mohammedans in case of war. The "Young Turks" also wished to free their country from the interference of foreign nations in its internal affairs. In the past a system known as "capitulations" had grown up, whereby the various European Powers obtained special treaty rights in Turkey. France exercised a protectorate over the Roman Catholics; European residents were not subject to the jurisdiction of the local authorities, but to that of their own consuls; no tariff could be enacted except by an agreement with the Powers; foreign merchants were frequently exempted from taxation and so possessed privileges denied to the natives. The "Young Turks" chafed under these "capitulations," which made Turkey a kind of dependency of Europe; and they began to abrogate them, which aroused the hostility of the Powers, many of whose citizens had large commercial interests in the Empire. The new régime looked with friendly eyes toward England, because she was considered the chief supporter of liberal

Nationalism of the "Young Turks"

governments. The new Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, was an especially warm admirer of the English. Germany, being regarded as the supporter of the old régime, lost her ascendancy for a time.

Opposition to the nationalism of the "Young Turks"

But the new era of good feeling was destined to last only a short time. The various races in Turkey did not wish to be Ottomanized, and they vigorously resisted the nationalistic tendencies of the "Young Turks." For centuries they had lived a life apart, with their own customs, languages, and laws, and protected in their autonomy by special laws. To give these up in return for "equality" might make matters much worse. They had hailed the downfall of Abdul Hamid with delight, expecting still more privileges from the new régime; now they feared the liberty and equality of the "Young Turks" far more than they had the tyranny of the old Sultan. In its efforts to centralize the Government, the new régime endeavored to bring Albania and Arabia under more direct control of Constantinople, which caused a series of uprisings in these regions, where Turkish authority had always been more or less lax. In Macedonia, too, the Government's attempt to strengthen the Mohammedan element by sending Turkish immigrants resulted in uprisings among the Christians. The Greeks in Crete rose in rebellion and declared for union with Greece.

Powers take advantage of Turkey's troubles

The European Powers were not over-eager to see Turkey reformed. They preferred that evil conditions continue in order to furnish them with excuses to interfere for the sake of territory and concessions. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the "Young Turk" Revolution, Austria violated the Treaty of Berlin by announcing, on October 7, 1908, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A few days earlier Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria had repudiated Turkish suzerainty. In 1911 Italy declared war and seized Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and some Ægean islands. These acts, done evidently with the consent of the Powers, brought about a reaction in Turkey. The methods and policies of Abdul Hamid were revived by the "Young Turks," who were panic-stricken lest their country be dismembered in spite of its rejuvenation. Germany now came forward as the champion of Turkish integrity, and, once more, her influence gained ascendancy at Constantinople.

THE BALKAN WARS (1912–13)

The Balkan Alliance

The various Balkan nations, long divided by jealousies and rival ambitions, saw their opportunity in the distracted state of Turkey. Largely under the inspiration of Venizelos, Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro formed an alliance with the object of making war upon their ancient enemy. The Balkan Allies demanded of the Porte that reforms be instituted in Macedonia. This was tantamount to a notice that war was imminent, and both sides mobilized in October, 1912. The Great Powers, who had just been on the brink of war on account of Morocco,[1] were consequently in no mood for another international crisis; they therefore admonished the Allies not to press their claims, as no territorial changes would be permitted by them in European Turkey. But the little Balkan states scouted the warning and decided to wage a "holy war" against their hereditary foe. They sent an ultimatum to the Porte, demanding local autonomy for Macedonia, which was refused. War was declared on October 17, 1912.

The first Balkan War

Turkey was attacked on four sides at the same time, as the movements of the Allies were well coördinated. The Montenegrins invaded Albania; the Serbians, Northern Macedonia; the Bulgarians, Thrace; and the Greeks, Southern Macedonia. General Savoff, with an army of three hundred thousand Bulgarians, captured Kirk-Kilisseh. He then engaged the enemy at the great Battle of Lule Burgas (October 27 to November 2), where a Turkish army of one hundred and fifty thousand was completely routed by the Bulgarians, who displayed great skill and courage. The Turks were driven to seek refuge behind the fortress of Tchatalja, which barred the way to Constan-

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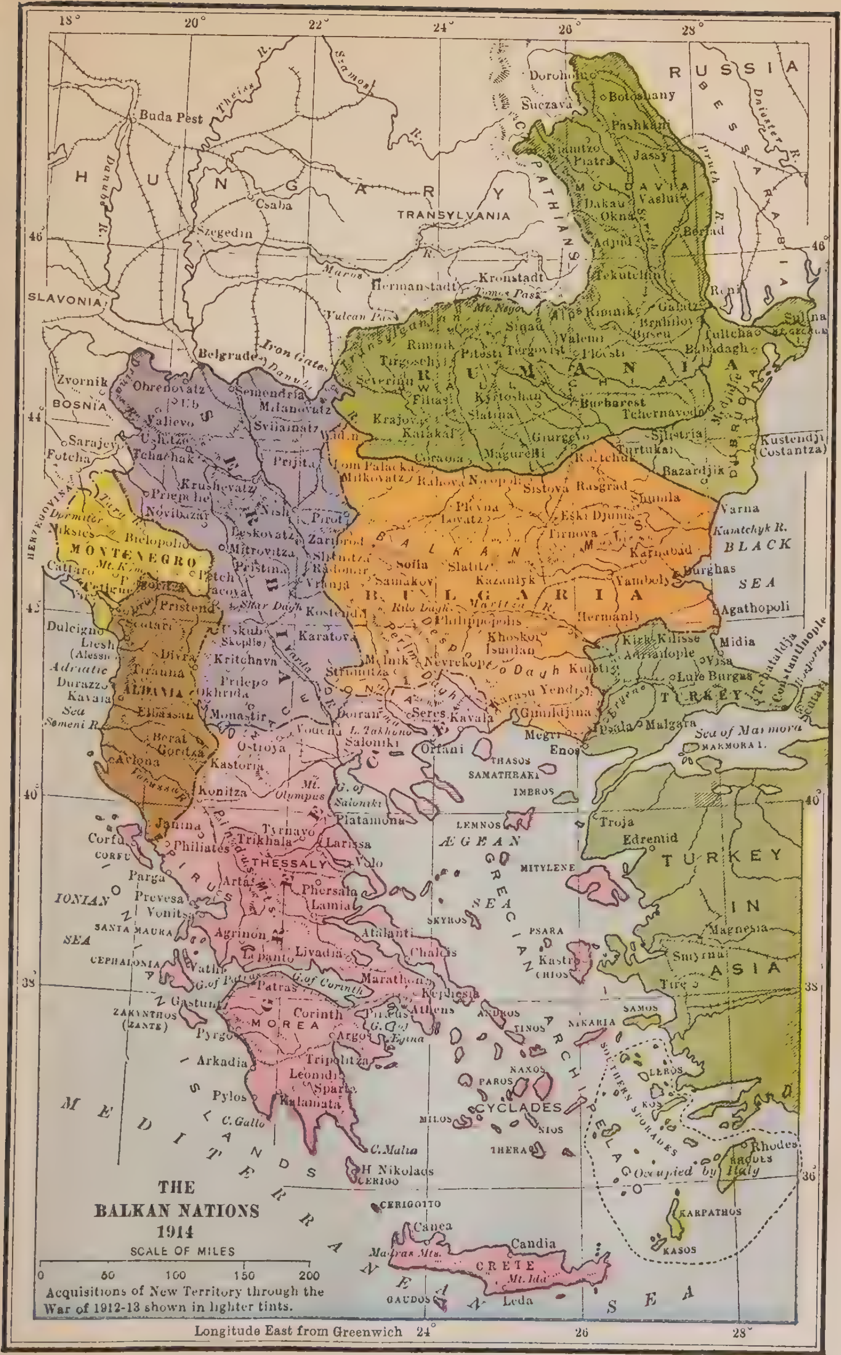
[1] See p. 701.



THE BALKAN NATIONS 1914

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 150 200

Acquisitions of New Territory through the War of 1912-13 shown in lighter tints.

Longitude East from Greenwich

tinople. The Serbians, too, won notable successes in the western field. They occupied Prishtina, Novi Bazaar, and Monastir; and on November 28 they captured the important seaport of Durazzo. The Greeks invaded Macedonia from the south; and, after a series of victories, they laid siege to Saloniki, which surrendered on November 8. The Greek navy did notable service by blockading Turkish ports and by capturing many islands in the Ægean.

Efforts for peace fail

At the instance of Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Minister, an armistice preliminary to peace was signed in London on December 3, 1912. The armistice, however, accomplished nothing, for Turkey refused to surrender Adrianople to Bulgaria and the Ægean Islands to Greece. Hostilities were resumed early in February of the following year. The Greeks captured Janina, and a combined army of Serbs and Bulgarians forced their way into Adrianople. Scutari, an important town in Albania, was invested by an army of Montenegrins, who continued to besiege it even after a second armistice was made to negotiate a peace. It fell on April 23, 1913.

The Treaty of London

Representatives of the belligerent nations met at London, where, on May 30, 1913, they concluded peace. According to the Treaty of London, Turkey was practically ousted from Europe, as she was compelled to cede to the Allies all her European territory except Constantinople and the adjacent region, which lay between the Sea of Marmora and the line connecting Midia on the Black Sea with Enos on the Ægean. Crete was given to Greece. The status of the islands in the Ægean and that of Albania were left for a later decision.

Division among the Allies

Far more difficulty was experienced by the Allies in partitioning the estate of the "Sick Man of Europe" than in conquering him. A bitter quarrel arose as to the share of each. Bulgaria, who had rendered the greatest service during the war, demanded all of Macedonia as her prize: she had not forgotten the Treaty of San Stefano. In this she was opposed by Greece, who insisted on retaining Saloniki; by Serbia, who, deprived of her conquests in Albania through Austrian intervention, wished part of Macedonia as compensation; and by Rumania, who desired a port on the Black Sea.

The Second Balkan War

A second Balkan war broke out in July, 1913, this time between Bulgaria and her erstwhile allies. Hostile armies began to converge on Bulgaria from three directions, Serbians and Montenegrins from the west, Greeks from the south, and Rumanians from the north. Several battles were fought in which the Bulgarians were defeated. Frightful atrocities were committed on both sides, who now hated each other more than they hated the Turks. The latter, taking advantage of the dissensions among their foes, reopened hostilities and recaptured Adrianople from the Bulgarians. At the instance of Austria the Second Balkan War was brought to a close by the Treaty of Bucharest, which was concluded on August 10, 1913. Bulgaria was shorn of nearly all her conquests. The new arrangements provided for the following territorial changes: Greece got the largest share, Southern Macedonia including the rich prize of Saloniki; Serbia was almost doubled in size by getting a large part of Macedonia and half of the Sanjak of Novi Bazaar; Montenegro got the other half of the Sanjak; Bulgaria got part of Macedonia with a strip of the coast and Western Thrace, in all about ninety-six hundred square miles, which was considerably less than the gain of Greece or that of Serbia; Rumania got a strip on the Black Sea, ceded to her by Bulgaria. By the Treaty of Constantinople (September 29, 1913) between Turkey and Bulgaria, the former doubled the European territory left to her by the Treaty of London, as Adrianople and Eastern Thrace were given back to the Sultan.

Albania

A most thorny problem in the new Balkan settlement was Albania. Both Serbia and Montenegro were ambitious to divide the province between them, but strenuous objections were raised by Austria, who feared that the expansion of Serbia would permanently block her march to the Ægean, and by Italy, who was ambitious to control the lands bordering on the Adriatic. A European crisis was almost precipitated by the Albanian Question, because Russia gave hearty support to her Slav kinsmen, and Germany to her ally, Austria. Finally, the Serbians were induced to evacuate Durazzo, and the Montenegrins, Scutari; and Albania was organized as an independent principality with William of Wied, a German prince, as ruler.

Evil outcome of the Balkan Wars

The Balkan Wars solved the Near Eastern Question so far as Turkey was concerned. But they left behind a legacy of hatred and distrust which was to have momentous consequences for Europe. Bulgaria cherished deep resentment against her neighbors for robbing her of the fruits of her victories over the Turks. Serbia saw her dream of a "Greater Serbia," with an outlet on the Adriatic, vanish because of Austria's interference; and she was so infuriated that, in revenge, she began a vigorous movement among the Slavs in Bosnia-Herzegovina to detach them from the Hapsburg allegiance.[1] The dismemberment of Turkey brought out vividly conditions in the Dual Monarchy where, as in the Sultan's former domains, diverse nationalities were striving for independence. The most serious consequence of all was the revival of Russia's interest in the Balkans.[2] She now came forward to aid her "little Slav brothers" against the Austrians, as, in former times, she had against the Turks.

[1] For further details, see p. 707.

[2] See p. 706.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

The New Industrial Revolution

Industry of to-day

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there took place a new Industrial Revolution, the results of which were almost as startling as those of its predecessor a century before. The application of science to industry through the extraordinary development of the chemical and physical sciences, the better organization of business enterprise through combination, the larger use of capital, and the opening up of new sources of raw material in Asia and Africa increased many fold the production of goods. Gigantic plants, equipped with scientific laboratories, worked by armies of laborers, and capitalized by millions of dollars brought together in syndicates and "trusts," displaced the small factories, or "mills," as they were still called. It is estimated that the average increase in the commerce of all the countries of Europe during the nineteenth century was over twelve hundred per cent.

The "trunk" railways

There was also a revolution in the means of transportation and communication. Instead of the small railways, often single track, connecting points at no great distance from one another, "trunk" lines were built with branches radiating to every part of the country. Transcontinental lines were put in operation, like the Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Canadian Pacific, spanning the North American continent, and the Trans-Siberian, traversing Europe and Asia. The whole world is now covered with a network of railways, and the toot of the locomotive is heard in darkest Africa, on the plains of Asia, and in the deserts of Australia. Gigantic locomotives, pulling trains of seventy-five cars or going at a speed of over fifty miles an hour, took the place of the slow, old-fashioned locomotives that looked almost like toys alongside of the new ones.

The ocean greyhounds

After 1880 steel began to displace iron in the building of ships. Huge ocean greyhounds now traverse the seas along definitely marked ocean highways and on regular schedule, carrying cargoes and passengers to all parts of the world. A modern type of seagoing vessel is the Hamburg-American liner, Vaterland,[1] which is 950 feet long, has a gross tonnage of 54,500, and is large enough to accommodate 4000 passengers in addition to a crew of 1100. She is propelled by four great "screws" and by the new type of marine engine called the "turbine," so that, when going at full speed, her propellers make more than one hundred and fifty revolutions a minute, which enables her to cross the Atlantic in less than six days.

Wireless telegraphy

Telephones, telegraphs, and cables have multiplied so greatly that networks of wire are to be found almost everywhere, above the surface of the earth and at the bottom of the sea. To-day localities, no matter how distant and obscure, are in immediate touch with all parts of the world. Chicago now reads in her morning paper about the events of the previous evening in Cairo, Pekin, or Cape Town. Something like a revolution in the methods of communication occurred through the invention of wireless telegraphy by the Italo-Irishman, William Marconi. Communication by "wireless" is based on the transmission of electric wave currents through the air instead of through wires, which are received by an instrument called the "detector." Wireless telegraphy has rendered incalculable service by establishing communication between ships at sea which enables them to send signals for help in case of distress. Vessels at sea are also in constant communication with land, so that daily newspapers printed on board give to the passengers the latest news.

The production of coal and iron, the two pillars of modern industry, was greatly increased through improved methods, new inventions, and the opening of many new mines. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century England supplied most of the coal and iron needed for manufacturing; later, extensive coal fields were opened up all over the world, particularly in the United States and Germany. In 1878 a great improvement in the making of steel came through the Thomas process, which provided a method of removing the phosphorus from "pig iron," so that the poorest iron could be converted into excellent steel. Extensive iron fields in Germany, France, and Belgium, hitherto neglected because the product contained too much phosphorus to be of much use, were now worked, and the steel supply of the world was greatly increased.

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[1] During the World War this ship was taken over by the American Government, and was renamed the Leviathan.

Increase of steel supply

A short, all-water passage to India, long the object of search on the part of navigators of the sixteenth century and never found, was *made* by the digging of the Suez Canal (1859–69), which shortened by many miles the water route from the Atlantic to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It contributed to the economic revival of lands along the Mediterranean, notably North Africa and Asia Minor, which had fallen into decay centuries before. Thousands of vessels laden with cargoes from the West and from the East pass through the Suez Canal.[1] The construction of the Panama Canal (1904–14) has done a similar service for the Western World by providing a shorter passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific ports.

The Suez Canal

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Up to the period of voyages and discoveries in the sixteenth century, the territorial ambitions of the Western nations were limited to seizing one another's lands in Europe. The discovery of the New World stimulated territorial rivalry in a new direction; and for two centuries Spaniards, Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English fought for the possession of the regions beyond the seas, with England finally triumphing over all her rivals. During the greater part of the nine-

Lack of interest in colonial expansion

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[1] In 1913 over five thousand vessels passed through the Canal.

teenth century the passion for colonies was stilled. Those who had lost out in the struggle naturally lost interest in colonies; and even victorious England evinced only a casual interest in her Empire, for reasons which have already been discussed.[1]

Causes for the colonial revival.

(1) Economic: (a) Export of goods

But a change came at the end of the nineteenth century. An extraordinary revival of colonial enthusiasm began that caused every European nation to make a feverish scramble for colonies. The explanation for the new attitude toward possessions is manifold; but it may be summed up under three main causes: the economic, the political, and the religious. The Industrial Revolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century transformed the economic life of Western Europe only; the new Industrial Revolution at the end of the century caused Europe to burst her industrial bonds and to encompass the entire world in its influences. The new industrialism multiplied production so enormously that markets had to be sought outside of the limits of the home country. As competition for the home market within the leading industrial countries became very keen, the eyes of the captains of industry were naturally turned to the many regions that were at the same time densely populated and industrially undeveloped. The vast populations of Asia and Africa were so many potential customers for the business men of Europe. What fabulous profits awaited those who got the opportunity of clothing and shoeing the teeming millions of Chinese and Hindus!

(b) Export of capital

With the tremendous increase in the amount of business came an accumulation of capital seeking investment. The financing of home industries having reached almost the point of saturation, capital had either to remain idle or to find a new outlet. The solution of this problem was most significant for world history and led to a new phenomenon in the expansion of trade, the export of capital. Opportunities for investment were sought abroad, and surplus capital was exported to lands where lay untold wealth in the shape of undeveloped resources. Concessions, or special privileges, were obtained from foreign Governments, usually through the active assistance and under the protection of the home Government, to build factories, construct bridges, open mines, lay down railways, or establish banks. The *concessionnaires* were drawn as if by magnets to the hidden and virgin sources of wealth, the rubber forests of South America, the gold and diamond mines of South Africa, the coal and iron of China, the copper of Morocco, and the oil of Persia and Mexico.

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[1] See p. 418.

(c) Colonies sources of raw materials

The leading industrial nations found foreign dominions desirable either as colonies or as "spheres of influence," because they opened new markets for surplus products and because they offered safe fields for the investment of surplus capital. A third economic factor entered to make colonies popular. The mother countries had capital and machinery, but they needed abundant raw materials to make their prosperity secure. Colonies appeared in the aspect of sources of raw materials; they were not only worth while, they were indeed necessary. This was the revival of the old Mercantilist theory in a new form. In divers ways, by diplomacy, by secret understandings, by treaty rights, all of the leading countries in the world secured "spheres of influence" for their own capital and enterprise in which they could carry on the system of exploitation unhindered by their rivals.

(2) Patriotic motives for expansion

Political influences, no less than economic, were potent in shaping the new development. The intense nationalism which grew up in Europe during the wars of unification stimulated a desire for expansion. Germany and Italy, especially, were no longer content to see thousands of their people emigrate to foreign lands where they were lost to their mother country; like England, they desired to have colonies where their surplus population could settle and where they could maintain the language, institutions, traditions, and ideals of their home land. Defeated France sought solace for her wounds of 1870 by acquiring a great colonial empire in Northern Africa in order to balance the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. The awakened feeling of pride in their world-wide Empire caused many Britons to rejoice in the spread of Anglo-Saxon ideals among the peoples of the world; and there grew up among them a spirit of imperial patriotism unknown in previous times, which was fostered by prominent soldiers, statesmen, and writers.

(3) Religious motives for expansion

Human motives are strangely mixed. Along with the desire for new markets and new territory there was also the desire for new converts to the Christian faith. To many devout Christians the millions of heathen in Asia and Africa were souls to be saved; and there began a missionary movement among both Catholics and Protestants which was an important cause in the expansion of Europe. Ever since the sixteenth century the Catholic Church had been sending missionaries to all parts of the heathen world; and they had succeeded in converting to Catholicism most of the inhabitants of Latin America and of the Philippine Islands and in gaining many adherents in Japan, China, and India. In the nineteenth century the Catholics made still greater efforts in the foreign missionary field through societies that consecrated themselves to the propagation of the faith by collecting money and training missionaries for service among the heathen. For a long time the Protestants had neglected the missionary field; but quite early in the eighteenth century they had founded several societies for spreading the Gospel among the heathen. By the middle of the nineteenth century almost every Protestant denomination, both in Europe and in America, had active and devoted foreign missionaries in almost every part of the world.

The Christian missionaries were the advance guard of European civilization, for they established schools, colleges, and hospitals which disseminated the arts and sciences of the West. Their influence has been most beneficial, particularly among the savage peoples of Africa; they gave them the rudiments of education, taught them orderly living, healed their sick, and induced them to abandon such inhuman practices as cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thousands of Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus, by being converted to Christianity, were initiated into the civilization of the West, which they, in turn, imparted to their non-Christian countrymen. Occasionally missionaries, too zealous for the faith, violated cherished customs of the natives, which sometimes led to their being attacked and slain. These murders furnished grounds for intervention by the European nations, who, on the pretext of defending their citizens, seized ports and districts. In this way the blood of the martyrs sometimes became the seed of colonial empires.

Influence of the missionaries in spreading Western civilization

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the only parts of Asia that were known were India, Asia Minor, and the vast and desolate region called Siberia; China and Japan were closed to the world. In Africa, Europe was acquainted with the northern and southern rims and an occasional trading-post along the eastern and western shores; Central Africa was an unexplored continent. With the exploration of Eastern Asia and Central Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century, there took place a race for colonies among the European Powers which led to the division of these regions into "spheres of influence," protectorates, and colonies. In an incredibly short time Europe, the smallest of the three continents in the Eastern Hemisphere, succeeded in reducing the vast populations of the other two to her dominion. She had the energy, the machinery, the capital, and, above all, the military power with which to do it. On one pretext or another, European Powers would intervene in the affairs of those whose territory they desired; sometimes, as in the case of Egypt, to safeguard loans made to corrupt native rulers by European financiers; sometimes, as in Persia and Morocco, "to restore order" by putting down civil wars; sometimes, as in Algiers, to avenge insults to the flag or to officials; sometimes, as in Africa, to take

The European conquest of Asia and Africa up the "white man's burden," that is, to spread European civilization; sometimes, as in China, to avenge the murder of missionaries. Intervention would be followed by military occupation, with promises to leave "as soon as order is restored"; then a protectorate would be declared over the region; and finally it would be annexed as a colony. We will now describe in detail what has been called the "Europeanization of the World."

China

Civilization of the Chinese

From the point of view of size alone, China, with an area larger than Europe and with an estimated population of over three hundred million, is the most important nation in the world. The Chinese have dwelt apart from the rest of the world for many centuries, perfectly satisfied with their accomplishments in literature, art, science, and industry. Their silk manufactures, woven, colored, and designed with exquisite art, and their wonderful work in bronze, wood, lacquer, and ceramics, showed that they possessed the refinements of a highly civilized people. The Chinese also possessed in a rudimentary form such modern inventions as printing, gunpowder, and paper. But the great natural resources of the country, coal, iron, copper, and other metals, remained undeveloped till the advent of the Europeans.

Their conservatism

A slow, conservative, peaceful people, the Chinese were content to live in their simple way by agriculture, fishing, and the handicrafts. The merchant class was highly respected, and commercial honesty was considered the supreme virtue. They had come to believe that their civilization had reached a height unattained by any other people; hence what they wished above all was to maintain it uncontaminated by the rest of the world and to remain loyal to their immemorial customs and traditions.

The government of the Celestial Empire, as the Chinese called their country, was in theory an absolute monarchy under the rule of the Son of Heaven, the Emperor. In reality, however, it was an oligarchy composed of an office-holding class called *mandarins* by the Europeans. Selection for public office was made only after rigid examinations in Chinese literature, history, and philosophy; and for centuries the content and method of these examinations had remained the same. As the Chinese language has no alphabet, different symbols are employed for different words; therefore, those who could write the most words had the best opportunity of passing the examination. During the middle of the seventeenth century China was conquered by a Tartar tribe called the Manchus, who displaced the native dynasty by one of their race. Most of the office-holding class thereafter were Manchus by race, and they were hated by the Chinese, who never ceased to regard them as foreigners. The queue, or pigtail, was introduced among the Chinese by the Manchus as a sign of submission.

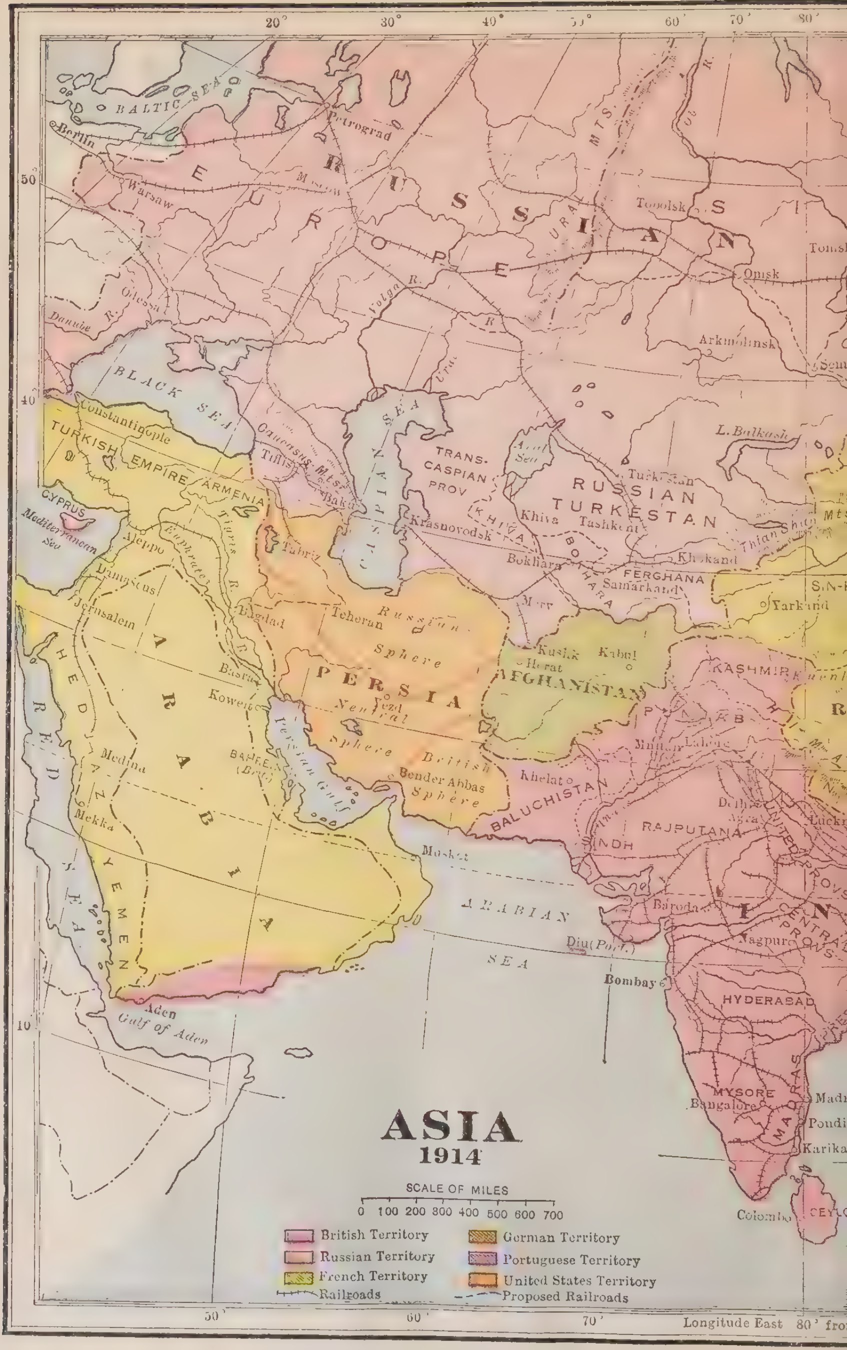
The mandarins

China was not a highly centralized empire, for the eighteen provinces under the sway of the Emperor enjoyed a considerable degree of home rule. China proper lies in the valleys of the Yangtse-kiang and Hoang Ho rivers, where live the bulk of the teeming millions. Bordering on China proper are Manchuria and Mongolia in the north and Tibet and Sin-Kiang in the west; all large regions, but sparsely inhabited. In these outlying states the Emperor was represented by viceroys, whose main function was not so much to govern as to collect tribute. Tibet was an almost independent state, as the inhabitants acknowledged the Dalai Lama, living at Lhassa, as their supreme religious and civil ruler. On the fringe of the Empire were Korea, Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam which, though practically independent, acknowledged China as their suzerain.

Dependencies of China

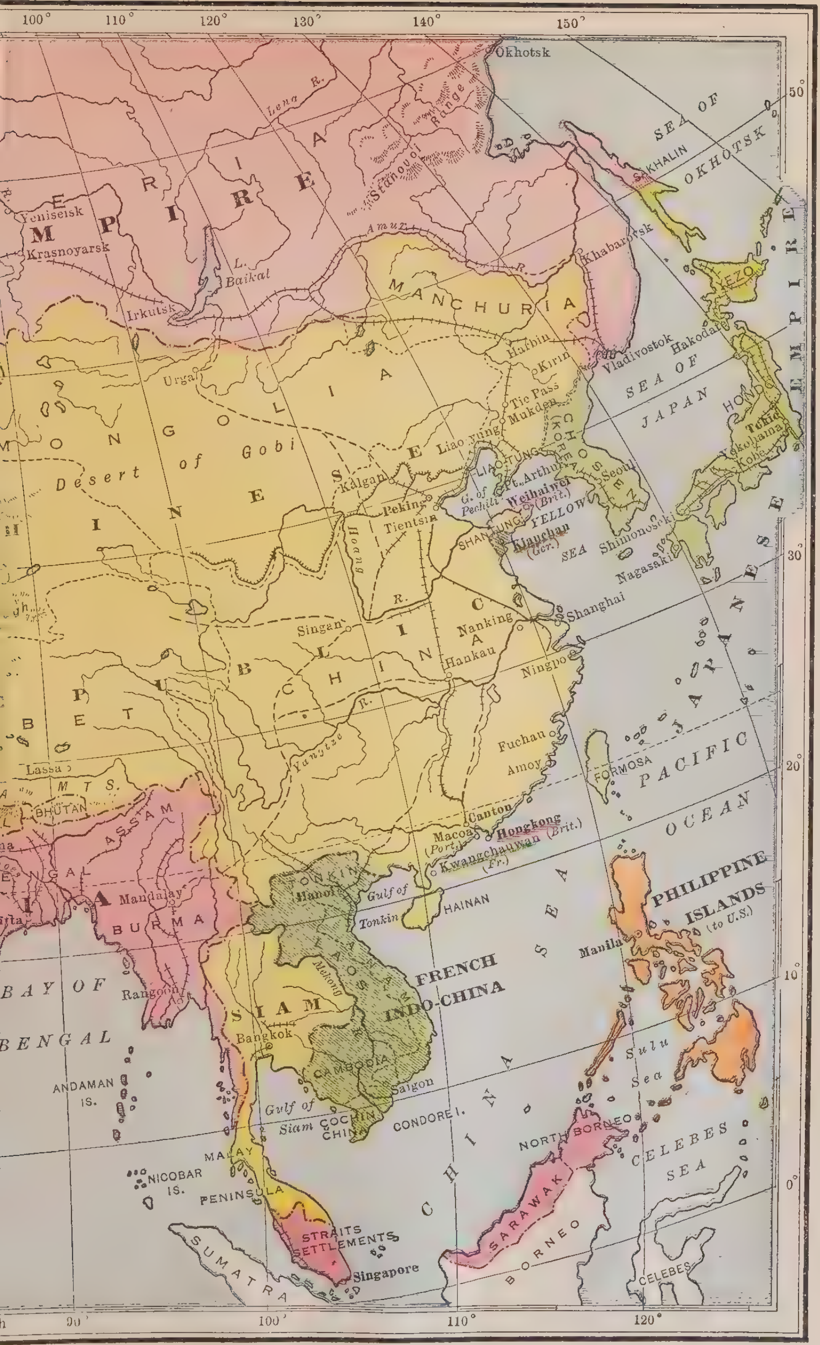
Europe's first knowledge of the Chinese came during the thirteenth century as a result of the missionary efforts of the Franciscan friars and, more especially, from the accounts of the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, who sojourned for a number of

Early advent of the Europeans



ASIA
1914

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
British Territory
Russian Territory
French Territory
Railroads
German Territory
Portuguese Territory
United States Territory
Proposed Railroads
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
Longitude East 80° fro
BALTIC SEA
Berlin
Petrograd
Warsaw
Moscow
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
RUSSIA
URAL MTS.
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Omsk
Ob R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
Arkmolinsk
Sem
Odessa
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
ARMENIA
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Tiflis
Caucasus Mts.
Baku
CASPIAN SEA
TRANS-CASPIAN PROV
Aral Sea
L. Balkash
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
Turkestan
Khiva
KHIVA
Tashkent
Krasnovodsk
Bokhara
BOKHARA
FERGHANA
Khokand
Samarkand
Merv
Thian Shan Mts.
Yarkand
Tabriz
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Bagdad
Teheran
Russian Sphere
PERSIA
Yezd
Neutral Sphere
British Sphere
Bender Abbas
Kushk
Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
PANJAB
Multan
Lahore
Khelat
BALUCHISTAN
SINDH
RAJPUTANA
Delhi
Agra
Luckn
UNITED PROVS.
CENTRAL PROVS.
Basra
Koweit
Persian Gulf
BAHREIN (Brit.)
ARABIA
HEDJAZ
Medina
Mekka
YEMEN
RED SEA
Maskat
ARABIAN SEA
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Baroda
Diu (Port.)
Bombay
Nagpur
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
Bangalore
MADRAS
Madr
Poudi
Karika
Colombo
CEYLO



100°
110°
120°
130°
140°
150°
50°
30°
20°
10°
0°
90°
100°
110°
120°
Okhotsk
Lena R.
Stanovoi Range
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIN
R I A
E M P I R E
Yeniseisk
Krasnoyarsk
L. Baikal
Irkutsk
Amur R.
Khabarovsk
YEZO
Hakodate
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
SEA OF JAPAN
HONDO
Tokio
Yokohama
Kobe
Tie Pass
Mukden
CHOSEN (KOREA)
Seoul
Urga
M O N G O L I A
Desert of Gobi
C H I N E S E
E M P I R E
Liao yang
LIAOTUNG
Pt. Arthur
G. of Pechili
Weihaiwei (Brit.)
YELLOW SEA
Kalgan
Peking
Tientsin
SHANTUNG
Kiauchau (Ger.)
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
J A P A N E S E
Hoang R.
Shanghai
Singan
Nanking
C H I N A
Hankau
Ningpo
T I B E T
Yangtze R.
Fuchau
Amoy
FORMOSA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Lassa
M T S.
BHUTAN
ASSAM
BENGAL
Canton
Hongkong (Brit.)
Macoa (Port.)
Kwangchauwan (Fr.)
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (to U.S.)
Manila
TONKIN
Hanoi
Gulf of Tonkin
HAINAN
Mandalay
BURMA
LAOS
ANAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Mekong
CHINA SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Rangoon
SIAM
Bangkok
CAMBODIA
Saigon
Sulu Sea
ANDAMAN IS.
Gulf of Siam
COCHIN CHINA
CONDORE I.
NORTH BORNEO
CELEBES SEA
MALAY PENINSULA
NICOBAR IS.
SARAWAK
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
Singapore
BORNEO
SUMATRA
CELEBES

years in China, where he was highly esteemed by the Emperor. During the sixteenth century Portuguese merchants established a trading-post at Macao, near Canton. In the following century the Dutch established one on the Island of Formosa, and the British, one at Canton. These European traders were greatly harassed by the Chinese officials, who told them that China had no need of them or of their goods. They managed to stay on by bribing and cajoling the officials, but their property and even their lives were frequently in great danger. There was only one port, Canton, where Europeans were permitted to trade freely. So careful was China to keep out the "foreign devils" that her isolation lasted until well into the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was forcibly broken down by the European Powers.

The Opium War

The first important step in the opening up of the Empire was the Opium War (1840–42). The Chinese had become addicted to a harmful drug called "opium," made from plants grown in India; and so widespread was the havoc caused by its use that the importation of the drug was forbidden. But the traffic was very profitable to British merchants, and it was smuggled in with the connivance of corrupt officials. The Chinese Government determined on vigorous action and seized and destroyed large quantities of opium. On account of this Great Britain waged war upon China and defeated her. China was compelled to sign a treaty, by which Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow, and Shanghai were made "treaty ports" open to European merchants; and the island of Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain, who in addition received an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars.

Treaty of Tientsin

On pretexts that Christian missionaries were murdered or that their flag was insulted, the European Powers began a series of wars upon China with the object of seizing her territory. In 1856 she was attacked by Great Britain and France and was compelled by the Treaty of Tientsin (1860) to make further concessions: six more ports were opened to foreign traders; Christian missionaries were to receive special protection; and the traffic in opium was legalized. China again had to pay the cost of her defeat with another heavy indemnity. The Treaty of Tientsin opened the way for the negotiation of commercial treaties with the various European nations and America, and China was forced against her will to enter into relations with the rest of the world.

The Taiping Rebellion

Great discontent spread among the people, who blamed the Government for allowing the "foreign devils" to enter the Celestial Empire. Moreover, as the Manchu dynasty was hated as foreign, a popular uprising, known as the Taiping Rebellion, began in 1853 and spread all over China. For a time the dynasty was in serious danger of being ousted. In 1861 Tze-hsi, the famous Dowager Empress, came into power. She exercised a great influence over the affairs of the Empire, first as Regent and later as Empress, to the day of her death in 1908. With her was associated Li Hung Chang, the most famous statesman of modern China. They succeeded in crushing the Taiping Rebellion, largely through the aid of the English soldier, Charles ("Chinese") Gordon, who led the Imperial troops against the rebels.

European aggression on China

During the second half of the nineteenth century Europe became increasingly aggressive toward China. The Powers were no longer content merely to seize ports; they now began to annex whole provinces. By the treaties of 1858 and 1860 Russia annexed the coast district south of the Amur River. In 1885 France gained control of Anam and Tonkin, which, together with Cambodia taken in 1863, form French Indo-China. Burmah, a dependency of China, fell to England in 1885.

War between China and Japan

Japan now took a hand in the game. She felt that if China was to be dismembered, she should assist in the process and so gain her share. Japan was especially eager to get Korea, a tributary kingdom of China; and with this end in view she began to interfere in Korean affairs, greatly to the anger of the Chinese. The outcome was the Chino-Japanese War of

1894 in which the Chinese, greatly to their surprise, were badly beaten by the Europeanized Japanese, whom they had regarded with contempt as "dwarfs" and "upstarts." According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in 1895, Japan received the Island of Formosa and the Liao-tung Peninsula, and Korea was henceforth to recognize the suzerainty of Japan. China was furthermore compelled to grant important commercial privileges and to pay an indemnity of about one hundred and fifty-eight million dollars to the victor. The success of Japan aroused the envy of the Western Powers, particularly that of Russia, who saw her path to an ice-free port blocked by the Japanese acquisition of the Liao-tung Peninsula, in which was situated the great seaport, Port Arthur. A coalition was formed, composed of Russia, France, and Germany who, declaring their intention to be the maintenance of the integrity of China, compelled Japan to relinquish all her conquests except Formosa in return for an additional indemnity from China of twenty-three million, seven hundred thousand dollars.

European nations begin to dismember China

The coalition then began to reap the benefits of Japan's victory by seizing portions of China for themselves. On the plea of avenging the murder of two German missionaries, Germany, in 1898, seized the valuable harbor of Kiao-chau, which was then splendidly fortified and became the center of German interests in the Far East. During the same year France acquired the valuable bay of Kwang-chow-wan. England, not to be outdone, seized Wei-hai-wei. Russia profited most from Japan's victory; to her fell Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula. The Powers then proceeded to divide China into economic "spheres of influence," the capitalists of each nation concerned to have a monopoly of the concessions to be granted by the Chinese Government in the sphere allotted to that particular country. British capitalists were to exploit the valley of the Yangtse-kiang: French, the province of Kwang-tung; German, the province of Shan-tung; Russian and Japanese, the regions in the north.

European investors came among the Chinese and began to transform the life of this ancient people. Railways and factories were built; mines were opened; modern steamers began to appear alongside the picturesque "junks"; the telegraph and telephone were installed. Modern scientific progress was, however, not at all to the liking of the conservative Chinese. Railways, especially, were regarded as a desecrating innovation, because the lines were sometimes built across graveyards, which aroused popular fury against those who violated the sanctity of ancestral tombs.

Railways

It is not surprising, therefore, that a widespread revolt soon began against the "foreign devils." A powerful secret society was formed, called the "Order of the Patriotic and Harmonious Fists," or more popularly, "Boxers," whose members strongly desired to rid their country of the foreigners who were "lacerating China like tigers" and who were violating the cherished and immemorial traditions of the Chinese people. During 1899–1900 anti-foreign outbreaks took place, and many missionaries and traders lost their lives. The Europeans living in Pekin fled for shelter to their legations, which were thereupon besieged by mobs. So great was the anti-foreign fury that the German Ambassador was murdered in the street. It was known that the Dowager Empress was in sympathy with the "Boxers" and that her officials were secretly aiding them; hence the Powers decided to send an expeditionary force to relieve the legations. An international army, composed of European, Japanese, and American troops, invaded China, captured the capital, Pekin, and relieved the legations. In revenge for the uprising the European troops committed frightful outrages against the Chinese, killing many people and looting palaces and temples, which cast great discredit upon the Christian nations. China was forced to pay an indemnity of three hundred and twenty million dollars and to suppress all anti-foreign societies.

The Boxers

After her defeat by Japan, China began to take more kindly to European ways, and there began a reform move-

The awakening of China

ment which aimed to Europeanize China as Japan had been. The leaders in this movement were mainly young men who had studied abroad, and who had become convinced that, unless their country adopted the sciences and arts of the West, she would fall a prey to the foreigners. Young China found that its greatest obstacle was the Dowager Empress, who resisted the introduction of reforms and hounded the reformers out of the country. But she was finally forced to follow its lead, and there began an "awakening of China" at the beginning of the twentieth century which astonished the entire world. In 1905 a decree was issued abolishing the ancient system of education which prepared men for the public service, and establishing a modern one in which modern history, European languages, economics, and political science were the subjects taught. In the enthusiasm for the new learning, ancient temples were converted into modern schools and colleges on the Western model. In 1906 another decree declared that the growth, sale, and consumption of opium must cease within ten years. This prohibition law has been vigorously enforced by the Government.

The Chinese Revolution

But the reformers, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, a young physician who had become an enthusiastic admirer of Western culture, would not rest until China was completely modernized on the most approved European and American plans. They wanted China to become a democratic republic, and they continued their agitation against the Manchu dynasty. In 1911 a revolution broke out, led by Young China and backed by the army, which had been reorganized on European lines. A Republic was proclaimed with Sun Yat-sen as provisional President. On February 12, 1912, the Manchu dynasty formally abdicated, after having reigned for nearly three hundred years. The adoption of a republican constitution presented great difficulties because of the many complex problems, both domestic and foreign, which confronted the Chinese people. They called upon Professor Frank J. Goodnow, a distinguished American authority on political science and constitutional law, to advise them. Control fell into the hands of a conservative element, led by Yuan Shih-kai who, though a former monarchist, now favored the reform movement. He was elected President in 1913 for a term of five years. Before long he found himself in conflict with the National Assembly, called to draft a constitution, because of his desire for almost autocratic powers. On his own initiative President Yuan Shih-kai made important changes in the government, virtually giving him the power of a dictator. He also negotiated the famous Five-Power Loan of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars from Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. Great opposition to the President's course was shown by the radical republicans, and they organized a series of uprisings against him which he managed to suppress. Yuan Shih-kai died in 1916, and he was succeeded by Vice-President Li Yuan-hung, who was regarded as more republican in his tendencies than his predecessor.

JAPAN

Rise of Japan

The history of Japan during the nineteenth century has filled the world with wonder and admiration. In the period of about one generation an isolated, almost unknown country, whose inhabitants were regarded by Europeans merely as charming little people, beautifully dressed in colored gowns, with pretty manners and artistic tastes, rose to be a great Power, whose friendship was eagerly sought by the European nations.

Contrast between the Chinese and Japanese

Japan consists of four large islands and many small ones situated off the coast of China. In territory she is somewhat smaller than California, but she has a population of about fifty-two million. Although closely allied to the Chinese in race and in civilization, the Japanese differ from them in temperament. The Chinese are a rather stolid, phlegmatic people, whereas the Japanese are lively, quick-witted, and possess great powers of adaptation. In spite of their small stature the Japanese have been a warlike people, and martial virtues are held in great esteem among them.

The first Europeans to visit Japan were some Portuguese navigators who, in 1542, chanced to come to the islands. A few years later, St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary, came to convert the inhabitants. He and his followers were welcomed by the Japanese, and they succeeded in gaining many converts to the Catholic Church. But the anti-foreign feeling became strong, and the Christians were accused of conspiring against the Government in the interest of Europeans. A bitter persecution followed, and thousands of converts were put to death. By the end of the sixteenth century Christianity in Japan had almost entirely disappeared. The Government now determined on a rigid policy of isolation; foreigners and foreign goods were excluded, and the profession of Christianity was made a capital offense.

Advent of the Europeans

Japan remained in a state of seclusion for two centuries more. She was opened to the world in 1853 by the famous visit of an American fleet under Commodore Perry, who came with orders to demand of Japan that she give shelter to American sailors wrecked on her coasts and allow American vessels to provision and to trade in some of her ports. A treaty embodying these demands was signed a year later by the American and Japanese Governments. In 1858 Townsend Harris, the first American representative to Japan, negotiated a treaty establishing regular commercial relations between the two countries.

Visit of Commodore Perry

The system of government and society then existing in Japan resembled that of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. The mass of people were serfs on the estates of a military aristocracy called the *daimios*, who governed their districts and conducted private war against one another very much in the fashion of the feudal nobility of Europe. Over these lords was the Emperor, called the *Mikado* who, in theory, was the absolute monarch of Japan, but who, in practice, had little if any authority. Whatever real power existed over the *daimios* was exercised by an official called the *Shogun*, who was to the

Feudalism in Japan

Mikado what the Mayor of the Palace was to the Merovingian Kings of France. The treaties mentioned above were negotiated by the *Shogun*.

During 1863–64 Japanese towns were bombarded by European warships in retaliation for outrages committed against Europeans. This made a great impression on leaders of the country, who beheld in gunnery a superior force which was bound to conquer their country unless she adopted the arts and sciences of the West. A group of ardent young reformers took the lead in the Europeanization of Japan; and, in 1867, there began a revolution unparalleled in modern times. In one generation the public and private life of the Japanese people was almost completely transformed. Hundreds of young Japanese became students in the schools and colleges of Europe and America with the main purpose of bringing Western knowledge to their native land. Commissions were sent abroad to study the institutions of the West and to recommend the adoption of the best that the various nations had to offer. Foreigners were welcomed and treated with consideration; and many were employed by the Government to instruct the natives in the arts of the West.

Transformation of Japan into a modern nation

As a consequence there began the wholesale introduction of Western institutions in this Eastern land. Young Japan keenly realized that the first step must be the abolition of feudalism, with its division of the people into castes and clans, and the union of the people in one national whole. With this end in view, the *Shogun* was compelled to resign (1867), and the *Mikado*, Mutsuhito, then only fifteen years old, became actual as well as theoretical ruler; for it was the intention of the reformers to unify the people through the Emperor. Mutsuhito's reign, which ended with his death in 1912, is justly celebrated in Japanese annals as the "Enlightened Rule." In 1871 an Imperial decree abolished feudalism. Most of the *daimios* voluntarily surrendered their privileges, but some rose in rebellion against the decree. Serfdom was abolished and the peasants became tenants or proprietors

Abolition of the Shogunate

of the lands which they tilled. A great blow at the caste system was struck by the organization of a national army, for it deprived the warrior caste, the *samurai*, of their military privileges. The administration of the Government was highly centralized in order to give greater power to the nation. In 1889 a constitution was promulgated which transformed Japan into a parliamentary monarchy: a bicameral legislature was organized, with an aristocratic upper House and a popular lower House. The Cabinet, however, was made responsible to the Mikado who, in reality, was but a screen for an influential group of nobles known as the "Elder Statesmen," the powers behind the throne. A civil and criminal code was adopted, based upon the French and the German systems of law. The army was reorganized on the German model and the navy on the British. A public school system was introduced, copied to some extent from that of America.

Introduction of modern industry

The Industrial Revolution was even more potent in the transformation of Japan than enlightened Imperial decrees. Japan has many excellent harbors, cheap, intelligent labor, and a fairly good supply of coal and iron, which facilitated the introduction of the factory system. Machine-made goods displaced the artistic products of the handicrafts.[1] Railways and steam navigation made extraordinary progress.[2] Japanese foreign trade, as a consequence, increased rapidly.[3]

Spirit of expansion

The new Japan that emerged as a result of these changes was a nation of alert, ambitious, efficient people, thoroughly familiar with modern progress and animated by a patriotism almost religious in character. Primarily, Japan assimilated Western civilization in order to protect herself against Western encroachment; but, once in possession of the new arts and sciences, she became aggressive like the Western nations. Her large population demanded an outlet; her active capitalists wanted concessions; and her imperially minded statesmen wanted to spread Japanese influence over larger areas. Near-by Korea and China offered a fair field for these ambitions.

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[1] In 1912 there were 8710 factories run by motors. The cotton industry entirely new in Japan, operated in 1914 over 2,400,000 spindles.

[2] In 1872 Japan had eighteen miles of railway; in 1912, over six thousand miles, nearly all State-owned. Her steam tonnage in 1912 was 1,500,000, which was greater than that of France.

[3] In 1877 the foreign commerce of Japan was valued at $25,000,000; in 1913, at $680,000,000.

Russia tries to block Japan's expansion

The war with China in 1894 showed the mettle of the Japanese army, as the Chinese giant was easily overthrown by the Japanese dwarf. When the fruits of her victory were seized by Russia, Japan clearly realized that there was bound to be a contest between herself and the latter for the mastery of the Pacific. Russia's designs upon Manchuria became obvious when her troops and settlers began to pour into the province, and her promises to leave became more and more evasive. Port Arthur was splendidly fortified and connected by a branch railway with the Trans-Siberian. After Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula, it would be Korea's turn, and the way to Japan's expansion would be effectively blocked.

Preparations for war with Russia

Like the Prussians in 1866, the Japanese began to make careful preparations for the coming war with Russia. The army and navy were enlarged and organized on a most efficient basis, and munitions of war of the latest and best patterns were assembled in large quantities. Thus prepared, Japan was ready to challenge the great military power of the West who, though immensely superior to her in men and resources, was yet seriously handicapped by the fact that the scene of conflict was over three thousand miles from her base of supplies. The single-track Trans-Siberian Railway was the only means of transporting Russian troops and supplies to the posts on the Pacific.

Opening of hostilities

The immediate cause of the war was the refusal of Russia to give a definite date when she would withdraw from Manchuria. Hostilities began in February, 1904. It was the primary intention of the Japanese to drive the Russians out of the Liao-tung Peninsula, where they had large armies under General Kuropatkin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in the East. Two

Japanese armies invaded the peninsula. One, under General Kuroki, marched north to Korea and routed a Russian army in a battle on the banks of the Yalu River; another, under General Oku, landed in the southern part of the Liao-tung Peninsula, just north of Port Arthur, defeated a Russian army at the Battle of Nanshan, and cut off the communications of the fortress with the Russian armies in Manchuria.

The Battle of Mukden

A concentrated attack upon the large Russian forces stationed at Liao-yang and at Mukden, north of the Liao-tung Peninsula, was the next plan. It was brilliantly executed by several Japanese armies under the supreme command of Marshal Oyama. A series of engagements followed, culminating in the terrific battle around Mukden in which each side had about three hundred thousand men engaged, and which lasted from February 25 to March 10, 1905. The Russians, under General Kuropatkin, were routed and compelled to beat a demoralizing retreat, with a loss of about one hundred thousand men; the victorious Japanese lost only half that number.

Capture of Port Arthur

Early in the war the Japanese made several attempts to take Port Arthur by storm, but they proved costly failures. Siege was then laid to the fortress by General Nogi, who defeated several armies that came to relieve it. After a siege of ten months, the horrors of which rivaled those of the famous siege of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, the commander of the fortress, General Stoessel, surrendered with an army of forty thousand men on January 2, 1905. It cost the Japanese about sixty thousand in killed and wounded to capture Port Arthur.

Destruction of the Russian fleets

Japan's victories on the sea were no less decisive than those on land. At the outset there were two large Russian fleets in Eastern waters, one at Port Arthur and the other at Vladivostok. The first was "bottled up" for a time; but later it was almost entirely destroyed by Admiral Togo, on August 10, 1904; the second was seriously damaged and defeated in the battle of August 14. Russia made a last attempt to retrieve her fortune by dispatching a fleet of thirty-five warships under Admiral Rodjestvensky. It reached the Sea of Japan and was almost entirely annihilated by Admiral Togo in the Straits of Tsushima on May 27, 1905.

Peace of Portsmouth

Both combatants were now tired of the war and eager for peace; Russia, because of her defeats, and Japan, because of the enormous expense that her victories entailed upon her. At the suggestion of Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, representatives of both combatants met in the United States at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where they signed a treaty of peace on September 5, 1905. According to its terms Manchuria was to be evacuated by both Russia and Japan; the lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula, including Port Arthur, was to be given to Japan, who was also to have paramount influence in Korea; Russia was also to cede the southern half of the Island of Sakhalin. No indemnity was paid by either side. In 1910, greatly to the indignation of the Koreans, their country was annexed to Japan and renamed Chosen.

Effects of Japan's victory on China and on Europe

The overwhelming defeat of Russia, long regarded as a formidable military power, by an Asiatic people just out of Oriental seclusion, astounded the world. Japan leaped forward as one of the great Powers and as the dominant influence in the Far East. Her victory was an important factor in the "awakening of China," who realized that Orientals, if armed and trained like Europeans, could fight as effectively as they. A wave of discontent with European rule, which, up to this time, had been accepted as inevitable, began to spread throughout the East. The West was disturbed by the dread of what was termed the "Yellow Peril," the fear that the millions of the yellow race, inspired and led by Japan, might start a world war against the whites.

Alliance of Japan and England

Great Britain was the first to welcome Japan into the ranks of the Great Powers. In 1902 a treaty of friendship had been signed by the two island nations; in 1905 this compact was greatly strengthened by a treaty of alliance. The latter provided for

(1) the preservation of peace in Eastern Asia and India; (2) the maintenance of the integrity of China and of the principle of the "open door"; and (3) the defense of the territorial rights of each party in Eastern Asia and India. This treaty, which was renewed in 1911, gave Japan a free hand in the Far East, so far as England was concerned, in return for Japan's promise to safeguard British rule in India.

Japan's designs upon China

No sooner was the Russo-Japanese War over than there began a *rapprochement* between the two erstwhile enemies. The friendly understanding ripened in 1916 into a treaty of alliance. Both recognized that their interests in the Far East could be best promoted by coöperation instead of by war. This boded ill for China, which was the special object of Japan's ambitions. In 1915, with Russia's consent, Japan made twenty-one demands upon China, the most important of which were that she grant special commercial privileges to Japanese capitalists and that she engage Japanese to advise her in political, financial, and military matters. China protested against these demands as an infringement upon her sovereignty; but she was forced to accept some of them. The most important, that concerning Japanese advisers, was withdrawn in deference to the protest of the United States, who came forward as China's champion. On November 2, 1917, an important agreement was entered into between Japan and the United States in reference to China. Both Powers pledged themselves to respect the territorial integrity and independence of China and to maintain the principle of the "open door" in reference to China. But the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China, "particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous."

EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War marked the beginning of a new era in her history. Foiled in the attempt to get to the Mediterranean by conquering Constantinople, Russia turned her face to the East in the hope of getting an ice-free port on the Pacific. China was compelled, in 1860, to cede to Russia the region north of the Amur River and a stretch of territory on the Pacific running to the south of that river and facing Japan. Vladivostok, ice-free for nine months in the year, was founded on the southern extremity of the coast.

Foundation of Vladivostok

The newly acquired region attracted many settlers from Russia. After the abolition of serfdom peasants poured into the fertile Amur Valley, where they were given liberal grants of land by the Government in the hope of establishing a large Russian population in Eastern Asia. To facilitate this immigration the Trans-Siberian Railway was built, which would at the same time serve as a connecting link between Russia in Asia and Russia in Europe. This was at first the main object in building the Trans-Siberian; later, when Russian ambitions in the Far East became all important, the railway became primarily a military highway over which to transport troops for the conquest of new territory. From the terminus, Vladivostok, Russia was to expand southward into a warmer climate and a richer land.

Settlement of the Amur Valley

She turned her eyes to the Chinese province of Manchuria, to the peninsula of Liao-tung, and to Korea, the peninsula-kingdom of Eastern Asia. Russian diplomacy for a time became all-powerful in Pekin. A Russo-Chinese bank was established, which lent large sums of money to the Chinese Government; in return Russia was granted special privileges in Manchuria, across which she built the Trans-Siberian Railway. Russian troops were sent into Manchuria, but with the promise that they would remain only till "lasting order shall have been established." In 1898 Russia obtained from China a lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula for a period of twenty-five years, across which a railway was built to connect the Trans-Siberian with Port Arthur. In this place she secured an ice-free port and "a window on the Pacific." At last her century-old search for an outlet on the warmer

Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula

seas was rewarded; but her satisfaction was destined to be short-lived, for, as we have already seen, the war with Japan blasted her hopes on the Pacific.

Turkestan and Afghanistan

During the nineteenth century Russia was expanding southward as well as eastward, with the idea of reaching the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. She succeeded in conquering the half-civilized, nomadic tribes in Turkestan and in annexing the Caspian region. Until the beginning of the twentieth century Russia was regarded by England as her chief enemy in Western Asia; a struggle between these two Powers for the possession of India was deemed not unlikely. The tribes living in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, on the border of India, were continually giving trouble to the British, due, it was said, to the secret aid and encouragement of Russian agents. But the building of the Suez Canal made it possible for the British navy to maintain the line of communication with India, and England was freed from the fear of Russian designs. In 1907 an agreement between England and Russia recognized Afghanistan as a buffer state, which practically ended Russia's hopes of conquering India. Again Russia was foiled but not discouraged; she now shifted her gaze to the Persian Gulf.

The Persian Revolution

Between Russian territory and the Persian Gulf lies Persia which, like China, is the home of an old but unprogressive civilization, and therefore likely to be an easy prey for the Western Powers. In 1902 Russia secured special privileges for her merchants and capitalists to build railways and factories in Persia, and there began the "peaceful penetration" of this ancient land by a European Power. The Persian Government was weak and corrupt and was soon in the financial toils of European bankers. A revolution against the Shah, or ruler, broke out among the people, led by a party called the Nationalists, who demanded a constitution and reform. In 1906 the Shah was compelled to call a *Mejliss*, or Parliament, to which was entrusted the control of the finances. But he remained strongly opposed to parliamentary government, and a civil war broke out between the Absolutists and the Nationalists, the former receiving the secret support of Russia.

Partition of Persia

The outcome of the Russo-Japanese War had taught Russia that the best way of expanding in Asia was by coöperating with the Power most interested in a particular region. In Western Asia this was England. On August 31, 1907, a treaty was signed between England and Russia, according to which they agreed "to settle by mutual agreement the different questions concerning the interests of their States on the continent of Asia." Afghanistan, as we have just seen, was made a buffer state, but the important matter to be settled was Persia, which was divided into three "spheres of influence," the northern to be exploited by Russian capitalists, the southern, by British, and the central to be free to both. This economic partition of their country aroused the Persians to fury. In 1909 the Shah was deposed, and his son, Ahmed Mirza, a child of eleven, was placed on the throne. Two years later the Persian Parliament selected an American, W. Morgan Shuster, as financial adviser to the Government. Mr. Shuster was deeply interested in the welfare of the Persian people. He saw clearly that financial reform was the first step to their political independence, because it would enable them to get out of the toils of the European bankers. Mr. Shuster set about with great energy and ability, and with the full support of Parliament, to put the Persian finances on a sound basis. He encountered the determined opposition of Russia and England, who feared that if Persia put her house in order it would deprive them of a pretext for intervention. Accordingly, Russia demanded that Mr. Shuster be dismissed and that another financial adviser, one having her approval and that of England, be appointed. Too weak to resist, Persia was forced to yield; Mr. Shuster was dismissed, and the finances were taken in charge by Russia and Great Britain. Persia could no longer be called an independent State; for, being in the economic grip of these Powers, she was not really in a position to conduct her own policies.

AFRICA

Africa a closed continent

Although of immense size, three times that of Europe, Africa is the least developed of the six continents. Her backwardness may, in part, be ascribed to geographic conditions. Her coast line is unindented, and therefore it contains but few harbors, to the detriment of her communication with the outside world; furthermore, tall mountain ranges, stretching in a chain around the outer rim of the continent, hinder communication between the coast and the interior. Conditions in the latter have prevented the development of a high civilization. Almost the entire north is a barren desert; the center is excessively hot and wet; and the south is a vast, almost rainless, plateau. The great rivers that traverse the continent have, until lately, been unnavigable, because they are broken by rapids and falls. It is no wonder, then, that Africa remained the "dark continent" until recently and that most of its inhabitants were savage tribes living amid primitive conditions.

Northern Africa

The northern rim, being more indented and facing the Mediterranean, has had a wholly different history from the rest of the continent. It was well known in earliest times; and some parts, like Egypt and Carthage, are famous in the history of civilization. During the seventh and eighth centuries North Africa was overrun by Mohammedans from Asia Minor, who converted the inhabitants to their faith. Arab missionaries, traders, and slave-hunters spread along the eastern coast, where they established trading-posts.

Coming of the Europeans

At the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese navigators, Diaz and Vasco da Gama, rounded the southern coast of Africa. The Portuguese established trading-centers at various points along the coast, where they did a profitable business in ivory, gold, slaves, gum, and rubber. Before long merchants of other nations, Dutch, British, and French, established similar stations. For several centuries Africa was regarded by

Europeans mainly as a source of supply for the slave trade, and nearly every nation was engaged in this inhuman, though profitable, traffic. Expeditions were regularly organized to kidnap the black inhabitants, and thousands were annually seized by brutal men, packed into the holds of ships, and transported to the New World to be sold as slaves on the plantations. Except by the Dutch in South Africa,[1] no attempt was made to establish white settlements on this continent for many years because of its inhospitable climate.

Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century

The situation in Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century was as follows: In the north, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria were theoretically parts of the Ottoman Empire and under the suzerainty of the Sultan; practically, however, they were independent communities under tribal chiefs. Morocco was independent under its own Sultan. In the south, Cape Colony, settled during the previous century by the Dutch, passed to Great Britain in 1814. At various points along the coast, particularly at the mouths of rivers, there were European trading-posts. The interior was entirely unknown.

Curiosity in regard to Africa

Scientific curiosity and missionary zeal were aroused by the wonderful tales that traders and adventurers brought back from Africa. They told of strange animals and still stranger human beings, and of trackless forests containing unusual flora. At one time slavery had been justified by some Christians on the ground that if the negro lost his body, he at any rate saved his soul by becoming a Christian. During the first half of the nineteenth century the slave trade was abolished by the European countries, and the African coast was patrolled by warships to prevent the continuance of the traffic. Indirectly the abolition of the slave trade acted as a stimulus to missionary effort, for zealous Christians went to Africa to convert the heathen blacks, who were now no longer being brought to Christian lands.

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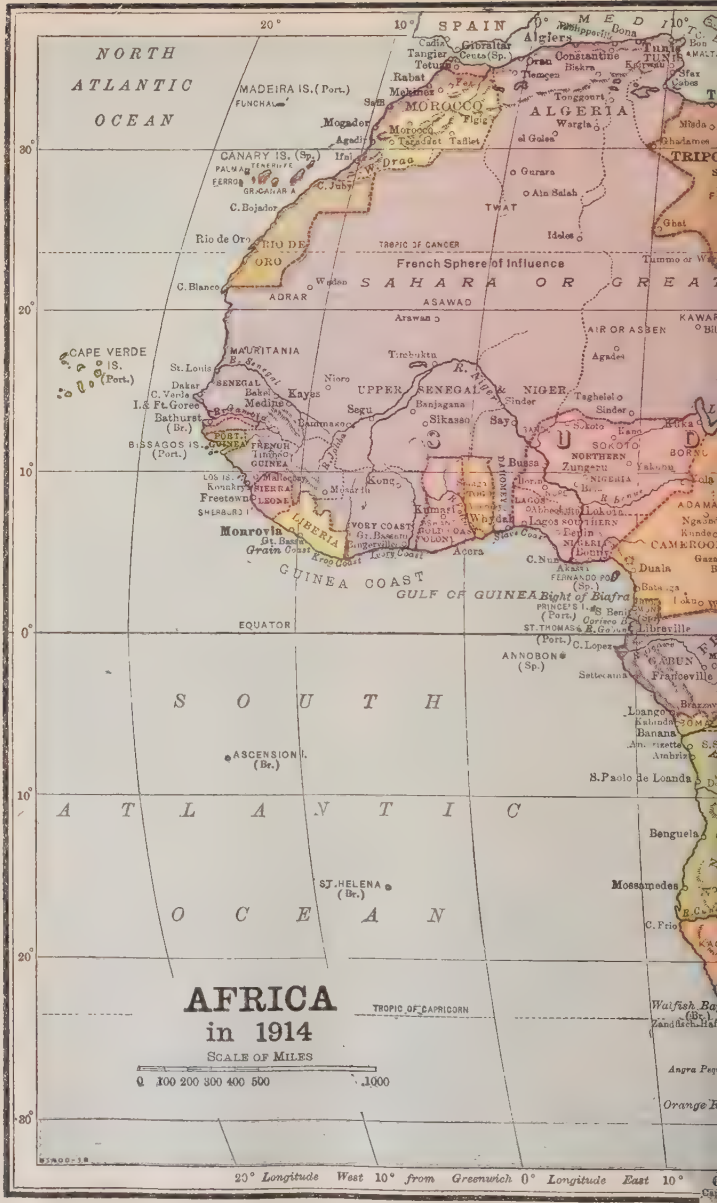
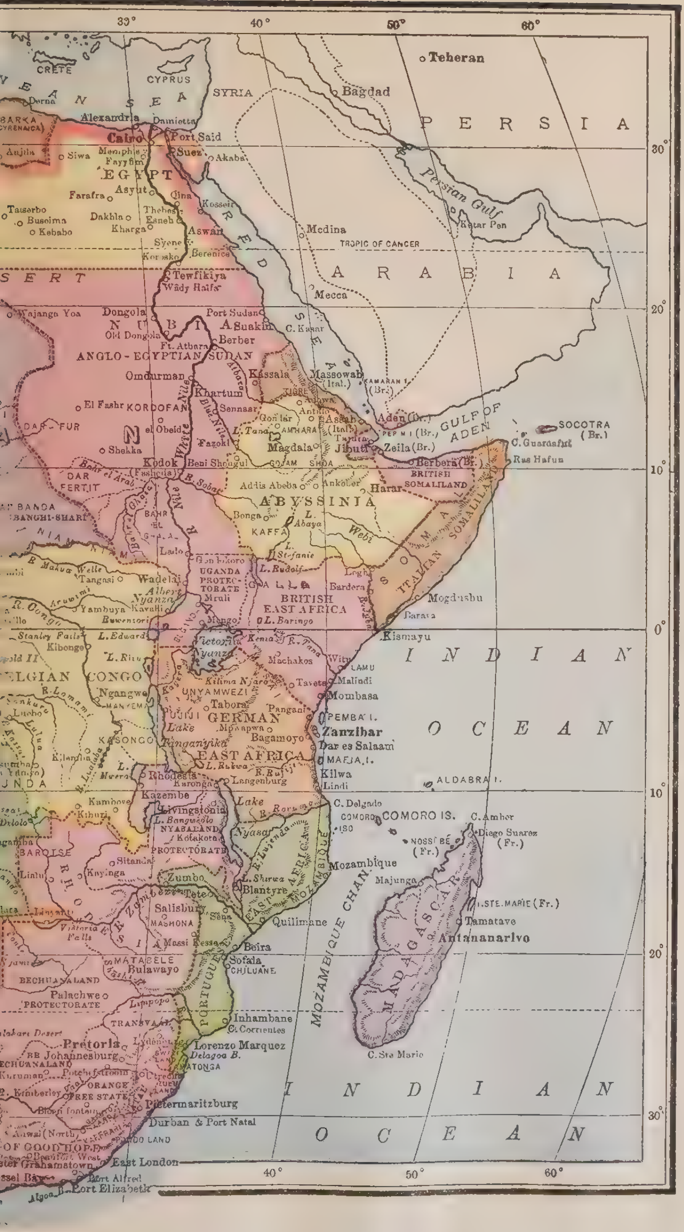
[1] See p. 413.



AFRICA in 1914


30°
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Teheran
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CYPRUS
SEA
BARKA (CYRENAICA)
Derna
Alexandria
Damietta
Port Said
Cairo
Suez
Akaba
Aujila
Siwa
Memphis
Fayyûm
EGYPT
Asyut
Farafra
Qina
Kosseir
Taiserbo
Buseima
Kebabo
Dakhla
Thebes
Esneh
Kharga
Aswan
Syene
Korosko
Berenice
Medina
TROPIC OF CANCER
Persian Gulf
Katar Pen
A R A B I A
Mecca
R E D S E A
DESERT
Tewfikiya
Wâdy Halfa
Wajanga Yoa
Dongola
Old Dongola
N U B I A
Port Sudan
Suakin
Berber
Ft. Atbara
C. Kasar
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Omdurman
Khartum
Atbara
Kassala
Massowah (Ital.)
KAMARAN I. (Br.)
TIGRE
Adowa
El Fashr
KORDOFAN
Sennaar
Antalo
Assab (Ital.)
Aden (Br.)
GULF OF ADEN
SOCOTRA (Br.)
C. Guardafui
Ras Hafun
DAR-FUR
el Obeid
White Nile
Blue Nile
Gondar
AMHARA
L. Tana
PERIM I (Br.)
Tajura
Jibuti
Zeila (Br.)
Berbera (Br.)
Shekka
Fazokl
Magdala
GOJAM
SHOA
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Kodok
(Fashoda)
Beni Shongul
Bahr el Arab
DAR FERTIT
R. Sobat
Addis Abeba
Ankober
Harar
ABYSSINIA
BANDA
UBANGHI-SHARI
BAHR EL GHAZAL
Bahr el Ghazal
Nile
Bonga
KAFFA
L. Abaya
Webi
SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Lado
L. St-fanie
Gondokoro
L. Rudolf
UGANDA PROTECTORATE
GALLA
Lugh
Bardera
Makua
Welle
Tangasi
Wadelai
Albert Nyanza
Mruli
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Juba
Mogdisbu
Barawa
Aruwimi
R. Congo
Yambuya
Kavalli
Buwenzori
Mengo
L. Baringo
Kismayu
Stanley Falls
L. Edward
Kibonge
Victoria Nyanza
Kenia
R. Tana
Witu
LAMU
Malindi
L. Kivu
Machakos
Kilima Njaro
Taveta
INDIAN OCEAN
BELGIAN CONGO
R. Lomami
Nyangwe
MANYEMA
UNYAMWEZI
Tabora
Mombasa
Sankuru
Lubefu
UJIJI
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Pangani
PEMBA I.
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Lake Tanganyika
Mpwapwa
Bagamoyo
KASONGO
Kilemba
Lualaba
L. Mweru
L. Rukwa
R. Ruaha
MAFIA I.
Kilwa
Lindi
Rhodesia
Karonga
Langenburg
ALDABRA I.
LUNDA
Kambove
Kiburi
Kazembe
Livingstonia
L. Bangweolo
Lake Nyasa
R. Rovuma
C. Delgado
COMORO IS.
COMORO
MOHELI
ISO
C. Amber
Diego Suarez (Fr.)
NOSSI BÉ (Fr.)
NYASALAND PROTECTORATE
Kotakota
BAROTSE
RHODESIA
Sitanda
Kaylnga
Linlu
Lujenda
L. Shirwa
Blantyre
Mozambique
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL
Majunga
MADAGASCAR
Zumbo
Zambezi
Tete
Salisbury
MASHONA
Sena
Quilimane
STE. MARIE (Fr.)
Tamatave
Antananarivo
Victoria Falls
Massi Kessa
Beira
Sofala
CHILUANE
MATABELE
Bulawayo
BECHUANALAND
Palachwe
PROTECTORATE
Limpopo
PORTUGUESE
Inhambane
C. Corrientes
C. Sta Marie
Kalahari Desert
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Lydenburg
Johannesburg
BECHUANALAND
Kuruman
Potchefstroom
Utrecht
Lorenzo Marquez
Delagoa B.
TONGA
SWAZI
ORANGE FREE STATE
Vaal
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
ZULULAND
Pietermaritzburg
Durban & Port Natal
KAFFRARIA
PONDO LAND
OF GOOD HOPE
Grahamstown
East London
Port Alfred
Port Elizabeth
Algoa B.
I N D I A N O C E A N

The greatest name associated with the exploration of "Darkest Africa," as the interior was called, is that of the Scotch explorer-missionary, David Livingstone. In 1840 he was sent to Africa by an English Protestant missionary society, but he soon became far more interested in exploration than in converting the heathen. Until his death, in 1873, Livingstone was almost continuously engaged in African exploration; and he showed great bravery and resourcefulness in meeting unknown dangers and in solving difficult problems. He discovered the Zambesi River, the Upper Congo, and Lake Nyassa, the regions around which he opened up to the world.

Livingstone

At one time nothing was heard of Livingstone for several years, and it was feared that he was dead or lost in the heart of Africa. To find him, another exploring expedition, led by Henry M. Stanley, was sent out by the New York *Herald* as a journalistic enterprise. Stanley wrote a book, *Through the Dark Continent*, in which he described his adventurous trip and how he found Livingstone. This book had a great vogue throughout the world and greatly stimulated the desire to open up the continent to European influences. Stanley's contribution to African exploration was almost as notable as that of Livingstone. During 1874–78 he journeyed across the continent from Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika, explored the Congo and its various tributaries, and finally reached the Atlantic coast. Other explorers followed these pioneers, and the map of Africa, hitherto largely blank, began to show rivers, lakes, mountains, and plateaus.

Stanley

Great interest was now felt by the European nations in the future of Africa. Here was a new continent, inhabited by weak, savage tribes, who could offer no effective resistance to organized conquest. In a very short time almost the whole of Africa was partitioned among the various nations of Europe. The first to take up the matter was the shrewd King of the Belgians, Leopold II, who, in 1876, called a conference of the Powers at Brussels, where he formed the "International Association for the

The Congo Free State

Exploration and Civilization of Africa." A group of Belgian capitalists, backed by the King, formed a corporation known as the "International Association of the Congo," whose ostensible object was to Christianize and civilize the Africans. To this body was given complete control of the region of the Congo. Its rights were recognized by a conference of the Powers in 1884–85, held at Berlin, with the proviso that the "open door," or equality of trading with the region, was to be guaranteed to all nations. It was organized as the Congo Free State, with Leopold as chief proprietor and ruler. The region proved to be rich in rubber and yielded large profits to the investors who, in spite of the "open door," exercised a complete monopoly in exploiting the country. The government was administered solely in the interest of the stockholders, and the natives were reduced to virtual slavery. To make them collect as much rubber as possible they were subjected to cruel treatment, to whipping, torture, and death. The Congo outrages finally became an international scandal and aroused the indignation of the world, which led to the adoption of reforms. In 1908 the Congo Free State became a colony of Belgium, subject to the rule of the Belgian Parliament and not to that of the King.

Partition of Africa

During the decade 1890–1900 there began the "Great African Hunt," as the European scramble for colonies was called. The rights of the natives were totally disregarded in a series of treaties among the Powers in which they carved Africa into colonies and "spheres of influence." According to an agreement, no annexation of territory in Africa was to be made by any European nation without a notification to all the others.

England

Great Britain got the lion's share, about one third of the entire continent. In the north, she possesses Egypt; in the east, the Sudan, Uganda, British East Africa, and British Somaliland; in the south, Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and the Union of South Africa; in the west, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the mouth of the Gambia River.

Germany

Germany made her *début* as a colonizing nation in the partitioning of Africa. She became very energetic in sending out explorers and traders to lay claims to territory. In the east she secured German East Africa, wedged in between the British possessions on the north and south; in the west, German South-West Africa, Kamerun, and Togo. On the whole, German possessions in Africa, although large, were inferior to those of England or France, because they were climatically unsuited to white settlement. The Germans have had serious trouble with the natives, who refused to work on the plantations and who resented the harsh treatment by the officials. An uprising of the warlike Herero tribes in German South-West Africa took place in 1903, and it was suppressed with great difficulty and at great expense. Two years later an uprising in German East Africa threatened for a time to overwhelm the German forces, but this, too, was finally put down with great bloodshed.[1]

Italy

Italy had acquired Eritrea, a region along the coast of the Red Sea, and Italian Somaliland. She was, however, ambitious to possess Abyssinia, a large district situated between these two possessions. But the Abyssinians are a warlike race in a state of semi-civilization, with a fairly well organized government, and not helpless savages like the negroes. Their *Negus*, or ruler, named Menelek, inflicted a severe defeat on the Italian army at the Battle of Adowa, in 1896, and Italy was compelled to recognize the independence of Abyssinia, which to-day is the only independent State of any importance in Africa. Disappointed at the annexation of Tunis by France and by the Abyssinian misadventure, Italy turned her eyes toward the Turkish provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, which she determined to annex at the first opportunity. This came in 1911, soon after the revolution in Turkey,[2] and an Italian army invaded the region, where it encountered more opposition from the Arab tribesmen than from the Sultan's troops. Turkey was obliged to cede Tripoli and Cyrenaica to Italy, who renamed the country Libya. Except along the coast, Libya is largely a desert and sparsely inhabited.

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[1] For a discussion of the colonial question in Germany see p. 313.

[2] See p. 643.

Portugal and Spain

Portugal has large and profitable colonies in Portuguese East Africa, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea, which produce gold, ivory, and rubber. To Spain has fallen the smallest share, as she possesses only Northern Morocco, Rio de Oro, and Rio Muni, strips of coast along the Atlantic.

France

In point of area the French possessions in Africa are the largest of any nation, but they include the Sahara, a vast desert. In the east, France owns French Somaliland, a strategic point at the exit of the Red Sea, and the large island of Madagascar, which was conquered in 1894; in the west, French Equatorial Africa, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, French Guinea, and Senegal. Her most important possessions, however, are in the north, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco.

The "Fashoda incident"

A keen rivalry between England and France began for the control of the Sudan, which culminated in the famous "Fashoda incident" of 1898. A French exploring expedition, under the command of Captain Marchand, entered the valley of the upper Nile and planted the French flag at Fashoda, a "mud flat," greatly to the anger of the British, who dispatched a force from Khartum to drive them out. Feeling rose high in both countries and, for a time, it looked like war between them. But matters quieted down as a result of concessions on both sides. The French retired from Fashoda, but they were allowed to annex Wadai, thus connecting their northern with their western possessions. The "Fashoda incident" was the starting-point of the close relations between England and France which culminated in the *Entente cordiale*.[1] In 1904 they agreed by treaty to support each other in African affairs. France acquiesced in the possession of Egypt by England, and the latter agreed to allow France a free hand in Morocco.

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[1] See p. 691.

France acquires Algeria and Tunis

France has succeeded in establishing a colonial empire in Northern Africa rivaling the one she possessed in America back in the eighteenth century. The beginning was made in 1830, when a punitive expedition was sent into Algiers because the Dey, or native ruler, had insulted a French official. Algiers was occupied and, in spite of many uprisings on the part of the native tribes, the French managed to conquer and to annex the country. In 1881 a French army from Algeria marched into Tunis and took possession, ignoring the rights of the Bey and of his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. Indignant protests came from Italy, who, because of the large Italian population in Tunis, had hoped to annex the region herself.

Morocco

French ambitions now turned toward Morocco, which was considered a promising place for European occupation. It has a good soil and a mild climate, possesses several fine harbors, and is rich in iron, copper, and other metals. The country is inhabited by about five million people for the most part in the tribal stage of civilization. Tribal wars have been frequent; and the country became notorious because of the great disorder that prevailed there. Attacks upon the lives and property of the European traders, who came to exploit the region, have also been of frequent occurrence.

Struggle of France and Germany for Morocco

France, being a neighbor in Algiers, cast covetous eyes on this promising region. Attacks upon French citizens by the Moroccan tribes gave her the pretext for sending punitive expeditions. From that to "peaceful penetration" through concessions by the native chiefs was a short step. But Germany, too, had cast covetous eyes on Morocco, which was the only desirable part of Africa not yet occupied by a European Power. A struggle followed between France and Germany for the possession of this region, which several times threatened to result in a general European war. But France finally triumphed over Germany and, in 1912, Morocco was formally declared a French protectorate.[1]

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[1] For a more detailed narrative of the Morocco question see pp. 700 ff.

RESULTS OF IMPERIALISM

Not all the expectations of the enthusiastic advocates of expansion were realized. The colonial trade of Germany was insignificant, though the expense of maintaining the colonies was very great. France has been more successful; but she, too, has had to make up annually a large colonial deficit. England has more to justify her imperialism than any other country, for she has a large and growing colonial trade; but her important customers are Germany, France, and the United States, and not Canada, Australia, or South Africa.

Colonial trade a small factor in international trade

The colonies have not proved successful in drawing off the surplus population of the mother countries. Because they were not attractive to white settlement, very few Germans went to the German colonies. But many went to the British possessions and to the United States. French colonies, although near the mother country, contain few Frenchmen besides military and civil officials. The immigration of Italians to Libya has hardly justified Italy's "war for a desert." Even Great Britain, with a large surplus population and colonies in every climate, has failed to people the Empire with her children. During 1870–1905, a generation which saw the high tide of imperialism, six and a half million emigrated from the United Kingdom; of these, only two million settled in the colonies, whereas four million went to America and half a million to other places. So reluctant are the English masses to go to the colonies that societies have been organized to encourage them to emigrate there.

Comparatively few emigrate to the colonies

In spite of the enthusiasm and devotion of hundreds of Christian missionaries, only a small insignificant fraction of the heathen millions have embraced Christianity. China, India, Japan, and Africa, still overwhelmingly non-Christian, are likely long to remain so.

Missionaries fail to convert the heathen world

There is one element in the new imperialism that has proved eminently successful, namely, the investment of surplus capital. Enormous fortunes have been made by those who invested money in the development of backward lands. The success of these ventures is due partly to the fact that foreign investments are, in many cases, guaranteed by the home Government, but mainly to the power of armies and navies to force modern economic life on backward races. These methods have been defended on the ground that progress is accelerated among those peoples who otherwise would have to go through the slow stages of evolution; and thus the entire world is likely to be brought to the same high level of progress in a comparatively short time. Other arguments advanced in favor of economic imperialism are that capital not needed at home finds profitable employment abroad, and that labor at home also reaps benefits. An English company, for example, securing a contract to build a railroad in China, usually stipulates that the equipment be made in England, thus stimulating home industry.

Success of foreign investments

The critics of imperialism reply that foreign investments have the effect of draining a country of its capital, as investors prefer to send their money abroad because of the inducement of greater profit. A capitalist prefers to establish a factory in China, with the prospect of earning twenty-five per cent profit, to improving one in Lancashire which earns only ten per cent. These critics, furthermore, declare that economic imperialism, which benefits only a small group of investors, threatens grave danger to the entire nation; for in the struggle to acquire colonies the nations are drawn into quarrels which may lead to war. Frequently, also, the nation has to intervene in the affairs of those countries that have no strongly organized governments capable of maintaining order, to protect the lives and property of her investing nationals. There has consequently grown up a strong feeling in the world that economic imperialism contains grave dangers for the peace of mankind, and that a new international attitude should be adopted toward foreign investments, which would at the same time protect these investments and preserve the peace of the world.

Criticism of economic imperialism

CHAPTER XXIX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1870–1914

The Triple Alliance

The new diplomatic structure

The system of international relations established by the Congress of Vienna was completely shattered by the events of 1870. Two great Powers came into existence, Germany and Italy, which necessitated a rearrangement of the European system; and the new diplomatic structure that was erected was based, like the old one, on the principle of the balance of power. Formerly it was France, now it was Germany, who was feared as a possible disturber of the peace of Europe.

The Three Emperors' League

For twenty years after 1870 the leading figure in international affairs was Bismarck, who dominated the policies of Europe as completely as Metternich had during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was Bismarck's aim to organize an alliance of powerful nations, pledged to the maintenance of the *status quo* as fixed by the events of 1870. With this in view, he formed, in 1872, the *Dreikaiserbund* (Three Emperors' League), consisting of Germany, Austria, and Russia, who agreed to act in concert in matters affecting territorial changes in Europe, especially in the Near East, and to suppress revolutionary uprisings in their lands. This was to be a new Holy Alliance, as great fear was inspired at the time by the socialistic movement known as the "International."[1]

The Triple Alliance

Although the Congress of Berlin (1878) was called primarily for the purpose of settling the Near Eastern Question, it became the starting-point of new alliances and counter-alliances which shaped European diplomacy for an entire generation. At this convention the antagonism between Russia and Austria, which originated during the Crimean War, was greatly intensified by the clash of their interests in the Balkan settlement.[1] Bismarck's support of Austria so angered Russia that she withdrew from the *Dreikaiserbund*, thus causing its dissolution. Austria and Germany drew more closely together and, in 1879, they formed a new alliance, each promising to assist the other in case of an attack by Russia and to adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality in case of an attack by any other Power. Bismarck, however, was anxious to keep on good terms with Russia, whose hostility he feared because of Germany's exposed eastern frontier. He succeeded in making a compact with the Tsar, known as the Reinsurance Treaty, which, it was understood, effectually guaranteed Russian neutrality should Germany be attacked. In 1882 Italy joined Germany and Austria, thus forming the famous Triple Alliance, which was renewed at regular intervals. A solid block of Central European Powers was facing France, who was now isolated; this was exactly what Bismarck desired.

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[1] See p. 586.

Common interests of Germany and Austria

The strength of the Triple Alliance lay in the common interests that bound Germany and Austria. The latter, driven from Italy by Sardinia and from Germany by Prussia, sought to find compensation by expanding in the Balkans. A policy, known as the *Drang nach Osten* (Movement to the East), was inaugurated by Austria, with the object of getting a port on the Ægean Sea. In the way were Serbia and Montenegro, who could count on the assistance of Russia to oppose the extension of Austrian influence among the Slav States of the Peninsula; hence Austria leaned heavily on Germany, without whose backing she could make no headway in the *Drang nach Osten*. Germany at first entered the alliance primarily as a protection against a war of revenge by France; but later, when she embarked on a vigorous policy in the Near East,[2] she found Austria's assistance of great value to her. There was also a common fear of Pan-Slavism, particularly in Austria-Hungary, where nearly half of the population is Slavic. Should a national movement start among these Slavs and be encouraged by Russia, the integrity of the Hapsburg dominions would be endangered. The destruction of her ally would leave Germany the only Teutonic Power in Europe, faced by hostile France in the West, and by a possibly hostile Russia in the East. To guarantee the integrity of the Dual Monarchy became a matter of enlightened self-interest on the part of Germany, and she loyally supported Austria in her struggle with the Slavs, both inside and outside of her dominions.

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[1] See p. 634.

[2] See p. 642.

Italy and the Alliance

The weak spot in the Triple Alliance was Italy, who had joined the Teutonic Powers because of her resentment against France for seizing Tunis.[1] It was unnatural for Italy to be leagued with Austria, her hereditary enemy, from whom she hoped some day to wrest the Italian-speaking regions, Trieste and Trentino. Both nations, moreover, were rivals in Albania and for the control of the Adriatic. The staggering cost of armament demanded by the Triple Alliance bore heavily on Italy who, being a poor country, could not carry the burden as easily as her rich allies. Should her differences with France be composed and her desire for expansion be appeased, Italy's adherence to the Alliance would become uncertain.

The Dual Alliance

France seeks an alliance with Russia

Bismarck's astute diplomacy left France isolated for fully two decades following the Franco-Prussian War. The feelings of revenge and fear agitated the French: revenge for wounds inflicted by that war and fear of future German aggression. Every year saw an increase in German wealth, power, and population, so that a conflict between France and Germany would end in the certain defeat of the former, whose population remained almost stationary. To save herself from such a calamity, the Third Republic sought an alliance with Russia, whose teeming millions and geographical situation on Germany's flank would make her a most desirable ally.

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[1] See p. 681.

Russia, although rich in natural resources, had little capital; whereas France possessed capital in abundance and was willing to lend it freely in return for an alliance. The building of the Trans-Siberian Railway by the Russian Government necessitated the floating of large loans, to which French capitalists subscribed heavily. Many private enterprises in Russia were also financed by French investors.

The Dual Alliance consummated

Every year saw a coming together of these two nations, though they had fought each other bitterly during the Napoleonic wars and though they differed so markedly in ideals, the one a revolutionary republic and the other a reactionary autocracy. Friendly relations between them were signalized by visits exchanged between the Tsar and the President. A French fleet, visiting Cronstadt in 1891, was welcomed with great ceremony by Tsar Alexander III, who listened with bowed head to the strains of the *Marseillaise*. During the same year a treaty was signed between Russia and France, the terms of which were secret; but it was generally understood that they were to act in common in international matters. This Dual Alliance, officially confirmed in 1895, gave great joy to France. No longer isolated, she could now breathe more easily. Germany's diplomatic hegemony was consequently seriously shaken, greatly to the chagrin of Bismarck who, from his retirement, made sarcastic comments on the diplomacy of Emperor William II.

Rivalry between England and Germany

Friendly relations between Germany and England during Bismarck's régime

During the Franco-Prussian War England's sympathy had been with Germany. Throughout the period of Bismarck's chancellorship friendly relations between the two countries continued, in spite of the fact that the English people had little liking for the autocratic régime in Germany, so contrary to their own traditions of liberal government. Bismarck took pains to cultivate the friendship of England. One of the reasons for his disinclination to embark on a colonial policy was that it would arouse the hostility of the British. So long as Germany remained a land Power, England had no cause to be alarmed; for, in Bismarck's phrase, there could be no war between a "land rat" and a "water rat."

Economic rivalry between Germany and England

With the accession of Emperor William II there came a profound change in Germany's foreign policies. Her expanding trade, rapid increase in population, and exuberant energy were seeking an outlet, and she became exceedingly eager for a "place in the sun," or the possession of a colonial empire. Having come into existence long after the most desirable portions of the world had been annexed, she possessed only a few colonies, and these were in the poor parts of Africa. There was only one way that Germany could now expand, and that was at the expense of the great colonial Powers like England and France.

Weltpolitik

The passion for colonies was especially strong among the industrial and Junker classes. To the former, colonies meant sources of raw material for their factories and a field of investment for their surplus capital; to the latter, they meant opportunities for military activity and for positions as governors over subject peoples. These classes had sufficient influence to cause Germany to abandon Bismarck's cautious policy of "satiation," and to embark upon an aggressive policy of *Weltpolitik*, the object of which was to win for Germany a dominant position in world affairs. This was emphatically expressed by the Emperor when he said: "Without Germany and the German Emperor no important step in international matters should be taken, even beyond the seas."

Rivalry between England and Germany

Germany's new attitude soon brought her into hostile relations with England. The latter, with rich lands in every part of the globe, aroused the jealousy of Germany, who felt that, with her efficiency and military power, she could govern distant lands far better than England. The latter she believed was now a decadent nation living on the fruits of her great past. Commercial rivalry between the two nations also caused constant irritation, as in almost every market of the world the supremacy of the long-established English trade was being challenged by German merchants.[1]

The Kruger telegram.

The first sign of ill-feeling between Germany and England was the "Kruger telegram." In 1896 Emperor William sent a telegram of congratulations to President Kruger of the South African Republic on the occasion of his victory over the Jameson raiders. This caused a furor in England, where it was regarded as a sign of German hostility to the British Empire. During the Boer War the Germans sympathized with the Boers and denounced Great Britain as a bully for making war on the little Republics. This increased still more the already existing ill-feeling between the two peoples. In England the pro-Boer attitude of Germany was interpreted to mean not sympathy for the Boers, but hostility to the British.

German navy law arouses England

But this unfriendliness might have passed away in time had it not been for the famous German navy law of 1900,[2] which England regarded as a direct challenge to her position as mistress of the seas. A veritable panic reigned in Great Britain for a decade on account of the rapid increase of the German navy, in spite of the constant assurances that it was purely for defensive purposes, that is, to protect German shipping in case of war. England's very existence depends upon her control of the seas, as nearly all of her food supply comes from abroad and the best part of her trade is with foreign nations. Should she be successfully blockaded, starvation and ruin would immediately stare her in the face. For this reason she has been obliged to maintain the "two-Power standard," or a fleet equal in strength to any two other fleets.

Naval rivalry

Under stress of German rivalry the British navy was almost completely reorganized at the beginning of the twentieth century. A new type of monster warship, the *Dreadnought*, was constructed, which became the model of the highest type of warship for all the navies of the world. Rivalry in naval armaments between England and Germany continued fast and furiously. This was so expensive to both nations that, several times, the British Government suggested a "naval holiday," or an agreement with Germany to keep down the rate of increase. But the latter refused to accept this plan, for the reason that it would still leave England in command of the sea, which she evidently hoped to wrest in the course of time.

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[1] See p. 369.

[2] See p. 312.

The Diplomatic Revolution

England emerges from her isolation

Ever since the Crimean War England had been pursuing a policy of "splendid isolation" by refusing to ally herself with any other nation. On account of her powerful fleet and insular position, she felt safe from attack. But the challenge from across the North Sea awakened her to the grave danger that lay in a Germany, already supreme on land, energetically striving for supremacy at sea. England thereupon decided to emerge from her isolation. This brought about so great a change in international relations that it might well be called a diplomatic revolution. During the decade 1897–1907, century-old enemies became friends and allies, and the balance of power as established by the Congress of Berlin was completely upset.

Strained relations between England and France

In order to understand this fully it is necessary to go back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. This period witnessed an intense rivalry between England and France in Northern Africa and between England and Russia in Central Asia. Gabriel Hanotaux, who became the French Foreign Minister in 1894, was hostile to the English occupation of Egypt. French policies became so anti-English that a *rapprochement* with Germany became possible, greatly to the delight of Emperor William, who began to flatter the French in the hope that they would forget the *révanche*, or the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine. Lord Salisbury, who then directed British affairs, was distinctly hostile to France, and he once referred to the Latins as "dying nations." His attitude toward Germany was, on the contrary, quite friendly; he signed treaties with her delimiting English and German possessions in Africa, and he showed in many other ways his friendliness for the Teutons. The strained relations between England and France led them to the very verge of war in the famous Fashoda Affair of 1898.[1]

Delcassé and the *Entente cordiale*

During the same year there came to the French Foreign Office a remarkable diplomat, Théophile Delcassé, who remained in control of his country's foreign policies till his retirement in 1905. Delcassé was decidedly opposed to a *rapprochement* with Germany, and he enthusiastically favored establishing friendly relations, and even an alliance, with England. Once the latter, with her enormous sea power, was on the side of the Dual Alliance, Germany's position would be seriously weakened. With this in view, he settled the Fashoda Affair satisfactorily to England, who now, out of fear of Germany, was willing to join her historic enemy, France. The armies of France and Russia would balance the armies of the Triple Alliance, while England's navy would more than balance that of the latter. Friendly relations between France and England were marked by visits of King Edward VII to Paris and of President Loubet to London. Delcassé's efforts were crowned with success in the treaty of 1904, which settled all disputes between the two nations in Northern Africa. There followed what was called an *entente cordiale*, or amicable agreement, between the French and English Governments, which had all the practical effects of a close alliance, although no treaty was signed so binding them. The ancient feud was now at an end, to the great joy of both nations.

France establishes good relations with Italy and Spain

Delcassé was convinced that Northern Africa was the natural field for French expansion on account of its proximity, and he determined to come to a friendly agreement with Italy and Spain, the other Mediterranean Powers. In 1898 a commercial treaty was signed between France and Italy which put an end to the tariff war between them. An understanding was later reached that Italy would be allowed a free hand in Tripoli, provided she relinquished all claim to Tunis. Friendly relations were now resumed between the two Latin nations after a generation of estrangement, and Italy's adherence to the Triple Alliance was, as a consequence, considerably shaken. Between France and Spain friendship was established by a treaty in 1904, which defined their spheres of influence in Morocco.

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[1] See p. 680.

Relations between England and Russia

Equally remarkable was the great change effected in the relations between Great Britain and Russia. During the whole of the nineteenth century the hostility between these two Powers was intense, because England was continually blocking Russia's march to Constantinople. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 Russia sought to revenge herself upon England by threatening India. She began a secret propaganda against England among the tribes in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, with the object of getting their aid in case she determined to make a descent upon India. Great indignation was felt in England at these machinations. Russia was characterized by Kipling as "a bear that walks like a man"; and Joseph Chamberlain declared in a warning speech to his countrymen that "he who sups with the devil must use a long spoon."

With the advent of Sir Edward Grey to the British Foreign Office in 1905, there came a reversal of the English attitude toward her rival in Central Asia. Fear of Germany had driven England to friendship with France; it was now driving her to friendship with Russia. This new policy culminated in the famous treaty of 1907,[1] which settled all differences between the two Powers in Central Asia and consequently removed all causes of friction between them. England, now joined to France and to Russia, transformed the Dual Alliance into the Triple Entente, or friendly understanding among the three nations. Germany was furious at what she called the *Einkreisungs*

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[1] See p. 674.

politik (encirclement policy) of her enemies, for the diplomatic revolution resulted in her being almost entirely surrounded by unfriendly Powers. Europe was now divided into two great coalitions, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, who were facing each other threateningly; should a dispute arise which involved any member of either combination, a world conflagration undoubtedly would be precipitated.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The Concert of Europe

Ever since the Congress of Vienna there had grown up an idea, very dim, it is true, of a union of all the nations for common action in matters affecting world politics. This union was known as the "Concert of Europe," and it pledged the various Powers to maintain peace, to protect the independence of states and to observe agreements faithfully. Two aspects of the Concert were the Holy Alliance, and the Quadruple Alliance, which have already been described.[1]

The Declaration of Paris

Discord, however, soon appeared among the five great Powers, England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, who really constituted the Concert, although, in theory, it included all the nations of Europe. Conflicting interests and ideals, rival ambitions, and jealousies, frequently brought them into hostile relations, resulting in the wars of the nineteenth century. Yet the idea of union persisted; and the Concert performed notable services for humanity. At the Congress of Vienna it declared the slave trade abolished and dispatched warships to capture slavers. At the Congress of Paris, in 1856,[2] it issued the document known as the "Declaration of Paris," which gave protection to neutral trade in time of war. This Declaration established the following rules: (1) privateering was abolished; (2) a neutral flag was to cover enemy goods except contraband of war; (3) neutral goods, except contraband of war, were not liable to capture under the enemy flag, and (4) blockades, to be binding, must be effective, that is, they must be maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coast.

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[1] See pp. 20 ff.

[2] See p. 631.

Another great service performed by the Concert was the adoption of rules intended to humanize warfare. By the Geneva Convention of 1864 the nations bound themselves to treat as neutral, hence not subject to attack, the hospital corps and equipment of every army. To carry out this Convention, societies, known as the "Red Cross," because their symbol was an international flag, a white field with a red cross, were organized in every country. Their headquarters was established at Geneva, in honor of Switzerland, who originated the idea.

The Geneva Convention

After 1870 the Concert, now consisting of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, began to reassert its interest in the Near Eastern Question, which had played a part in the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna. At the Congress of Berlin the principle was accepted that the settlement of this question was a matter for all Europe, and the Concert endeavored to force the Sultan to treat his Christian subjects with consideration; but it failed because of the rival ambitions of the Powers. This failure caused the Concert to fall into temporary disrepute. The new partition of Turkey after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 was, however, largely the work of the Concert. It was also active in Africa, when it organized the Congo Free State and when it tried to settle the Morocco Question at the Algeciras Conference. In the Far East it sent an international force to suppress the Boxer uprising in China.

The Concert and the Near Eastern Question

These instances of international coöperation for the welfare of mankind did not result in the formation of an "international state," with supreme authority over the various nations. Whatever was achieved came mainly as an outcome of bargains and compromises among the Powers, each of whom was seeking primarily to advance its own interests and, only secondarily, the

Failure of the Concert

general good. At the beginning of the twentieth century the fundamental principle of European politics was still national rivalry, not international comity.

International organizations

In a previous chapter,[1] we have learned how the Industrial Revolution resulted in creating many bonds of union among the peoples of the world. There is hardly a field of human endeavor which has not an international organization that holds international congresses from time to time. Questions affecting religion, labor, race, woman, war, peace, science, and education have all, at various times, been the subject of discussion at international gatherings. It is estimated that about two thousand such meetings took place between 1840 and 1910. There has existed an international political party, the Socialist, which held international conventions to determine upon a common policy for the socialists throughout the world. To some extent there has grown up a kind of international government, as represented by the Universal Telegraph Union, which formulates the rules for the use of the telegraph, and by the Universal Postal Union, which is an agreement among the nations regarding postal rates. The metric system has been adopted by nearly all the European countries, and patent and copyright laws are now also to a large degree international.

Universal military service

The Franco-Prussian War ushered into the world an entirely new military system. Hitherto, the defenses of a country consisted of a small standing army, composed of mercenaries and volunteers, and of a popular militia, for the purpose of repelling invasion. In the event of war, the army was increased by drafting men, generally those from the lower classes, into military service. As we have already seen,[2] a new principle was adopted by Prussia during the Napoleonic wars, namely, universal military service, or conscription, which makes it the duty of every citizen to render military service in time of *peace* as well as in time of war. Citizens, under this system, are required to devote several years wholly to training in the army. Conscription was crowned with success in the triumphs of Prussia over Austria in 1866 and over France in 1870 and, consequently, it was soon adopted by nearly every nation. Europe was turned into a huge military camp. England alone, of the Great Powers, did not introduce the new system because, being an island, she could best be protected by the large fleet which she assiduously maintained.

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[1] See p. 42.

[2] See pp. 120, 173.

Application of science to war

Almost as important as universal conscription was the great change that took place in armament through the application of science to war. The simple rifle and cannon of former days, which almost any one could learn to use, gave place to highly complicated machinery of destruction, the handling of which required expert technical knowledge on the part of men trained for the purpose. A modern army is a highly scientific organism, demanding a great and varied knowledge of the sciences, such as chemistry, physics, mathematics, and sanitation, for its efficient management. Generals are no longer the dashing figures of old, gallantly leading charges against the enemy, but highly trained technical experts in the art of modern war. The part of the common soldier is more simple now than it was in former days; he has become a cog in a great and complicated machine, the smooth running of which is essential to success. What the new military system demanded was a large number of men ready to spring into place and a small body of highly trained officers to lead. Hence "preparedness" was necessary, as an army of raw volunteers, no matter how brave and patriotic, would be no match for troops trained in the manner described above. To maintain a large standing army and, especially, to provide for its equipment, proved enormously expensive. But the nations, regarding it as an insurance against the greater evil of war, decided to bear the great burden of an "armed peace."

From time immemorial there has been a dream of universal peace. Isaiah, prophet of ancient Israel, looked forward to the day when swords would be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks. The very essence of Christianity is universal brotherhood, and Christ has been depicted as the "Prince of Peace" bringing "peace on earth and good will toward men." Proposals for universal peace have at various times been suggested by Henry IV, King of France, Grotius, the father of international law, Kant, the father of modern philosophy, and by many other distinguished men. But no serious attention was paid to such projects till the end of the nineteenth century, when the burden of taxation necessary to maintain the "armed peace"[1] aroused so much discontent, that practical statesmen and rulers began to consider seriously the possibility of universal disarmament or, at least, the reduction of armaments.

Ideals of universal peace

A widespread peace movement made its appearance. Numerous societies in every country began a popular agitation to substitute arbitration for war as a mode of settling disputes between nations. Large sums of money were donated to the cause of peace. International peace congresses were held regularly; and at Bern, Switzerland, a permanent peace headquarters was established. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite, left part of his large fortune to be awarded in annual prizes to those of any nation who render the greatest service to science, to idealistic literature, and to the cause of peace. The Scotch-American iron-master, Andrew Carnegie, spent large sums in furthering the peace propaganda. In 1898 there appeared a book entitled *The Future of War*, by a Polish Jew, Ivan S. Bloch, which created a deep impression at the time. The author tried to prove that war under modern conditions was impossible; for it must lead to universal bankruptcy and starvation and be followed by revolutions. Another remarkable peace book was *The Great Illusion*, written by an Englishman, Norman Angell, who argued that modern social and economic conditions make military victories and defeats

The peace movement

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[1] For the year 1914–15 Germany appropriated about $407,000,000 for her army and navy; England, $404,000,000; France, $326,000,000.

"illusions," because the essential economic life of a country remains unchanged even though it be conquered in war. The Austrian writer, Alfred Fried, the French publicist, D'Estournelles de Constant, and the Russian novelist, Count Leo Tolstoy, contributed powerfully by their pens to the peace movement. An active anti-militarist agitation was conducted in every country by radicals and socialists. In France, particularly, the movement was so strong that great anxiety was felt by the Government lest the soldiers and the masses be infected with the spirit of revolt against armament.

Tsar Nicholas summons a peace congress

On August 24, 1898, the world was astonished by an address of Tsar Nicholas II to the nations represented at Petrograd, in which he declared that the system of "armed peace" was ruinous to all countries, that the intellectual and physical powers of every people were thereby diverted to useless channels, and that, if it were prolonged, a cataclysm of indescribable horror would be the outcome. He then suggested that an international conference be held to discuss the matter of armaments in order to find some way of solving the problem. The result of the Tsar's appeal was the convening of a remarkable world assembly, the First Peace Conference, which met at The Hague, Holland, from May 18 to July 29, 1899, and to which twenty-six of the fifty-nine independent nations sent delegates.

The First Peace Conference

To enthusiastic lovers of peace the dream of universal disarmament seemed about to be realized. The least that was expected was the reduction of armaments to lighten the burden that lay so heavily upon Europe. It soon became evident, however, that the Conference would accomplish little in that direction, because of the national rivalries and jealousies, which did not abate even at this peace meeting. Every effort looking toward the limitation of armaments was blocked, especially by the German delegates, because it was feared that the territorial *status quo* would thus be permanently established and nations would then have to give up all hopes of expansion. Although the chief aim of the Conference remained unfulfilled, several things of importance were accomplished. A Permanent Court of Arbitration was established at The Hague, to which nations were advised to go to settle their disputes. This Court was not an organized body with regular sessions, but a list of distinguished jurists selected by all nations, from which disputants may choose a board of arbitrators. In the interest of humanity the Conference also codified the laws of warfare. It forbade the dropping of projectiles from balloons and the use of asphyxiating gases and "dumdum" bullets;[1] it adopted the rules of the Geneva Convention for the treatment of the wounded.

The Second Peace Conference

A second Peace Conference was called at The Hague in 1907 by Tsar Nicholas II and by President Roosevelt. This time it was attended by representatives of forty-four sovereign States, twenty-one European, nineteen American, and four Asiatic. The work of the Second Peace Conference was largely a repetition of that of the First. Rules were adopted for the more humane conduct of naval as well as of land warfare, and an international prize court was authorized. In regard to the limitation of armaments there was much discussion, but no plan was presented to the Conference for adoption.

Wars follow the Peace Conferences

A satiric commentary on the peace movement was furnished by the outbreak of wars at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Russo-Japanese, the Italo-Turkish, and the Balkan Wars. Armaments, instead of being limited, were increased at a greater rate than ever before. The Permanent Court of Arbitration did settle a number of disputes between nations, but these were generally of a minor character. In important matters the nations refused to go to the Court, either because they did not wish to do so or because they felt that it was useless, for military force was not provided to enforce its decisions.

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[1] This is a bullet with a soft "nose" which, upon striking, is flattened or spread, thus inflicting a shocking wound.

MOROCCO

The Algeciras Congress

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed the revival of the Mediterranean as a highway of commerce. This was due to the building of the Suez Canal, which gave a shorter all-water route to India, to the economic development of the Balkan Peninsula, and to the European occupation and exploitation of Northern Africa. At the beginning of the twentieth century Morocco was an independent State under the rule of a sultan whose authority was, however, frequently flouted by the semi-civilized tribes that roamed through the country. Germany, ever on the lookout for colonies, saw in Morocco an excellent field for expansion, and German capitalists succeeded in getting concessions from the Sultan and from some of the tribal chiefs. But France, too, was ambitious to expand in that region, and, being next door in Algiers, she began a policy of "peaceful penetration" by acquiring rights for her capitalists to build railways and telegraphs and to open mines. But the semi-civilized tribes in the interior attacked the Europeans, and punitive expeditions of French troops had to be sent to quiet them. It looked as if the fate of Algiers would befall Morocco, because the native sultan was unable to protect himself against aggression. But he found a powerful champion in Germany, who took up his cause because she was eager to get a foothold in the country. A struggle then ensued between France and Germany for the possession of Morocco, which brought about a great European crisis. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of France's ally, Russia, in her war with Japan, Emperor William II, in 1905, paid a visit to the Sultan at Tangier and pointedly recognized him as the *independent* ruler of Morocco. This was in the nature of a challenge to France, who, deprived of the aid of her ally, agreed to submit the question to an international congress. Delcassé, who was largely responsible for the crisis, was obliged to resign from the Foreign Office, dismissed, it was rumored, at the command of the

German Emperor. The congress met at Algeciras, Spain, in 1906, and agreed on the following: that a bank should be established under international control, each signatory Power to have one share, except France, which was to have three; that all nations should have equal opportunities to trade; and that the independence of the Sultan should be recognized, but that France should have the right to maintain order under international supervision. The Algeciras Congress was, to some extent, a triumph for Germany; for it forbade the annexation of Morocco and established there, in theory at least, the "open door."

The Agadir incident

But France was determined to annex this valuable region. In 1907 French citizens were attacked in Casablanca, which was then bombarded by French warships. Civil war was raging between the Sultan and a pretender to the throne, and disorder was rife. The Sultan applied to the French for money and troops with which to put down the uprising, and both were given. In 1911 a French army marched into Fez, the capital of Morocco, to suppress the rebels. Having succeeded, it refused to leave the country until order should have been permanently established. To Germany this plainly meant the determination of France to annex Morocco, and a German warship, the Panther, was sent to Agadir, ostensibly to defend German interests, but really as a warning to France. Feeling rose high in both countries, and Europe was again trembling on the brink of war. Germany wanted to know the full extent of English support of France. She had not long to wait. The British Government, with the approval of both parties in Parliament, came out in full and hearty support of the French claims. The *Entente* was in perfect working order and Germany decided to yield. She signed a convention with France in 1911, agreeing to the establishment of a French protectorate in Morocco on condition that the "open door" be maintained; in return Germany was to get part of French Congo. In the following year (1912) France formally declared Morocco a protectorate. In the "Agadir incident" Germany suffered a diplomatic defeat, which infuriated her against England whom she charged with conspiring to foil her efforts to expand.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

Germany's idea of an economic empire

To be a great Power and yet to be restricted to the narrow confines of her European territory caused Germany much chagrin. To many Germans the British Empire was a standing proof of the benefits of colonies. The trade of England with her colonies was growing, and their development was largely carried on by British capital. Besides the economic, there was the military advantage of having a large number of men, who would flock from all over the world to defend their common flag. But as there seemed to be no possibility of acquiring new territory, Germany decided to expand in a different manner, — by getting diplomatic control of weak governments in undeveloped but fertile countries. Economic benefits in trade and in concessions would naturally follow; even military help could be gained by becoming an ally of the country that was being exploited. Germany fixed her eyes on Mesopotamia, in Asiatic Turkey, a fertile region at one time the seat of a flourishing civilization, but now fallen into decay. Mesopotamia was to be the scene of a new kind of expansion; there Germany hoped to build a great economic empire that would furnish an outlet for her trade and capital. To accomplish this it was necessary to gain a dominant influence over the Turkish Government. How this was done has already been described.[1]

Function of railways in undeveloped lands

In modern times the exploitation of an undeveloped region begins with the building of railways. As soon as rapid means of communication and transportation are established, connecting isolated with civilized regions, the pulse of commerce begins to beat more rapidly; factories are built, cities grow, and even agriculture is stimulated by the prospect of new and better markets. German financiers determined to build a great railway from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf. They

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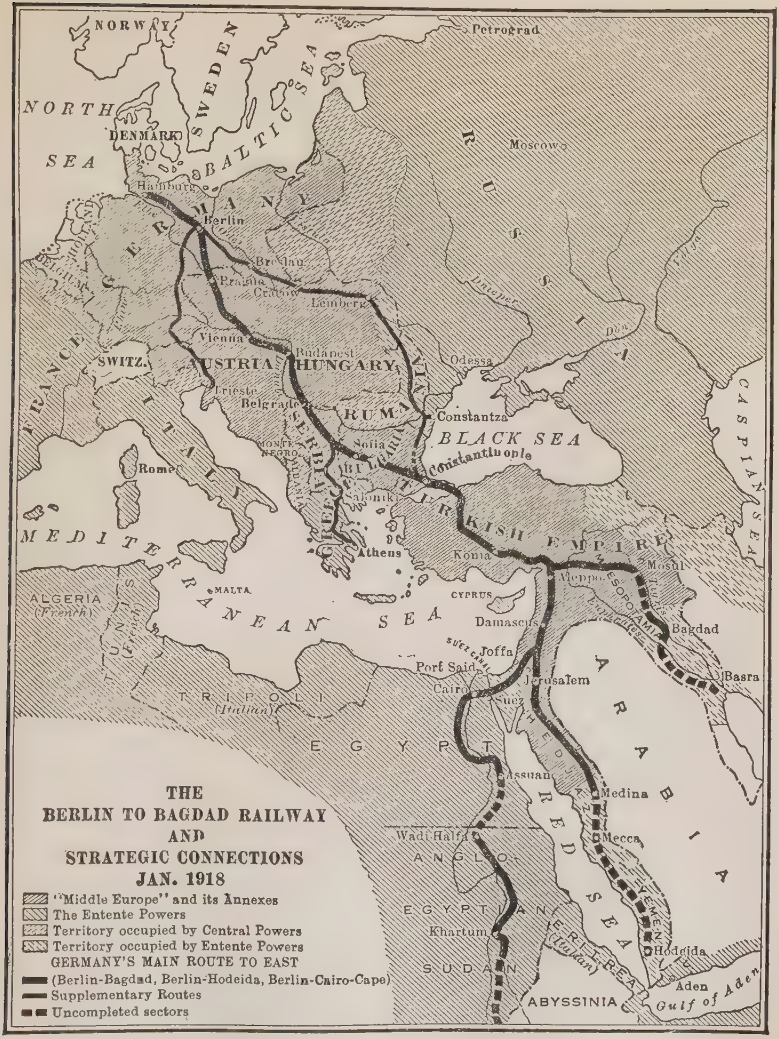
[1] See p. 642.



THE
BERLIN TO BAGDAD RAILWAY
AND
STRATEGIC CONNECTIONS
JAN. 1918

▨ "Middle Europe" and its Annexes
▨ The Entente Powers
▨ Territory occupied by Central Powers
▨ Territory occupied by Entente Powers
GERMANY'S MAIN ROUTE TO EAST
▬ (Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)
▬ Supplementary Routes
▪▪ Uncompleted sectors

believed that under German tutelage Asia Minor could once more become a flourishing region, and they were prepared to invest heavily to exploit this region in order to reap the fruits of its future prosperity.

The Anatolian Railway from Ismid, a point on the Bosphorus, to Konia, in Anatolia, which was constructed by German and British capitalists, was completed in 1896.

The Bagdad Railway

Following the second visit of Emperor William to Constantinople, the Sultan granted a concession in 1899 to a group of German capitalists backed by the Deutsche Bank, the greatest financial institution in Germany, to continue the railway to Bagdad, and from thence to a point on the Persian Gulf. This was the beginning of the "peaceful penetration" of Asiatic Turkey. The projected "B.-B.-B." (Berlin-Byzantium-Bagdad), as the Bagdad railway was called, aroused the greatest enthusiasm in Germany. A masterly and far-seeing policy was thereby inaugurated of connecting the Baltic Sea with the Persian Gulf through a "corridor," beginning at Berlin, running to Vienna, thence to Constantinople, thence to Bagdad, and finally to the Persian Gulf. Should this dream be realized, Germany would be "satiated" once more, as a large region, comprising Central and Southeastern Europe and Western Asia, would eventually become her economic colony, from which she would draw rich tribute. The Sultan renewed the concession in 1902, permitting the Bagdad Railway Company to extend the line to Koweit, on the Persian Gulf, which was to be the terminus. Another railway, the Hedjaz, running from Aleppo through Syria and Hedjaz to Mecca, was also being built under German auspices.

Opposition of England to a Persian Gulf terminus

At the beginning of these railway projects the Germans invited British and French capitalists to join them in their enterprises, and some did so. But England foresaw the political and military possibilities that lay in the Bagdad Railway. Were a fortified naval base established in the Persian Gulf at the terminus of the railway, it might become a dangerous base of operations against India, because it would be in direct communication with Germany and Austria. Opposition in England to the Bagdad Railway was not slow in developing. In 1903 Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that his country "would regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a grave menace to

British interests and would certainly resist it by all means at her disposal." British capitalists refused to subscribe to the bonds of the Bagdad Railway. Through British pressure the local sheik, who ruled the district of Koweit, defied his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, and refused to permit the extension of the railway to the Gulf.

England's alarm at Germany's ambitions

To the British, Germany had now succeeded Russia as the nation that was threatening India. The region around Suez has been described as the "spinal cord" of the British Empire, for it is the vital link in the communication between England, Egypt, and India. This was now in danger of being cut by the Bagdad and Hedjaz Railways. There was great irritation and alarm in England at what were called the schemes of Germany to use Turkey as a tool with which to destroy the British Empire.

THE BALKANS

Influence of Germany on the Balkan States

The Bagdad Railway matter was closely connected with the Balkan situation, particularly as both affected German interests. Germany herself had no ambitions in the Balkans; her interests, as we have just seen, lay in Asiatic Turkey. But in order that the "corridor" from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf remain unobstructed, the Balkan nations had to be amenable to German influence. At the opening of the twentieth century the political situation in the Balkans was most favorable to Germany. Turkey was so closely tied to Germany that she was, to all intents and purposes, a member of the Triple Alliance. Nearly all the rulers of the Christian states in the Balkans were Germans or under German influence. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a German; King Charles of Rumania was a member of the Hohenzollern family; the wife of the future King Constantine of Greece was a sister of Emperor William; King Alexander of Serbia was under Austrian influence. Dynastic considerations have played a big part in the conduct of affairs in the Balkans, where most of the people, having just emerged from semi-serfdom, were, consequently, ill-fitted for self-government.

Serbia becomes friendly to Russia

All was well from the German-Austrian point of view till the assassination of King Alexander of Serbia in 1903. King Peter, the new Serbian monarch, showed a decided leaning toward Russia. The latter, after her defeat by Japan, revived her interest in the Balkans to offset Austrian aggression, and she now reëntered Balkan politics with zest. Great alarm was felt by the Teutonic Powers at the growing friendship between Serbia and Russia; Germany, because she feared the erection of a Slav barrier across her "corridor"; Austria, because she feared a Pan-Slavic agitation which might disintegrate her empire as it had disintegrated Turkey.

Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina

It was to the interest of both of these Powers to crush any Balkan state that should play into the hands of Russia. They therefore determined to deliver their first blow at Slavism before Russia could recover from the effects of the Revolution of 1905 and from her defeat by Japan. On October 7, 1908, Baron von Aerenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister, announced the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria, thus violating the Treaty of Berlin, which gave her merely the right to "administer" this region. Strenuous protests against Austria's action were made by Serbia, who had hoped some day to incorporate these provinces, which are inhabited by Serbs, into the "Greater Serbia" of which she was dreaming. Russia, too, was indignant at what she regarded as a blow aimed at the Slavic race by a Teutonic Power. War clouds began to gather on the European horizon. To the side of Austria sprang Germany, "like a knight in shining armor," as Emperor William expressed it, and dared Russia to attack her ally. Russia, however, was in no condition to fight, as her finances were badly involved and her army in process of reorganization. She therefore beat a humiliating retreat and agreed to the incorporation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Austria. The first Balkan crisis, like the first Moroccan crisis, ended in a distinct triumph for Germany. She recovered for a time the diplomatic hegemony of Europe which she had enjoyed in the days of Bismarck. In both instances it was Emperor William who was the central figure and, as a consequence, he became the hero of the new Germany as Bismarck had been of the old.

Close alliance of Germany and Austria against Pan-Slavism

But the blow delivered to Pan-Slavism by no means destroyed it. On the contrary, it awoke in Russia and in Serbia a grim determination to have it out with the Teutonic Powers on some future day when conditions would be more favorable for them. In the meantime they began a vigorous Pan-Slavic propaganda among the Southern Slavs in Austria with the object of weakening and even of disintegrating the Dual Monarchy. The Triple Alliance was seriously weakened by the Italo-Turkish War in which Italy gained Tripoli; Italy's support of the Alliance became doubtful now that she had made territorial gains with the consent of France and England. Austria and Germany consequently drew more closely together; Austria, fearful of disintegration, clung desperately to her mighty Teutonic sister; Germany, seeing in Austria her only friend, determined to support her to the utmost, lest the destruction of the Dual Monarchy should leave her unsupported in a hostile world.

The second Balkan crisis

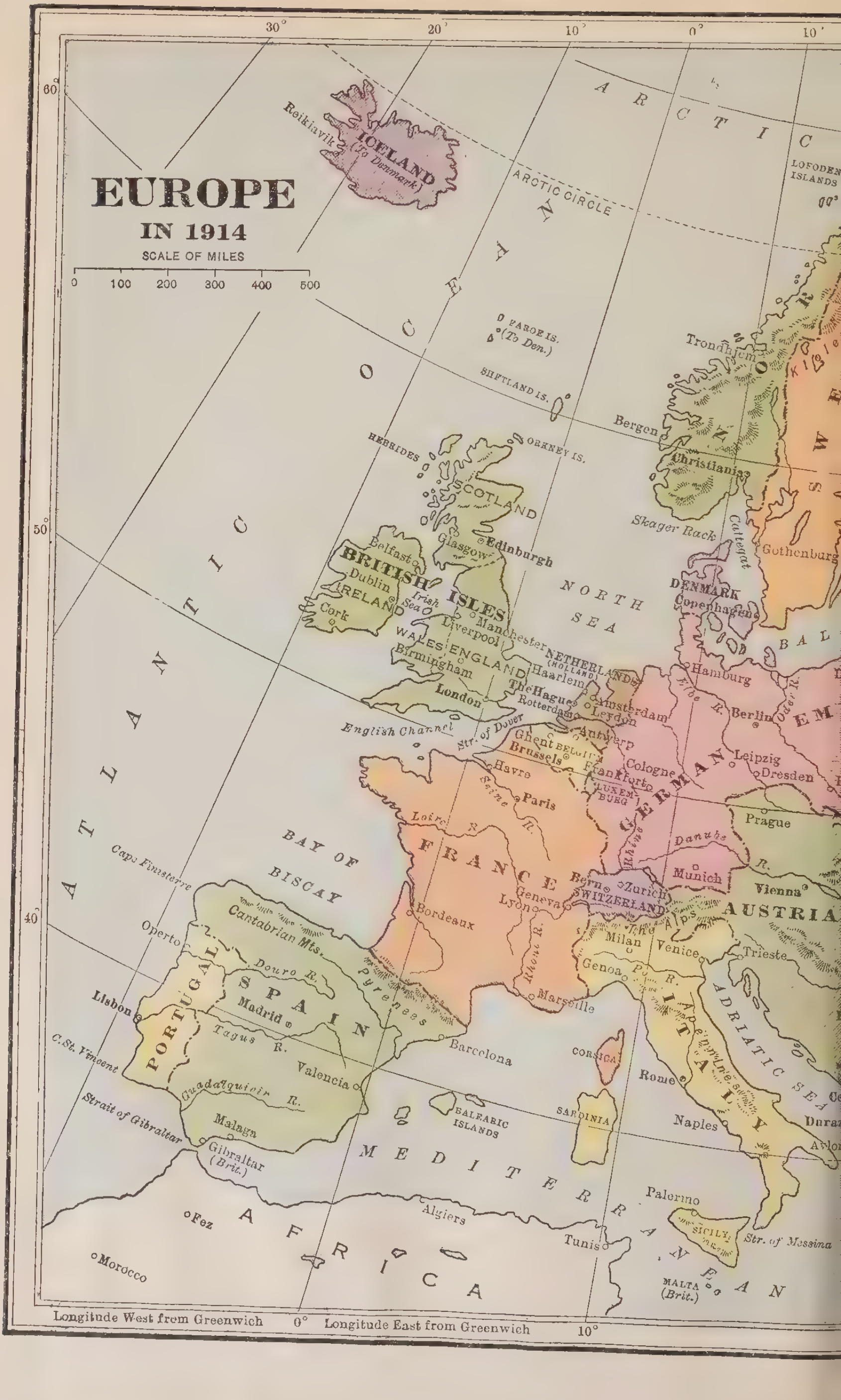
The second Balkan crisis came during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. As both the Serb states, Serbia and Montenegro, desired to expand toward the Adriatic, a Montenegrin army took Scutari, and a Serbian took Durazzo, from the Turks. Austria, however, was opposed to the expansion of the Serbs and, again backed by Germany, she demanded the evacuation of these two cities. Serbia and Montenegro, supported by Russia, refused. Once more a crisis was precipitated in Europe, and the nations began to prepare for war. But the crisis was passed safely, the Serb states yielding to Austria's demand that the two cities become part of the newly formed Kingdom of Albania.

Hatred between Slav and Teuton became more intense than ever. The feeling in the Slav world was that Austria was the enemy of their national aspirations, just as in the past she had been the enemy of those of the Germans and Italians. Austria must, therefore, be expelled from the Balkans as she had been from Germany and Italy. The Pan-Slavic propaganda in the Hapsburg dominions was now pushed with renewed vigor through secret societies and patriotic journals.

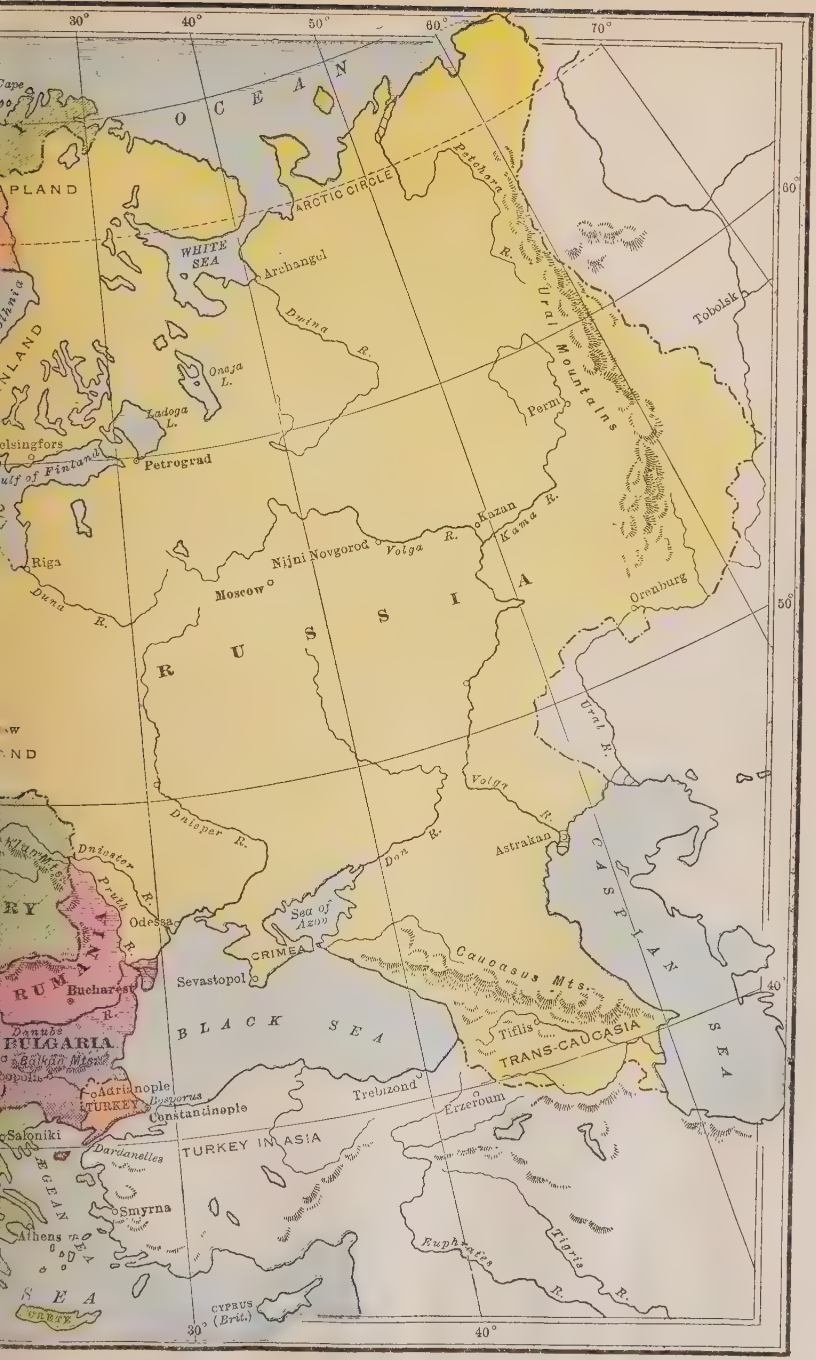
Hatred between Slav and Teuton

The common opinion in the year 1913 was that Europe could not stand another crisis. Let another "incident" arise and the world would be plunged into war. A disturbing feature of the state of Europe was the prevalence of secret diplomacy. Democracy had made giant strides during the nineteenth century, but it had not succeeded in gaining control of international policies. That remained largely in the hands of the diplomats, who for the most part were men of aristocratic birth and association, and therefore far removed from the democratic masses in ideals and sympathy. The fate of nations was often in the hands of irresponsible diplomats, who might be swayed by all sorts of motives in their conduct of foreign affairs. A secret treaty or an "understanding" could be entered into by a government, committing the nation to policies which might jeopardize its very existence; and yet only the "inner circle" would know of its terms. Parliament, even in democratic lands such as England and France, exercised no control over foreign affairs, which were conducted exclusively by the Cabinet. In autocratic lands, such as Russia and Germany, the monarch himself often took a leading hand in the diplomatic game. Many an international crisis was brought on by the irresponsible conduct of autocrats and cabinets.

Secret Diplomacy



EUROPE
IN 1914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60°
70°
O C E A N
Cape
PLAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
WHITE SEA
Archangel
Petchora R.
Dwina R.
Onega L.
Ladoga L.
NLAND
Helsingfors
Gulf of Finland
Petrograd
Ural Mountains
Perm
Tobolsk
60°
Kazan
Kama R.
Volga R.
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
Riga
Duna R.
R U S S I A
Orenburg
50°
Ural R.
Volga R.
Astrakan
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Don R.
Odessa
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
Sevastopol
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts.
Caucasus Mts.
Tiflis
TRANS-CAUCASIA
C A S P I A N S E A
40°
B L A C K S E A
Trebizond
Erzeroum
Adrianople
TURKEY
Bosporus
Constantinople
Saloniki
Dardanelles
TURKEY IN ASIA
Smyrna
AEGEAN SEA
Athens
S E A
CRETE
CYPRUS (Brit.)
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
30°
40°

CHAPTER XXX

THE WORLD WAR

INTRODUCTION

Seeming impossibility of a general war

IN 1914 the possibility of a world war seemed remote, in spite of the highly inflammable condition of European affairs during the preceding year. By many persons it was thought that wars between great nations belonged to the dead past. The last important war fought in Europe was the Franco-Prussian War which, to the generation living in 1914, was hardly a memory. Wars might still be fought between small nations or in far-off Asia; but the great nations of Europe would assuredly manage to ride safely over crises in the future as they had so often succeeded in doing in the past. As every great Power was now in a coalition, the period of localized wars was past. If two nations went to war under present conditions, they would be sure to drag all the others into a general conflict. For that reason, responsible statesmen would tread their ground warily and use their utmost endeavors to ward off such a catastrophe.

Internal problems of the nations

During the first decade of the twentieth century there were indications of continued peace, notwithstanding the menace of increasing armaments. The nations were more and more turning their attention to domestic problems, to those affecting the welfare of the working classes in particular. Legislation of a far-reaching kind was being enacted or contemplated in every country. In England social insurance, land reform, woman suffrage, and Irish Home Rule occupied the public mind. In Germany the Reichstag elections of 1912 resulted in a greatly increased Socialist vote; and the Government was seriously contemplating a modification of the autocratic system. In France the Church question, educational reform, social insurance, and proportional representation monopolized public attention. In Russia the

Government was busy suppressing revolutionists and inaugurating agrarian reforms. In Italy the problems of taxation, housing, and education engaged the attention of the people. In Austria, as ever, the internal race problems continued to be uppermost in public affairs.

Growth of socialism

Another significant trend in favor of continued peace was the growth of socialism. The Socialist Party was international and pacifistic in principle. In conventions and in parliaments, it had uniformly denounced war as an institution that benefits capitalists and militarists, but which brings nothing but suffering to the working class. During the Morocco crises, the Socialist Parties in France and Germany had warned their Governments that the workingmen would revolt in case war was declared; and the peaceful settlement of these disputes was due largely, it was then said, to the attitude of the Socialists. Syndicalism was even more violently anti-militaristic. It was conducting an aggressive agitation against conscription, armaments, and war; and it threatened to bring about a revolution that would spread throughout Europe should an international conflict arise. The nations of Europe seemed too occupied with their domestic concerns to think of war. Moreover, the peace movement as described in the last chapter was making rapid headway. The situation, however, was deceptive. There was one Power which, in spite of its prodigious progress in the arts of peace, had been developing still more the arts of war; and which, as was soon to be seen, had yielded itself to the control of militarists. That Power was Germany.

QUARREL BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND SERBIA

Murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand

On June 28, 1914, the world was startled by news from the obscure little capital of Bosnia, Sarajevo. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his wife were assassinated in its streets. The motive for the murder was political; it was committed by two young Bosnian patriots as a protest against Austria's attitude toward the Jugo-Slavs.

Serbia held responsible by Austria

Throughout Austria and Germany the assassination was regarded as an act of defiance against Teuton supremacy by the Southern Slavs, and consequently it aroused great indignation. An investigation claimed to establish the fact that the murder was the culmination of a conspiracy formed by a secret political society whose headquarters was in Serbia. The Austrian Government felt convinced that the plot to murder the Archduke was aided and abetted, if not actually planned, by Serbian officials in Belgrade; and that it was the natural outcome of the Serbian nationalist agitation among the Slavic population of Bosnia.[1]

Ultimatum to Serbia

Austria determined to put a stop to the Serbian conspiracies which, she declared, menaced her very existence; and she prepared to go to the length of suppressing her small but troublesome neighbor by force of arms. On July 23 Count von Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, dispatched an ultimatum to Serbia. It declared that the latter had broken her promise "to live on good neighborly terms" by encouraging an unfriendly propaganda aimed against the Dual Monarchy, and it charged that Serbian officers had planned the Sarajevo crime in Belgrade and had provided the assassins with weapons for that purpose. The ultimatum then made several peremptory demands, the most important of which were: (1) that the Serbian Government officially condemn the anti-Austrian propaganda by her citizens; (2) that it suppress all publications and societies which incite hatred and contempt of the Dual Monarchy; (3) that all anti-Austrian teachers and books be eliminated from the public schools; (4) that the public officials implicated in the anti-Austrian propaganda be dismissed; (5) that two Serbian officers, named in the ultimatum, be arrested at once; (6) that Serbia accept the "collaboration" of Austrian officials in the suppression of the anti-Austrian propaganda within her borders; and (7) that Serbia accept the help of Austrian officials in the investigation of those implicated in the Sarajevo crime. A reply was demanded within forty-eight hours.

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[1] For additional details concerning the Serbian nationalist propaganda see pp. 707, 708.

Serbia's conciliatory reply

Serbia saw in this ultimatum an interference with her sovereign rights which would reduce her to a condition of virtual vassalage to Austria; nevertheless, her reply was conciliatory in tone. It recalled Serbia's moderate and pacific attitude toward Austria during the Balkan Wars, and avowed that, although not responsible for the activities of private individuals and societies in their propaganda against the Dual Monarchy, she was willing to condemn them officially. Serbia then offered to accede to all the demands of the ultimatum, except the ones referring to the participation of Austrian officials, on Serbian soil, in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda and in the investigation of the Sarajevo crime. To permit aliens so to act, she declared, would be a violation of her rights as a sovereign State. Should Austria find the reply unsatisfactory, Serbia offered to refer the whole matter to The Hague International Tribunal or to the decision of the Great Powers. Austria's ultimatum was not the first evidence of her determination to crush Serbia. In the Balkan crisis of 1913 [1] Austria had planned war on Serbia, and had asked Italy, as a member of the Triple Alliance, to support her. But Italy had refused on the ground that the Triple Alliance bound the allies to act only in matters of common defense; and that a war against Serbia would be an act of *aggression* by Austria for the latter's benefit only.[2] Plainly the Sarajevo incident was seized upon by Austria as an excellent opportunity to settle accounts with Serbia, even if it resulted in a European war. In this Austria was supported by Germany.

RUSSIA AND GERMANY

Russia and Germany enter into the quarrel

Austria refused to accept this reply because Serbia had not met every demand to the very letter. Both sides at once made ready for war. But it soon became apparent that the coming conflict was not to be "localized," because of the intervention of Russia on the side of Serbia, and of Germany on the side of Austria. Indignation in the Tsar's dominions at the Austrian ultimatum ran high because it was regarded as an attempt of a great Teutonic Power to destroy the independence of a little Slav nation. Russia, declaring that the quarrel was full of European consequences, demanded that it should therefore be submitted to arbitration. She threatened to mobilize her troops the moment Austrian armies crossed the Serbian frontier. Germany, as in 1908 and 1913, supported Austria, declaring that the latter must be allowed a free hand in punishing Serbia for conspiring against her; and that, as a matter of self-defense, Germany would do all in her power to save her ally from being weakened or disrupted. Even when it became apparent that a war with Serbia would involve all Europe, Germany gave her whole-hearted support to Austria, who was thereby emboldened to press her ultimatum on Serbia. Germany threatened to mobilize against Russia and France the moment Russia attacked Austria. The quarrel was thus taken up by two far greater antagonists, Russia and Germany, and the danger of a European war became imminent.

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[1] See p. 707.

[2] Statement of former Premier Giolitti to the Italian Parliament, on December 5, 1914.

Grey suggests arbitration

On July 26, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, suggested a conference between England, France, Germany, and Italy to settle the Austro-Serb quarrel. Germany, however, refused to accept the suggestion on the ground that only Russia and Austria, the parties vitally interested in the matter, could call such a conference. Events moved so rapidly that the world was dazed. On July 28, Austria declared war on Serbia. The next day, Russia issued an order mobilizing her armies against Austria. This was immediately followed by a German mobilization against Russia and France. The situation was most critical, and Sir Edward Grey again made efforts for a peaceful settlement. To his overtures the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, replied that his Government would stop mobilizing on condition that Austria withdrew from her ultimatum those points which violated Serbian sovereignty. Herr von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, declared this reply

War between Germany and Russia

to be unsatisfactory. Sazonov then modified his demand by declaring that, if Austria stopped her advance on Serbian territory and recognized the dispute as a matter concerning all of Europe by calling in the Great Powers to help toward a settlement, Russia would maintain a waiting attitude. This was also rejected by Germany, who was aiming to create a situation in which Russia would be forced to mobilize; then she would lay the responsibility for the war on Russia, and appeal to her people to protect the Fatherland against Slavic aggression. Sir Edward Grey then came out with a statement that England would support her allies only on the condition that they heeded a reasonable proposal of peace from Germany. On July 31, Germany dispatched an ultimatum to Russia demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of her mobilization orders against Austria as well as Germany. No reply was received. On August 1 war was declared by Germany against Russia.

VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

Now that these two giants were in the field, it became inevitable that all those allied with them would be drawn in.

War between Germany and France

Germany sent an ultimatum to France demanding to know her attitude in the coming war, and demanding, as a pledge of her neutrality, the fortresses, Verdun and Toul. France's reply was such that Germany felt sure that she would support her ally, Russia; and Germany declared war against her on August 3.

England and Germany

On the inquiry of Sir Edward Grey regarding Germany's intentions toward France, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg gave assurance that his country had no desire to take European territory from France; but he refused to commit himself in reference to the French colonies. To keep England neutral was a matter of vital importance to Germany. She keenly realized the great part the British navy would play in driving her commerce from the seas and in blockading her ports. But Germany's plan of campaign was bound to draw England into the war. She planned to crush France by a swift march on Paris before Russia's armies were ready for an attack upon her in the East; France crushed, she would then turn on

Russia with all her forces. Victory to German arms seemed assured according to this plan; but it must be executed quickly in order to frustrate a simultaneous move against her frontiers by both Russia and France. The quickest way to reach the heart of France was through Belgium.

Violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany

The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by the Powers including Prussia.[1] That Germany intended to violate the neutrality of Belgium and that of the other little buffer state, Luxemburg, appeared manifest, for German troops were being concentrated on their frontiers. On July 31, Sir Edward Grey addressed a note to France and Germany in reference to the neutrality of Belgium. France replied that she would respect it. Germany's answer was evasive: she was "not in a position to reply." On August 2, Germany addressed a note to Belgium saying that as France was preparing to violate her neutrality in order to invade Germany, to forestall her she must pass through Belgian territory to invade France. She declared that, if Belgium permitted the German armies to pass through her territory, indemnity would be paid for all damage done by them; but, if she refused, her fate would be determined by the "decision of arms." The reply of Belgium is noteworthy. She reminded Germany of her pledge as a guarantor of Belgian neutrality; and she declared that Belgium could not accept Germany's ultimatum without being faithless to her obligations and without sacrificing her honor. She refused to believe that her independence could be preserved only at the price of the violation of her neutrality; and she was firmly resolved to repel every attack upon her rights. On the same day that the ultimatum was sent to Belgium, German troops occupied Luxemburg against the protests of her ruler, the Grand Duchess. Two days later, the memorable August 4, German troops crossed the Belgian frontier. Great Britain immediately declared war against Germany.

The world was profoundly shocked by Germany's open violation of international law and by her breach of faith.

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[1] See p. 485.

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg defended his country's action in a famous speech. "We are now acting in self-defense," he announced. "Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have probably, by this time, entered Belgian soil. This is a breach of international law . . . but we shall try to make good the injustice as soon as our military goal has been reached." He bitterly denounced England's action in going to war over "a scrap of paper," as he characterized the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. Germany's conduct aroused the English people to a high pitch of indignation; and all classes rallied to the support of the Government which, otherwise, might have encountered serious opposition from the liberal and radical elements.

German and English views of Belgian neutrality

Germany's main defense of her breach of faith has been that secret documents, which were subsequently found in Brussels, disclosed a plan of coöperation between the English and Belgian armies in case of a German invasion of Belgium; this, she declared, constituted an Anglo-Belgian alliance against Germany which relieved her of the obligation to respect Belgium's neutrality. In reply Albert, King of the Belgians, declared that his Government had informed Germany of this military convention at the time that it was made; and that it could not be fairly interpreted as an alliance with England, for the reason that the latter, as one of the guarantors of the neutrality of Belgium, was obliged to aid her against any nation that attempted to violate it; and the only nation that was planning to do so was Germany. The Germans also asserted that French aeroplanes had flown over Belgium before war was declared, thus violating her neutrality. But there was no evidence to sustain this assertion.

Germany's defense of her breach of faith

One month later, on September 5, England, France, and Russia signed an agreement mutually pledging one another not to make a separate peace, and to accept a general peace only on terms which would be agreeable to all of them. The Triple Entente, under stimulus of war, became a hard-and-fast alliance.

Common policy of the Allies

Japan joins the Allies

The European War cast its shadow over Asia also. Japan, as an ally of Great Britain pledged to support her in Asiatic waters, sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding that she withdraw all her warships from Far Eastern waters and that she evacuate Kiau-chau, her great Chinese port. Upon Germany's refusal, Japan declared war against her, on August 23. Later, Japan, too, became a party to the agreement of the Allies not to make a separate peace. Of the great nations, only the United States and Italy were still at peace, both of them having declared their neutrality.

THE BALKANS

Rivalries and dissensions in the Balkans

As usual the situation in the Balkans was very much mixed. Rivalries of all kinds, of the Allied nations with one another, of each with the Balkan States, and of the latter among themselves, operated to the great advantage of Germany, who had reason to fear that the entire Balkan peninsula might be ranged against her. In Greece popular opinion, as voiced by the former Prime Minister, Venizelos, favored the Allies; but King Constantine insisted on remaining neutral. Rumania was undecided; she was friendly neither to Austria nor to Russia, both of whom possessed provinces, occupied by Rumanians that she wanted to bring under her own flag. Bulgaria, smarting from her wounds of the Second Balkan War, hated Serbia much too strongly to fight on her side. Moreover, she was in close economic and diplomatic relations with Germany and Austria. King Ferdinand favored the Teutonic Powers, but popular sentiment was not entirely on their side.

Montenegro and Turkey enter the war

Two Balkan nations, Montenegro and Turkey, entered the war almost from the start. On August 8, Montenegro took common cause with Serbia, her fellow Serb State, and declared war upon Austria. Turkey, largely dominated by Germany and fearful of Russia's designs upon Constantinople, was led to throw in her lot with the Central Powers by the menace of two

German warships which, eluding the British fleet, held Constantinople under their guns. On November 5, these German warships entered the Black Sea to bombard Russian ports, and Russia declared war upon Turkey.

Summary of Causes

First World War

At last had come that universal conflagration, the fear of which had dimly haunted the mind of many a man for a quarter of a century. Nothing like it had ever before happened in history. The general wars of earlier times, like those that grew out of the Protestant Revolution, or the dynastic rivalries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or the French Revolution, were confined mainly to Europe. In this great war there was hardly a nation on the entire globe that was not involved; for this reason it may truly be called "The World War." It is possible now merely to indicate, and that very generally, the fundamental causes of the great conflict; for it has deep and wide-spreading roots in the history of the world.

Nationalism

The twentieth century inherited from the nineteenth many unsolved problems affecting the political and economic life of the world. One of these was nationalism. A nation has been defined as a people which possesses its own language, traditions, and culture, and enough self-consciousness to preserve them. Since the sixteenth century much of modern European history is the story of the political development of nations into statehood. Before that time Europe had been divided into a large number of independent and semi-independent localities, the inhabitants of which were strangers to one another in laws, in customs, and in language. From the ruins of feudalism there arose powerful, united nations, held together by the absolute power of the king, who had reduced the feudal nobility to subjection. "To die for the king" was the first form of patriotic devotion; for in those days he was the only symbol of national unity. This early patriotism was, however, confined mainly to the upper classes;

the mass of the people were still animated by the old, provincial spirit, as they had been from time immemorial. Nationalism had not yet entered into the common consciousness.

The French and Industrial Revolutions strengthen nationalism

It was the French Revolution that gave nationalism its greatest impetus. By establishing democratic institutions and uniform laws it aroused among all classes and all localities a common national feeling. For the first time the great mass of the people felt that it was glorious to die for one's *country*. The French Revolution had democratized patriotism. It remained for the Industrial Revolution, however, to lay a solid foundation for nationalism. The railways and waterways were like a network of veins and arteries that carried the blood of the nation pulsating to the farthest part of the body. The economic interests of the nation, whose people were isolated in different districts or divided into separate states, were concentrated in the factory; and this integration of common interests gave a powerful momentum to greater nationalism. Old nations, like France and England, became more firmly knit; and new nations, like Germany and Italy, came into existence.

"Submerged" nationalities

Nevertheless, the principle of nationality was far from being fully realized at the beginning of the twentieth century. "Submerged" nationalities were governed against their will by people whom they regarded as aliens. In Russia there were the Poles, Finns, Letts, and Jews; in Germany, the Poles, Alsatians, and Danes; in the United Kingdom, the Irish. In Austria-Hungary and Turkey the violation of the principle of nationality was particularly flagrant; for in each of these empires the ruling race constituted a minority of the total population. The very existence of the Austrian and Ottoman Empires was an incitement to war; sooner or later the various subject races were bound to rise in revolution or to appeal to their kinsmen in other lands to liberate them.

Another unsolved problem was democracy. Like nationalism, democracy is an abstract term and, therefore, difficult to define. In a general way, it may be described as a form of political organization wherein the mass of the people, through universal suffrage, exercises supreme power in the state, be it for weal or for woe. Democracy was the leading idea at the point of the revolutionary bayonets of 1776 in America and of 1793 in France. It made great headway, either through violent uprisings or through peaceful reform measures, transforming autocratic and oligarchic nations into self-governing commonwealths.

Democracy

But the triumph of democracy, like that of nationalism, was incomplete at the beginning of the twentieth century. Two powerful states, Russia and Germany, refused to accept, either in principle or in practice, the democratic ideal of government. Were the influence of either to become predominant in the world's affairs, it would constitute a menace to democracy. Of the two, Germany was more to be feared because her wonderfully efficient government and her great wealth were at the service of a ruling class that was animated by military ideals. As to Russia, much of the fear of her predominance vanished when she was defeated by Japan; and the democratic nations were still more reassured when, in the Revolution of 1905, the Russian people themselves gave evidence of hostility to tsarism. Germany alone was undefeated; and there seemed to be no sign of a revolutionary movement among the German people.

Russia and Germany remain autocratic

A third unsolved problem was that of economic expansion. In spite of the general advance of modern industry, the economic life of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century was far from being uniform. Industrially, England, Germany, and the United States were highly developed; France and Italy maintained an even balance between agriculture and manufacturing; much of Eastern Europe was in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution; most of Asia was hardly touched by modern industry; and Africa was for the most

Lack of economic uniformity in the world part primitive. What was to be the relation between the advanced and the backward countries? Inevitably the hunger for territory and for profits, and the desire to make those backward regions an outlet for their surplus products and surplus capital, drove the advanced nations into a policy of annexation. There began a mad race for colonies, which awoke new rivalries and jealousies and intensified old animosities among the nations. Northern Africa and Western Asia, the chief scenes of clashing European ambitions, more than once brought the world to the verge of war.

Commercial rivalry between England and Germany

The commercial rivalry between the two most industrialized nations, England and Germany, constituted another source of danger to peace. Fear on the part of England that she was being outdistanced by her rival in various economic fields, and fear on the part of Germany that the British Empire would form a customs union to shut out her goods, had the effect of sowing the seeds of discord between the two peoples. The appearance of a powerful German fleet convinced the English that their Empire was in danger; and the *entente* between England and France convinced the Germans that the British were plotting their destruction. This mutual distrust produced an estrangement between the two peoples, who for centuries had lived in peace and amity with each other.

German militarism

The "blood and iron" policy, which had been so successful in unifying Germany, left behind it an evil heritage. Force had proved more effective than constitutional conventions in the accomplishment of great policies, and the generation that followed Bismarck adopted his methods but not his caution in dealing with the problems of its day. A strident militarism, once characteristic of Prussia only, now took possession of all Germany; and the "nation in arms" was drilled in the belief that it would some day dim the glories of Sadowa and Sedan.[1] The ruling class, the Junkers, whose traditions were feudal but whose methods were modern, had organized Germany with the help of the powerful capitalists as a great military, political, and economic machine with such scientific precision that it could be operated with terrible effect against an enemy. The very existence of this machine and the militaristic temper of those in control constituted a serious danger to the peace of the world.

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[1] See pp. 321–323 for an explanation of German *Kultur.*

Military Strength of the Combatants

Armies of the Central Powers

Germany's army was easily first in numbers, organization, and equipment. Her peace footing was about 870,000, and she could call upon 4,350,000 trained men in various reserves. The Austro-Hungarian standing army was considerably smaller, about 425,000 men, with a possible war footing of 2,300,000. Turkey's forces were reorganized after the Balkan wars; her peace footing was about 200,000, and for war she had available about 1,000,000 men. Bulgaria's standing army was 65,000, with a war footing of 200,000.

Armies of the Allies

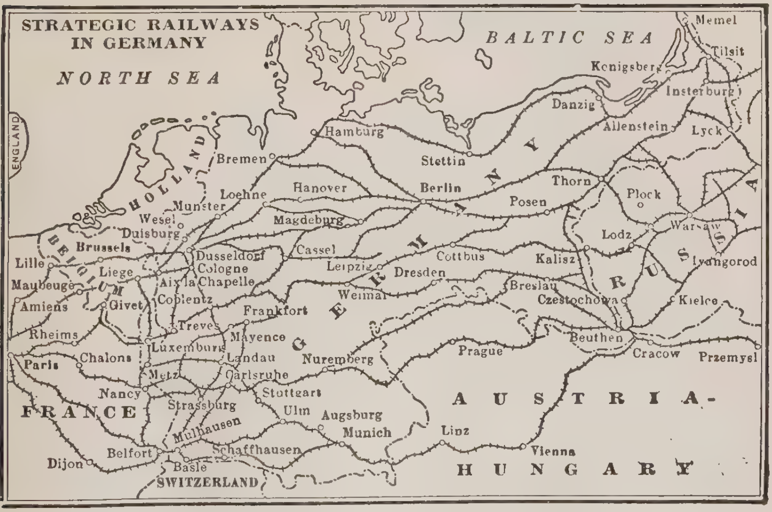
The best army on the side of the Allies was that of France, with a peace footing of 790,000 men, which could be increased for war purposes to about 3,000,000 men, well trained and fully equipped. Russia had a standing army of about 1,500,000, and her large population could furnish an almost unlimited supply of soldiers; but her forces were poorly organized and badly equipped. Italy's peace footing was 300,000, her war footing, 1,500,000. England's force was small; it numbered about 250,000; but it soon grew, first through volunteering and later through conscription, to an efficient army of about 4,000,000. In addition, there was the Japanese army with a peace footing of about 250,000 and a war footing of about 1,000,000 which, however, was not used for service in Europe. America's peace footing, when she joined the Allies in 1917, was a volunteer force of 90,000; but from her large population huge armies could be raised.

In naval strength, England easily led all the other nations in the number of ships, organization, and equipment. Germany came next, with an excellent fleet largely modeled upon that of England.[1] England's agreement with France enabled her to concentrate nearly all her naval forces in the North Sea. The French navy was concentrated in the Mediterranean.

Navies

Trench warfare

The methods of warfare were revolutionized during the World War. The strategic marches that used to win great victories in the past were displaced almost entirely by the modern strategic railways, which transported troops rapidly to critical points from long distances. Trench fighting largely took the place of open battle. The combatants lay hidden in deep trenches protected by barbed-wire entanglements and by "nests" of machine guns. The lines of trenches stretched over enormous distances, the Western Front alone being six hundred miles long, the rival armies often being within speak-


STRATEGIC RAILWAYS IN GERMANY

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[1] The following table gives the naval strength of each Power; only the most important warships are listed.

	Dreadnoughts	*Pre-dreadnoughts*	*Battle cruisers*	*Armored cruisers*	*Cruisers*
1. England	20	40	9	34	74
2. Germany	13	20	4	9	41
3. United States	8	22	0	11	14
4. France	4	18	0	20	9
5. Japan	2	13	2	13	13
6. Russia	0	7	0	6	9
7. Italy	3	8	0	9	6
8. Austria-Hungary	3	6	0	2	5

ing distance of each other. Victorious advance in trench warfare is at best very slow. Extensive, sustained, and effective artillery fire is generally employed to destroy obstructing entanglements before an attack is possible, and trench after trench in close succession must be captured before appreciable gains are made. The artillery has become the most important arm of the service; without sufficient guns and shells no progress is possible. The rifle of the common soldier is less useful than formerly, because, although the enemy is within short range, he is out of sight. Hand grenades, or small bombs, have been found effective. The bayonet is now of greater service than formerly, because of the frequent hand-to-hand fights.

New weapons

The great surprise of the war was the 42-centimeter (16-inch) siege gun used by the Germans. This gigantic weapon hurls a shell a ton in weight, filled with high explosive, for a distance of fifteen miles and more.[1] Machine guns have proved of the utmost effectiveness, for they are capable of discharging from four to five hundred bullets a minute; moreover, they are so light that two men can easily carry one. Another effective form of ammunition is shrapnel, a shell containing several hundred bullets; when fired from a gun, it bursts in the air, raining bullets on the heads of the enemy. The use of poisonous gas is another novel method of fighting; when the wind is favorable, a "gas attack" is made by wafting this poisonous gas toward the enemy. Gas-filled shells are also shot from heavy guns. As a protection against gas, special masks are worn. Armored motor trucks, equipped with guns, have played a great part in the fighting. Immense cars, called "tanks," spitting fire in every direction, charge upon the enemy, brushing aside barbed-wire fences and crushing those in their path.

Airplanes and Zeppelins

Airplanes have succeeded cavalry as the "eyes of the army." They hover over the enemy's lines, watching every movement, which they report by means of signals. Enormous dirigible balloons, called Zeppelins after Count Zeppelin, their inventor, have been used by the Germans. They have a carrying capacity sufficient to enable them to be manned by a good-sized crew and to carry large quantities of explosives.

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[1] During 1918 Paris was bombarded by a gun, said to be seventy miles away.

Submarines and Camouflage

The submarine was perfected to a remarkable degree. The effect of this new engine of warfare threatened at first to destroy the usefulness of modern navies. New means were in time found to offset this menace. An ingenious method to disguise landscape in order to deceive the enemy, was devised by the use of "camouflage." Moving trains were covered with shrubbery to deceive aviators. At sea, vessels were painted in fantastic colors to deceive the enemy as to the size, location of vital parts, and the direction of movement of the vessel.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WORLD WAR

(*August*, 1914 — *July*, 1915)

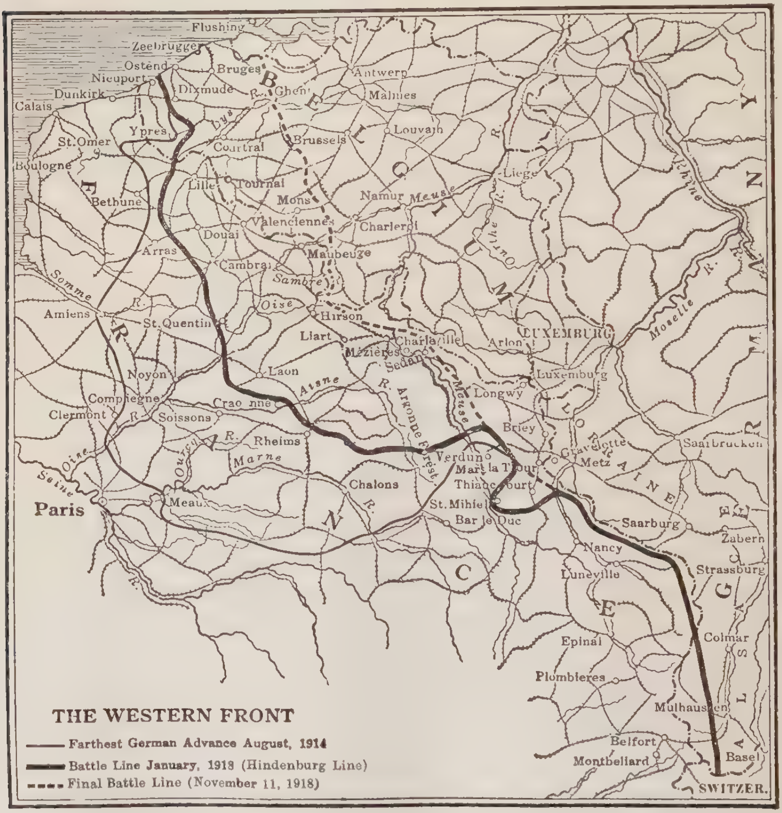
Dash for Paris

The German mobilization was marvelously efficient. Millions of men fell into place and were transported to the frontiers, everything moving with the regularity of clock-work. Germany's plan of campaign was to make a swift descent upon Paris, to reduce France to submission, and then to turn on Russia. The quickest way to accomplish this was by crossing Belgium, because there were few French fortresses on the Belgian frontier; whereas the route taken by the German armies in 1870 was now so strongly fortified all the way from Verdun to Belfort as to make a rapid march in this direction well-nigh impossible.

Early German victories

On Liège, in Belgium, fell the shock of the first German attack. After three days of heavy bombardment, the city was forced to surrender, on August 7, and the forts yielded soon afterward. The Belgian army then made a desperate stand at Louvain, but this place, too, was taken. On August 20, the Germans entered Brussels without firing a shot. But the road to France was not yet open; the Belgians were joined by the French and by an expeditionary force of British under General Sir John French, who together opposed the German forces. At

Namur and again at Mons (August 22–23), the Allies were badly defeated by General von Kluck, the commander of the invading army; and they were compelled to retreat from Mons to the main French line. Nothing now seemed able to stop von Kluck's march toward Paris. City after city was taken; and, at one time, the Germans were within fifteen miles of Paris. Consternation reigned in the capital, and the French Government moved to Bordeaux.



At this critical moment, General Joffre, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, executed a brilliant stroke. A new army, which had been hurriedly prepared in Paris, was suddenly launched at the German right flank. By this time the Germans were across

First Battle of the Marne

the Marne River. Von Kluck turned back to meet the new attack, and at the same time the French General Foch drove back the center of the German line by a bold attack. Then followed the great Battle of the Marne (September 6–10), in which the Germans were badly defeated; and they retreated as rapidly as they came, with the French at their heels. They retired as far as the Aisne River, to trenches which had been prepared in advance to receive them. General Joffre's great victory saved Paris and perhaps the cause of the Allies.

Conquest of Belgium

The position of the military forces after the retreat from the Marne left a gap of about one hundred miles in the line from Arras to the sea; and both sides rushed toward it. In order to reach it, the Germans had first to take Antwerp, one of the best fortified cities in Europe; but their 42-centimeter guns easily battered down its fortifications, and the city fell on October 9. The Germans now made a dash for Dunkirk and Calais; but the French and English reached the gap first and extended their line to Nieuport, on the coast.

Sufferings of Belgium

Belgium, now almost entirely in the hands of the Germans, was made to pay dearly for her resistance. Many of her cities were reduced to ruins, her fields were laid waste, her leading citizens were executed or imprisoned, and her commerce and industry were ruined. A once prosperous and happy people was reduced to beggary and starvation; and, had it not been for the generous help of the Allies and America, many more would have perished. The Germans have been accused of deliberately committing frightful outrages on the hapless Belgians because their resistance had played an important part in frustrating the German plans. Louvain, with its beautiful buildings and fine university, was partly reduced to ashes. The beautiful cathedral at Rheims, in France, was bombarded by the Germans and almost ruined. The whole civilized world has been unanimous in its condemnation of these unexpected barbarities.

Because of long distances, lack of railways, and bad organization, it was expected that the Russian mobilization would be painfully slow. Germany's plan of campaign was predicated on that assumption. But the Russians astonished the world by the rapidity of their mobilization. Their plan was to have one army invade East Prussia and another, Galicia; these two were then to form a continuous line, reaching from the Baltic to the Carpathian Mountains, that would sweep into Germany. The first army invaded East Prussia, where it gained several victories. This greatly alarmed the Germans; and a large army under the command of General von Hindenburg was sent to meet it. On August 29 was fought the great Battle of Tannenberg, which resulted in a crushing defeat for the Russians. They were driven headlong out of East Prussia as a result of the remarkable strategy of the German general. The Battle of Tannenberg was one of the greatest victories of the War, and Hindenburg became the popular hero of Germany and Austria.

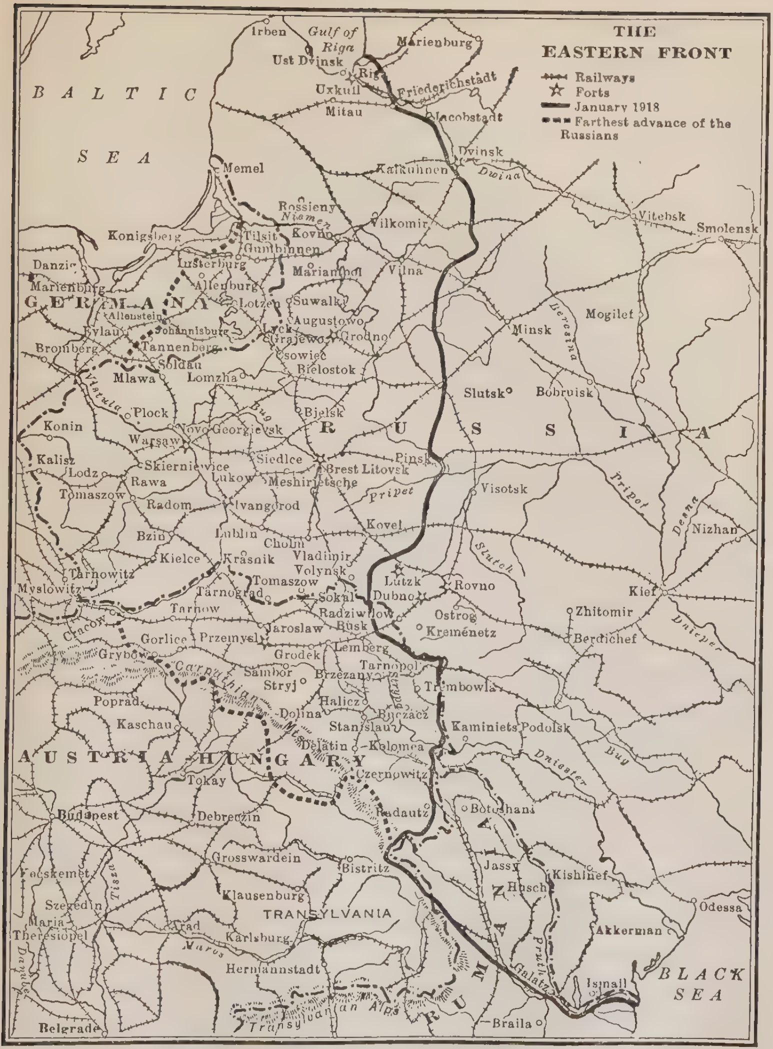
Russian invasion of Germany

The Russian invasion of Galicia was more successful. Lemberg was captured about August 20, and the Austrians were compelled to fall back on two great fortresses, Jaroslav and Przemysl, both of which were, before the winter was over, forced to surrender to the victorious Russians. By March, 1915, the latter were masters of Galicia.

Conquest of Galicia

To relieve the Russian pressure on the Austrians, Hindenburg began a counter-offensive by invading Poland. The Russians were strongly intrenched along the Vistula River, at Novo Georgievsk, Warsaw, and Ivangorod. Owing to vastly superior equipment, Hindenburg's armies compelled the Russian lines to fall back rapidly to escape from being entrapped. Warsaw fell on August 4, 1915. Other important cities fell into the hands of the Germans: Bielostok, Brest-Litovsk, Kovno, Grodno, and Vilna. The Germans prepared to march on Petrograd, but they were halted by the Russian trenches in front of Riga. It has been estimated that Hindenburg's "drive" cost the Russians about a

German invasion of Russia



million and a half men, as well as an enormous quantity of stores.

In the meantime German and Austrian armies under General von Mackensen were preparing "drives" against the Russians in Galicia. During May-June, 1915, a series of great battles was fought, the most important being that of San River, in which the

Russians driven out of Galicia

Russians were again decisively beaten. They were driven out of Galicia and were compelled to relinquish the great strongholds, Lemberg, Jaroslav, and Przemysl. General von Mackensen's popularity in Germany was now second only to that of Hindenburg. After the invasions and counter-invasions in the East came to an end, the new battle line in this region extended from the Gulf of Riga to Czernowitz, on the Rumanian frontier.

Dardanelles campaign

Early in February, 1915, a bold and hazardous campaign was undertaken to capture Constantinople. The success of this campaign was expected to have far-reaching consequences: it would bring all the Balkan nations to the side of the Allies, and Austria could then be attacked from the south; and the control of the straits would enable Russia to send much-needed food to her allies and to receive ammunition, which she greatly lacked.

A large fleet of English and French warships attacked the forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles, causing their abandonment by the Turks. The fleet then steamed to the "Narrows," the narrowest part of the strait, both sides of which had been strongly fortified. A terrific battle followed between the ships and the forts, with the result that the fleet lost several of its largest vessels and was obliged to withdraw. A land attack was next tried. An army of English, "Anzacs,"[1] and French, under the command of General Sir Ian Hamilton, landed on the Gallipoli peninsula. The Turks, commanded by a German, General Liman von Sanders, defended themselves behind impregnable positions. The advance of the Allies was very slow and at great cost. Several other warships were blown up in the strait. The capture of Constantinople was now considered impossible. By December, 1915, greatly to the disappointment of the Allies who had entertained high hopes of its success, the Dardanelles expedition was abandoned.

Italy had declared her neutrality because she believed that Germany and Austria had entered on an aggressive

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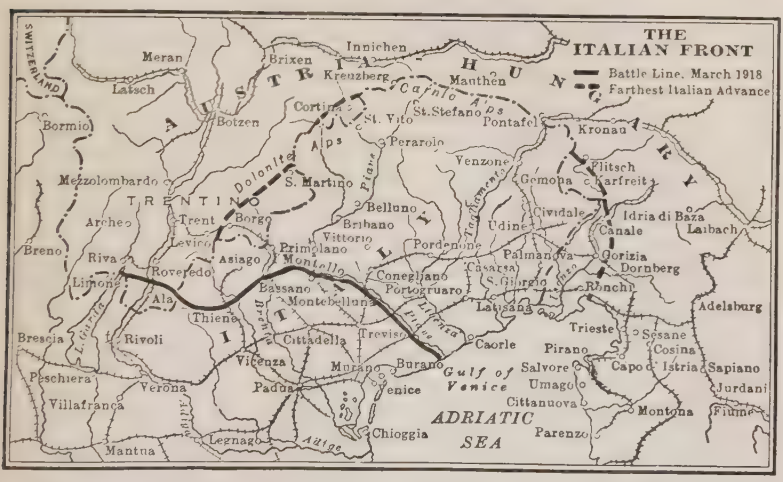
[1] The name applied to Australians and New Zealanders.

Italy joins the Allies

war; the Triple Alliance bound her to aid them in a defensive war only. Italy found herself in a trying position: were she to join Germany, her exposed coasts would be laid waste by the fleets of the Allies; were she to join the latter, the vengeance of Germany would fall upon her in case of a Teutonic victory. The widespread demand for *Italia irredenta*, Trieste and Trentino, to complete the unification of Italy, caused the Government to begin negotiations with Austria with the object of getting those territories without war. These negotiations not proving satisfactory, the Government yielded to the popular demand that Italy join the Allies. On May 23, 1915, she declared war upon Austria. Italian armies immediately marched against Trieste and Trentino. In order to capture the former, a large force gathered on the Isonzo River and laid siege to Gorizia, which capitulated on August 9, 1916, after a long siege.



SECOND YEAR OF THE WORLD WAR
(*August*, 1915 — *July*, 1916)

At the opening of the second year of the War, the situation was favorable to the Central Powers. In the West, they held Belgium and the industrial section of France, especially valuable because of the coal and iron mines; in the East, Poland, Grodno, Suwalki, Vilna, Courland, and Western Volhynia, an area as large as England and Scotland. As an offset to these gains, the Allies had seized Kiau-chau, had swept Germany's commerce from the seas, and held her in a tight blockade; Italy was now on the side of the Allies. The "war map" was, indeed, favorable to Germany; yet she was by no means successful, for there was not the slightest inclination on the part of her foes to sue for peace. One great German failure stood out clearly, the Battle of the Marne, which had nullified Germany's plans for a swift and smashing victory. The wonderful resistance of the French, their valor, their silent heroism, and their grim determination won worldwide admiration.

The "war map"

On the Western Front the repulse of the Germans at the Marne was followed by a period of unremitting trench warfare. The enormous battle line, six hundred miles long, stretching from Nieuport to the Swiss frontier, ran through a corner of Belgium, the northeastern section of France, and along the frontier of Alsace. The line was divided into three sectors: the first, from Nieuport to the Oise River; the second, from the Oise River to Verdun; and the third, from Verdun to the Swiss frontier.

Western Front

Undaunted, the Germans decided upon another great effort to break the French line. Overlooking the Meuse Valley is the city of Verdun, splendidly defended by rings of fortresses on the surrounding hills. It was a place of great strategic importance, threatening Lorraine, the chief iron region of Germany. Enormous German armies under the Prussian Crown Prince were massed in the vicinity of Verdun. The battle began in February, 1916, and raged for over six months, during which about half a million men laid down their lives. The Germans were determined to take the city at any cost, and the French, to defend it at any cost. During the early part of June, the Germans succeeded in making a breach in the outer ring of fortifications by taking Douaumont and

Verdun

Vaux, two important fortifications. They had already captured other important forts. But the French were all the more determined to hold on. *Ils ne passeront pas!* (They shall not pass!) was the cry that rang throughout France. Reinforcements were poured in, and the Germans were checked. In July an Allied offensive on the Somme relieved the pressure on Verdun. By December General Nivelle succeeded in driving the Germans out of nearly all the forts that they had captured. For his heroism and great ability in defending Verdun, General Nivelle was made (December 11) commander-in-chief of all the French armies, succeeding General Joffre. Verdun marked the second great failure of Germany to conquer France.

Eastern Front

Russia's humiliating defeats had by no means either exhausted or dismayed her. As soon as her armies were in better condition she began a new offensive. Early in June, 1916, a large Russian force under General Brusilov attacked the Germans and Austrians on a two hundred and fifty mile front, from the Pripet River in Russia to the Pruth in Galicia. Lutsk and Czernowitz were captured by the Russians; and they entered upon the conquest of Bukowina. Brusilov's "drive," although it succeeded in pushing back the Teutonic line from twenty to fifty miles and in capturing many men and stores, was however unable to deprive the Germans of the great gains made by Hindenburg.

The Balkans

At the outbreak of the War, Austrian armies had invaded Serbia and had captured Belgrade. But the Serbians, aided by the Montenegrins, fought stubbornly; and by the middle of December, 1914, they had succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Serbia, and even in invading Austria.

Bulgaria's leaning to the side of Germany now became evident. On October 14, 1915, she entered the war on the side of the Central Powers by declaring war on Serbia. She was actuated in this move more by hatred of Serbia than by love for the Teutons. Serbia was now invaded from two sides, by Germans and Austrians under von Mackensen from the north, and by Bulgarians from the east. By the end of 1915 she was completely conquered, all her armies having been captured or destroyed except for a brave remnant that reached the Adriatic by a march across Albania. Montenegro and Northern Albania were also conquered. The annihilation of Serbia removed the only enemy intervening between the Teutonic and Ottoman dominions; and the line of communication from Berlin to Constantinople was now open.

In October, 1915, an Anglo-French force gathered at Saloniki, in Greece. The latter protested against the occupation of this city by the Allies as a violation of her sovereignty; but the Allies replied that Venizelos, former Prime Minister, who was now leading the opposition to King Constantine's policy of neutrality, had invited them to help Serbia against Bulgaria. The Allied army marched north to aid the Serbians, but it was driven back to Saloniki.

Portugal

On March 9, 1916, Germany declared war against Portugal because the latter had seized German ships interned in her harbors. The Portuguese assisted the Allies by sending an army to the Western Front.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WORLD WAR

(*August*, 1916 — *July*, 1917)

Western Front

During the second half of 1916, there took place the long-drawn-out Battle of the Somme between the British under Haig and the Germans under Hindenburg. In the beginning of July the British began to attack along the line stretching south from Arras to the Somme River and, after desperate fighting, won a few miles of territory. Their advance was finally checked by fierce German counter-attacks and by bad weather, which turned the region into a sea of mud; but, although the Battle of the Somme resulted in little direct gain, indirectly it relieved the pressure on Verdun and so enabled the French to drive the Germans out of all the important places near that city. It had an unexpected effect, however, for in the middle of March, 1917, the German army on the Somme, without waiting for a new British attack, executed a general retirement to what was called the Hindenburg Line. They retreated on a hundred mile front, from Arras to east of Noyon, and evacuated about a thousand square miles of French territory. In their retreat, the Germans mercilessly devastated the region. The new German line stretched from east of Arras to St. Quentin and was strongly fortified. The Germans stated that the reason for their retirement was that they wished to straighten their line in order to defend it more effectively.

During April-June, 1917, the British began an offensive with the object of capturing Lens, an important coal center, and St. Quentin, the end of the Hindenburg Line. They succeeded in capturing some high ground, notably Vimy Ridge, but German counter-offensives brought the British to a halt before Lens and St. Quentin.

The Balkans

Rumania, influenced by Brusilov's success and by the French resistance at Verdun, decided to make common cause with the Allies. On August 27, 1916, she declared war upon Austria. A Rumanian army invaded the Hungarian province of Transylvania, where it gained several successes. But their triumph was short-lived. Large armies under von Mackensen and von Falkenhayn invaded Rumania and won a series of brilliant victories, the most notable being that of Hermannstadt. On December 6, the Teutons entered Bucharest in triumph. Nearly all of Rumania was now at their feet, the country having been conquered in three weeks.

The fate of Rumania was a warning to Greece, and Constantine used it to insist that she remain neutral. The Allies had dealt patiently with Constantine, in spite of his failure to live up to his treaty obligations to help Serbia against Bulgaria. But finally, in June, 1917, they deposed him in favor of his second son, Alexander. Venizelos, who had been in control of the Greek interests in Saloniki, became Prime Minister. On June 29, Greece formally joined the Allies.

An important statement, known as the Declaration of

Corfu, was issued by the Jugo-Slavs in July, 1917. The Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes united to form a Jugo-Slav state under the Serbian dynasty, the Karageorgevitch. It was to be a constitutional monarchy based upon equal, universal suffrage. The three faiths professed by the inhabitants, the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the Mohammedan, were promised equal recognition.

The War in Asia and Africa

(*August*, 1914 — *July*, 1917)

Japanese capture Kiau-chau

Germany's stronghold in the Far East, Kiau-chau, was a magnificently fortified naval base containing the fortress of Tsing-tau. When war was declared by Japan, Germans from all over the Far East flocked to the defense of Kiau-chau. In the latter part of August, 1914, the harbor was blockaded by a Japanese fleet; at the same time an army was landed on the coast with the object of making an attack both by land and by sea. The Germans held out till November 10, when they capitulated to the Japanese, who promised to give Kiau-chau back to China, to whom it had formerly belonged.

British invade Mesopotamia

In Western Asia a campaign was planned by the British to capture Bagdad. In the fall of 1915, an expedition under General Townshend, starting from India, penetrated two hundred miles into Mesopotamia, capturing the city of Kut-el-Amara. Large Turkish forces then besieged the British in this city; and finally, in April, 1916, they forced General Townshend to surrender with his entire army of ten thousand men. But the British were determined to capture Bagdad. In January, 1917, another and larger British expedition, under General Maude, again invaded Mesopotamia. Kut-el-Amara was recaptured, and, on March 11, the British entered Bagdad in triumph.

The German colonies in West Africa, Togo and Kamerun, were quickly seized in 1914–15 by British and French troops.

German Southwest and East Africa were a more serious problem. The Germans counted on a revolt of the Boers to help them, but the rebellion they fomented was easily quelled by the energy of the premier, General Botha, the former Boer general; and upon its collapse the neighboring German Southwest Africa was soon conquered by the South African troops (1915). The conquest of German East Africa, mainly a vast tract of tropical jungle, was more difficult; but Botha's colleague, General Smuts, finally drove the last German troops out of this region in 1918.

Capture of the German colonies

NAVAL OPERATIONS

The mobilization of the British fleet was as wonderfully efficient as was that of the German army. Germany's coast was immediately blockaded, her commerce was swept from the seas, and most of her navy, being compelled to remain under the protection of the forts in Kiel Harbor, was reduced to impotence. The British navy rendered incalculable service to the cause of the Allies by cutting off supplies to Germany from abroad and by making safe the transportation of troops and supplies from one Allied country to another. It may be asserted that the victories gained by the German armies were largely nullified in their influence upon general events by England's control of the seas.

Services of the British fleet to the Allies

Germany's reply to the British blockade was to declare the British coast in a state of blockade. Her only means of enforcing it was the U-boat, or submarine, which, at times, proved a formidable weapon, for many Allied and neutral merchantmen were sunk. When, in February, 1915, the German Government commandeered the food supply of the country, England declared food contraband of war. Germany met this blow by declaring that the waters around the British Isles constituted a "war zone," wherein enemy merchantmen would be subject to destruction. Neutral ships were warned against entering the "war zone," for, owing to the misuse of neutral flags,

Blockades

they ran the risk of being sunk. Germany justified this decree on the ground that England was attempting to starve her civil population. England's answer was that the German Government, in controlling the food supply, was regulating it with military ends in view. On March 15, 1915, Great Britain still further extended her blockade, strictly regulating commerce with the neutral countries near Germany on the ground that the latter was the final destination of much of it. This new order seriously affected Germany, as she had been getting considerable supplies through Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

German raiders

When the war broke out, there were a number of German warships on the high seas, which succeeded in inflicting serious losses on Allied commerce before their careers were cut short. The most famous of these raiders was the Emden, whose daring and resourceful captain sailed the South Asian seas, sinking many vessels and skillfully eluding his pursuers. The Emden was finally sunk on November 9, 1914, by an Australian warship. Now and then German cruisers would slip through the blockade to prey upon Allied commerce; some even were bold enough to shell towns on the British coast. On September 22, 1914, a German submarine sunk three large British warships within one hour.

Naval battles

The first important naval battle occurred in November, 1914, off the coast of Chili, in which the British were badly defeated by a German fleet under Admiral von Spee. A month later, however, this German fleet was overtaken and totally destroyed near the Falkland Islands by the British under Admiral Sturdee. The greatest naval battle in all history, from the point of view of tonnage and armament, took place on May 31, 1916, off the coast of Jutland. Taking advantage of a fog, the German High Seas Fleet, under Admiral von Scheer, slipped out of Kiel Harbor and was met by the British battle-cruiser squadron under Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty. What followed was a gigantic conflict between the two greatest fleets in the world. Accounts of the battle differ; both sides suffered heavy losses, and both claimed victory. The German fleet was, however, obliged to return to Kiel Harbor, and England's mastery of the seas remained unbroken.

The loss of shipping

One of the most serious problems confronting the Allies was the loss of shipping, due to the activities of the German submarines. In spite of efforts to replace the losses through the building of new ships, the problem was not solved at the opening of 1918. On March 21, 1918, an official British statement was issued on the condition of shipping. It showed that, for the period between August, 1914, and January, 1918, over 11,800,000 gross tons of Allied and neutral shipping had been sunk, and that over 6,600,000 tons had been built to replace the loss. The maximum losses occurred during the second quarter of 1917; but during the last quarter of 1917 the losses were lighter and the increase in shipbuilding greater.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

America and the English blockade

At the beginning of 1917 the only great neutral Power was the United States. As each of the combatants was eager to get supplies from America, and even more eager that the other should not get them, the position of the United States was difficult. On December 26, 1914, President Wilson sent a protest to England because of her interference with American trade. England's reply was that she had no intention of interfering with legitimate neutral trade, but that the enormous increase of the American shipments to the neutral countries of Europe proved that many of the cargoes were destined for her enemy; she furthermore declared her willingness to make full reparation for all injury that she might do to neutral commerce. On October 21, 1915, President Wilson sent another vigorous protest to Great Britain denouncing her blockade.

But the situation as regards Germany was far more serious. Germany's method of enforcing her blockade was by means of submarines, which generally sunk vessels without warning, thereby causing loss of life as well as of property.

America and the German blockade

International law, however, required that a ship must be warned before being sunk, and that the lives of her passengers and crew must be safeguarded in every way possible. The establishment of a "war zone" by Germany brought a protest from President Wilson, who declared, on February 10, 1915, that the United States would hold Germany to a "strict accountability" for American ships sunk or for the loss of American lives. But Germany paid little or no attention to the warning. About a week before the warning, an American vessel, the William P. Frye, had been sunk; on March 28, a British steamer, the Falaba, was sunk, and an American was drowned; and on May 1, an American ship, the Gulflight, was sunk.

The Lusitania tragedy

On May 7 there took place a tragedy that sent a thrill of horror throughout the entire world. The British liner Lusitania was torpedoed without warning near the coast of Ireland by a German U-boat. She sank almost immediately with nearly all on board. About 1150 innocent persons, men, women, and children, were drowned, among them many Americans. The ruthlessness of this act caused President Wilson to send (May 13) a sharp protest to Germany, denouncing the sinking of the ship as a violation of international law and of the rights of humanity and demanding that Germany disavow the act and make full reparation. He declared that the United States would not "omit any word or act" to maintain the right of neutrals to travel on their legitimate business anywhere on the high seas. Germany's defense was that warning had been given through advertisements in the American papers, advising neutrals not to sail on the Lusitania, that the latter was armed and carried ammunition, and that her sinking too quickly to save the passengers was due to an internal explosion. America's rejoinder flatly denied that the vessel had been armed or had carried a cargo prohibited by the laws of the United States, and demanded proof of these allegations from Germany; and it scouted the idea that the advertisements constituted a "warning" in the proper sense of the term as used in international law. The sinking of the Lusitania, like the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, solidified world opinion in the belief that Germany was a lawless nation, who would commit any act which she thought would bring victory to her side.

Submarine issue

During 1916 the submarine question came prominently to the fore in the relations between Germany and the United States. An announcement by Germany stated that, beginning with March 1, 1916, her submarines would sink armed, belligerent merchant vessels without warning. President Wilson, supported by Congress, replied that America would insist on the right of her citizens to travel anywhere on peaceable errands.

The Sussex case

On March 24, 1916, an English ship, the Sussex, was torpedoed without warning while crossing the English Channel. Among those on board were about seventy-five Americans, whose lives were endangered. President Wilson immediately protested to Germany. In reply the latter denied that a German submarine had sunk the Sussex; but she admitted that it had sunk another vessel at the same time and at the same place. President Wilson then produced proof that the vessel sunk was the Sussex and that she had carried no armament. On May 15, Germany yielded to the American demand on the submarine issue, promising that no merchant vessel would be sunk without warning unless she attempted to escape or offered resistance. But, the note added, America must demand of England the restoration of the "freedom of the seas," and, if it were not restored, Germany reserved for herself complete liberty of action. In reply President Wilson accepted Germany's promise; but he added that he did not recognize that "respect by German naval authorities for the rights of the citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants."

Suddenly, on January 31, 1917, Germany announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in a zone around the enemy countries; all ships, neutral and belligerent, found in this zone would be sunk. In an address to Congress on February 3, President Wilson announced the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The American Ambassador to Berlin, James W. Gerard, was recalled, and the German Ambassador to Washington, Count von Bernstorff, was dismissed. During the next month the United States pursued a policy of "armed neutrality." Meanwhile an incident took place which greatly aroused the American people. The American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, published an intercepted dispatch from the German Foreign Secretary to the German Minister to Mexico, proposing an alliance between Germany and Mexico and promising to aid the latter in regaining Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Japan was also to be asked to join this alliance against the United States.

War between Germany and the United States

On April 3, President Wilson delivered a message to Congress which resounded throughout the world. It is a terrible indictment of the German Government for its violation of international law and for its inhumane practices. He denounced it as autocratic, irresponsible, and untrustworthy and as a menace to civilization; and called upon the American people to make war upon this dread Power in order "to make the world safe for democracy." He also declared that America had no quarrel with the German people and that she desired no annexations or indemnities for herself. On April 6, Congress declared war upon Germany. On December 8, it declared war on Austria-Hungary. In regard to Turkey, diplomatic relations only were broken.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

"Dark influences" in Russia

The attitude of America toward the War was largely influenced by an event in Russia of world significance, the overthrow of the Tsar and the establishment of a Republic. There had been much criticism of the Government by the Russian Liberals, who blamed the incompetence and corruption of the administration for Russian defeats. Even treason was charged against some of the officials. It was well known that there was a powerful pro-German party at the Court, which was trying to persuade the Tsar to conclude a separate peace with Germany. Premier Stürmer himself was distrusted. The War Minister, Soukhoumlinov, was accused of treason and imprisoned. Patriotic Russians were convinced that "dark influences" in high places were working in the interest of Germany. Because of the incompetence of the central government, the Union of Zemstvos, under the presidency of Prince Lvov, became active in organizing Russia's resources.

Overthrow of the Tsar

The Tsar, but more especially the Tsarina, was under the influence of a monk, Rasputin, who was thought to be in German pay. Rasputin was murdered by a group of patriots. There was a rumor that the Tsar was meditating a separate peace which aroused the indignation of all parties, even of the Conservatives, and a coalition was formed in the Duma with the object of overthrowing the Tsar. However, the real beginning of the Revolution came from the working people of Petrograd. In February, 1917, a strike broke out in the capital; and the soldiers, instead of attacking the strikers, fraternized with them.

It was now evident that the army was sympathetic with the revolutionary movement. The Duma then took matters in hand and voted to establish a Provisional Government. The Revolution quickly gathered momentum and on March 15, 1917, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated. This was the end of the Romanov dynasty, that had reigned in Russia for over three centuries.

Provisional Government

A Provisional Government was organized, headed by a liberal noble, Prince Lvov, which contained Gutchkov, the Octobrist, Miliukov, the Constitutional Democrat, Kerensky, the Social Revolutionist, and Tcheidze, the Social Democrat.[1] It was essentially a Liberal Government; and during the latter part of March a series of important reforms was announced. The constitution of Finland was restored; autonomy was granted to Poland;

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[1] For a description of Russian political parties, see pp. 557 ff.

the anti-Jewish laws were repealed; and complete civil, political, and religious liberty was decreed. A general amnesty was issued to political prisoners, and many revolutionists returned from long exile in Siberia. On the subject of the War, the Provisional Government declared its firm adherence to the cause of the Allies and its intention to continue the war against the Central Powers.

Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates

Once the Revolution was initiated, a momentum was given to radicalism of all kinds, that had long been held in check by the Tsar. All through Russia the Socialists organized *soviets*, or committees representing workingmen and soldiers, the most important of which was the Petrograd Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. An active propaganda was begun by these bodies among the soldiers with the object of committing the army, which had been chiefly instrumental in overthrowing the Tsar, to the cause of socialism. This resulted in the progressive disorganization of the Russian armies. Discipline was relaxed, and the soldiers began to elect their officers and to intimidate those not in sympathy with their ideas. At the front, the Russian troops began to fraternize with the enemy. The Petrograd Council became a rival of the Provisional Government, which lacked the military power necessary to make its will effective. The Council declared itself in favor of revolutionary social changes, such as giving the land to the peasants and the factories to the workingmen. In regard to the World War, it declared for an immediate general peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities" and on the right of all peoples to "self-determination," or their right to determine their own political fate. Among the Socialists in the *soviets*, two elements were struggling for mastery, the radical Bolsheviki and the moderate Mensheviki. During the early part of the twentieth century the Russian Social Democrats split into two factions that differed sharply as to the methods of realizing the socialist ideal. The Majority (in Russian, Bolsheviki) believed that the only way

Bolsheviki and Mensheviki

to establish socialism was through the "dictatorship of the proletariat," by which they meant that the workingmen should, at the first opportunity, seize control of the government through violent revolution and destroy the aristocracy and bourgeoisie by confiscating their property: every one would then of necessity have to work in order to exist. The socialist régime was to be established immediately; and it was not to be a modification of the present system but a totally new one, because, they declared, the working class cannot use in any form the institutions built up by their enemy, the bourgeoisie.

The Minority (in Russian, Mensheviki) was opportunist in method and policy. They believed that present institutions can, in time, be so modified as to be capable of being used in the interest of the working class only. Hence they proposed to educate the workingmen in the principles of socialism and to organize them into a political party with the object of winning for them the control of the government. The Mensheviki argued that the surest and safest road to socialism was through democracy; the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would come only when the latter was in the majority; and then there would be no need of violent methods to establish a socialist commonwealth. The transition from democracy to socialism was to be through orderly, constitutional methods.

Kerensky

The influence of the Council was rapidly overshadowing that of the Provisional Government. Miliukov and Gutchkov were accused of being imperialists and compelled to resign on May 16, and Socialists were appointed in their places. The rising figure in the reorganized Government was the Minister of War, Alexander Kerensky. Although a Socialist, Kerensky attempted to steer a middle course. He was firmly against a separate peace with Germany; but, at the same time, he desired that a conference be held by the Allies to formulate their war aims. Under his inspiration the Russian army in Galicia undertook a new "drive" during the middle of July. It succeeded in forcing the Teutons back for a distance of ten miles; but this success was fruitless, for mutinies in the army enabled the Germans to regain the lost ground.

On July 22, Kerensky became head of the Provisional Government, which adopted the peace plan proposed by the Council. The disorganization of Russia was proceeding apace. Soldiers were mutinying and killing their officers. Thousands were deserting *en masse*. Various nationalities, Finns, Poles, and Ukrainians, all announced their independence of the central government. In addition a violent class war was being waged by the Bolsheviki against the "bourgeois," or property owners. As in the Revolution of 1905, extreme Socialists attempted to establish, at one stroke, both political democracy and socialism.[1] Kerensky was denounced by the Bolsheviki as a traitor to their cause because he favored moderation. In spite of his efforts he failed to induce the Allies to state their war aims, and this meant the failure of his peace plans; he refused to take severe measures to restore discipline in the army and this emboldened his opponents. The rapid disorganization of Russia caused the conservative elements to attempt a counter-revolution. An army under General Kornilov marched upon Petrograd with the intention of overthrowing the Provisional Government. It was, however, dispersed. The Germans, taking advantage of the situation, captured Riga on September 2 without striking a blow.

The Bolsheviki in power

On November 7, Kerensky and the Provisional Government were overthrown by an uprising of the Bolsheviki in Petrograd. A new government was formed, headed by Nicholas Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Foreign Minister. The Bolsheviki announced the following as their program: An immediate democratic peace, the confiscation of landed estates, the calling of a constitutional convention, and the lodging of all final authority in the *soviets*.

On December 16, an armistice was signed between Germany and the Bolshevik Government at Brest-Litovsk. Germany was represented by Dr. von Kühlmann, Austria by Count Czernin, and Russia by Trotzky. Long-drawn-out peace parleys began and, at one time, the negotiations were broken off because the Germans, contrary to agreement, were transferring their troops from the Eastern to the Western Front. Trotzky insisted on the adoption of the Bolshevik formula of "no annexations and no indemnities," to which the representatives of the Central Powers agreed. While the negotiations were going on, the Russian armies were being demobilized. The Germans, on the other hand, continued their advance in Russia. On February 19, 1918, they occupied Dvinsk and Lutsk.

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[1] See pp. 566 ff.

Peace parleys

The aim of the Bolsheviki was to inaugurate a social revolution throughout the world, which would end the World War and bring about a democratic peace. They formed a revolutionary army, called the Red Guard, which began making war on the "bourgeois" throughout Russia. This produced a panic among the conservative elements. The "Little Russians," [1] occupying the southern region generally called Ukraine, decided to secede from Bolshevik Russia. The Ukraine established an independent government and sent its own representatives to Brest-Litovsk to negotiate a separate peace with the Central Powers. The latter gladly welcomed them, and on February 9 a treaty of peace was signed by the Central Powers and Ukraine. The terms of this treaty recognized the independence of Ukraine and partially fixed its boundaries; it provided for free trade between them; and, especially, it made arrangements for the delivery of agricultural and industrial products to the Central Powers.

The Ukraine

Trotzky hoped to arouse a democratic sentiment in Germany in favor of a general peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities." But the German people seemed to be satisfied with their Government, in spite of the fact that it was now demanding the annexation of Russian territory, thus violating the Reichstag resolution of July 19, 1917, which placed that body on record as opposed

Treaty of peace between Russia and the Central Powers

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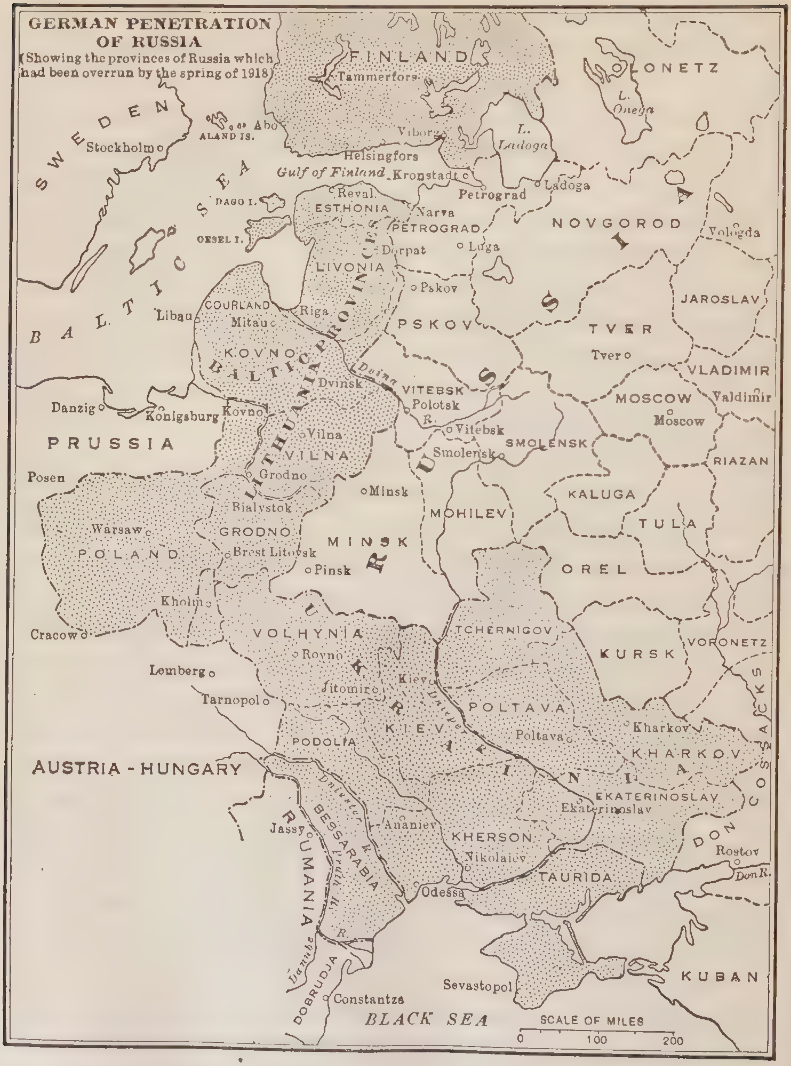
[1] See p. 529.



GERMAN PENETRATION OF RUSSIA
(Showing the provinces of Russia which had been overrun by the spring of 1918)

to forcible annexation of territory. Disgusted with this turn of affairs, Trotzky left Brest-Litovsk and announced that Russia was at peace with her enemies without a treaty. But the Germans were not to be satisfied without a formal treaty. They responded by overrunning Livonia and marching on Petrograd. On March 4, the

Bolshevik Government was compelled to sign a peace treaty with the Central Powers. The following are the main provisions of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, including later amendments: (1) Russia renounced her sovereignty over Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Lithuania, and Poland, whose fate was to be decided by the Central Powers "in agreement with their inhabitants";[1] (2) the Ukraine was recognized as an independent republic; (3) Batum, Ardahan, and Kars, in the Caucasus, were permitted "self-determination" "in agreement with neighboring States, especially with Turkey";[2] (4) the Bolsheviki promised to cease their revolutionary propaganda in the ceded regions; (5) Finland was evacuated by Russia and established as an independent nation; (6) Georgia in the Caucasus was also declared independent; (7) Russia was forced to pay "compensation" to Germany of about a billion and a half dollars for losses suffered by Germans in Russia and for losses suffered by Germans as a result of the Russian invasion; and (8) tariff schedules and economic agreements were made very favorable to Germany. By this treaty Russia lost approximately half a million square miles of territory and 66,000,000 of her population.

Abolition of the Constitutional convention

Peace with Germany was followed by a bitter class war between the proletariat and the propertied classes, resulting in wholesale confiscations of property and in bloodshed. A constitutional convention had been elected on a democratic basis to frame a government for Russia. The Bolsheviki were opposed both in theory and in practice to any system which might be established by the majority of the citizens *irrespective of class;* what they desired was the control of the government by the lower classes, or the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Hence they determined to abolish the constitutional convention. A body of Bolshevik troops was sent to the assembly hall. They dispersed the members, and the convention was declared abolished. On July 16 it was reported that the ex-Tsar, Nicholas II, had been executed by the Bolsheviki.

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[1] This "self-determination" was carried out under the influence of the German army of occupation. It was a farcical procedure, as these so-called independent states were completely under German control.

[2] Through coercion by the Turks, these regions voted to be annexed to Turkey.

The Third International

The theories no less than the actions of the Bolsheviki aroused the bitterest antagonism of the propertied classes throughout the world, who feared an international uprising of the working class. Scarcely less antagonistic were those Socialists who did not accept the doctrine of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." A world-wide split took place in Socialist ranks. In March, 1919, at Moscow, there was convened the Third International,[1] consisting of those that accepted the theories of the Bolsheviki, who were now known as "Communists" to distinguish them from their opponents in the Socialist ranks. The Third International adopted a Communist platform which had to be accepted *in toto* by any one desiring membership in the Communist Party.

The Soviet Republic

Decentralization is the distinguishing mark of the Soviet Republic as centralization was of the Empire. Each city is governed by a soviet composed of delegates elected by occupational bodies, such as factory workers, doctors, teachers, coachmen, carpenters, and housekeepers. In the country districts the soviet system is more complicated. A group of villages elect delegates to a township soviet, which in turn elects delegates to a county soviet; the latter elects delegates to a provincial soviet which also has delegates from the cities in the province. To the cities and provinces is given considerable local self-government. The right to vote is granted to men and women who have reached the age of eighteen, and who are engaged in occupations that are "productive and useful to society." It is specifically denied to property owners, employers of labor, ministers of religion, and former officials. The city and provincial soviets elect representatives to a national parliament, on the basis of one representative from every 25,000 voters in the cities and one representative from every 125,000 inhabitants in the country. This parliament, called the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, is the sovereign power in the Republic; it chooses a body of about two hundred members, called the All-Russian Executive

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[1] The Second International (1889) was disrupted by the war. See pp 586, 597.

Committee, which exercises executive, legislative, and judicial powers and constitutes what might be called a ministry. The Executive Committee in turn elects a cabinet of seventeen members, called the Council of People's Commissars, for the more rapid conduct of affairs, each member being at the head of a department of government, such as foreign affairs, army, education, and labor. The Council must be in constant harmony with the Executive Committee, for any act of the former may be nullified by the latter.

Bolshevik legislation

Among the many laws enacted by the Soviet Republic, the most notable were those dealing with economic matters. All land was confiscated and declared to be national property, to be apportioned by the local soviets among the peasants in accordance with their ability to till it. The factories, too, were confiscated and turned over to the laborers, who were to manage them and share the profits. Here great difficulties were experienced, the ignorance and incapacity of the laborers causing a sharp decline in production. Banking was declared a national monopoly, to be managed by soviet officials. All inheritance was abolished in order to compel succeeding generations to maintain the socialist system. An important organ of the Soviet Republic, the Supreme Board of National Economy, was established with power to regulate all phases of economic life in Russia, manufacturing, agriculture, mining, transportation, and commerce. Thousands of families among the upper and middle classes were ruined outright by this legislation. They either fled the country or stayed to become proletarians, — or were massacred.

The secret treaties

When the Bolsheviki came into power they published a series of secret treaties entered into by Russia. One was with France and Great Britain, according to which Russia was to get Constantinople and the control of the Bosphorus, the sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. Another was with Italy, England, and France, in which Italy, in return for her support of the Allies during the World War, was to get the Trentino, Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Gorizia, Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands in the

Adriatic; she was to conduct the foreign affairs of Albania; in addition, she was promised a "sphere of influence" in Asiatic Turkey. A third treaty was in the nature of a secret understanding with France, according to which the latter was to get Alsace-Lorraine and the valley of the Saar River; the left bank of the Rhine was to be separated from Germany and so organized as to create the Rhine into a strategic boundary against Germany. The publication of these treaties caused widespread discontent with the methods of secret diplomacy.

PEACE PROPOSALS

The Pope's peace plan

On August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict XV issued a statement proposing peace terms to the belligerent nations. He proposed that moral force be substituted for physical in human relations and recommended arbitration in settling disputes between nations; that armaments should be reduced; that the freedom of the seas should be established; that no indemnities should be required except when "certain particular reasons" justify them; that occupied territories should be evacuated; and that an examination should be made of territorial claims, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine and Trentino, and that a settlement of these claims should be made in accordance with the desires of the inhabitants.

President Wilson's peace plan

President Wilson, as spokesman for the Allies, replied to the Pope's note on August 27. Making a distinction between the German Government and the German people, he made it clear that it was impossible to negotiate with the irresponsible and autocratic German Government, but that there was no desire on the part of America to crush the German people, since he was opposed on general principles to punitive indemnities, to the dismemberment of empires, and to economic boycotts. Later, on January 8, 1918, President Wilson issued a more detailed statement of America's war aims, the famous "Fourteen Points." He declared in favor of the abolition of secret diplomacy, of the freedom of the seas, of equality of trade conditions for the various nations, of the reduction of armaments, of the evacuation of Russian territory, of the evacuation and complete restoration of Belgium, of giving the people of Austria-Hungary an opportunity for autonomous development, of the evacuation of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, of giving the nationalities of Turkey an opportunity for autonomous development, of the settlement of colonial claims in the interests of the inhabitants, of the "righting" of the wrong done in 1871 in the Alsace-Lorraine matter, of the readjustment of the Italian frontier on the basis of nationality, of the establishment of a Polish state consisting of all lands predominantly Polish, and of the organization of a League of Nations to preserve peace. On February 11 he especially emphasized the idea of nationality, stating that peoples should not be "bartered from sovereignty to sovereignty."

Lloyd George's peace plan

On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George issued a detailed statement of Great Britain's war aims. He declared that only the lands predominantly Turkish should be permitted to remain under Turkey; that there should be a "reconsideration" of the wrong done in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine; that Belgium should be completely restored by Germany, politically, territorially, and economically; that the Balkan states should be restored; that the fate of the German colonies should be decided by an international conference according to the wishes and interests of the natives; and that a League of Nations should be formed to preserve peace.

The German peace note

On September 20, 1917, the Central Powers, in reply to the Pope's note, had declared themselves in sympathy with his aim to substitute moral for physical force and with his desire for the limitation of armaments and for the freedom of the seas. On January 25, 1918, Chancellor von Hertling issued Germany's reply to President Wilson's note. He declared that he agreed with him in favoring open diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, the reduction of armaments, and a League of Nations; and, like him, he was opposed to economic boycotts. Regarding the Russian provinces conquered by Germany, it was his view that that was a matter to be settled by Germany and Russia alone; the Italian frontier and the Balkans were Austrian matters; the problem of Turkey was a Turkish matter; Germany was firmly resolved to keep Alsace-Lorraine; Belgium and Northern France were being held, not with the purpose of annexation, but for settlement at the Peace Congress. It was evident that the Central Powers were determined to keep most of their conquests, thus violating the principle of nationality advocated by President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George.

Austria's peace note

Soon after the American success at St.-Mihiel,[1] Austria issued an official statement describing the great sufferings of humanity on account of the World War and requesting the "governments of all the belligerent states to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion of the basic principles for the conclusion of peace." This note was regarded by the Allies as a "peace trap" prepared by Germany, who now saw defeat staring her in the face. The request of Austria was consequently refused.

Peace negotiations between Germany and the United States

America, desiring neither indemnities nor annexations for herself, occupied an enviable position among the belligerents. She could the more easily exert her influence in favor of policies looking to a better world. In a notable address, delivered on September 27, 1918, President Wilson emphatically endorsed the idea of a League of Nations as an indispensable instrument for world peace. He opposed economic boycotts except as a means of disciplining a refractory nation by the League of Nations.

On October 6 the German Chancellor, Prince Maximilian, delivered an address to the Reichstag in which he favored the acceptance of President Wilson's "fourteen points," outlined in the latter's speech of January 8, as a "basis of negotiations"; and he asked the President to take steps toward peace. President Wilson's reply was mainly in the form of questions. Did the Chancellor accept the "fourteen points" and wish merely to discuss details? Was he speaking for those in Germany who had been conducting the War? No armistice would be signed, he added, as long as German armies were on Allied territory.

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[1] See p. 770.

On October 12 the Chancellor sent a note to the President in which he stated that Germany accepted the "fourteen points" and wished merely to discuss details; that the existing German Government was formed "in agreement with the majority in the Reichstag"; and that Germany was ready to evacuate Allied territory under the direction of mixed commissions. President Wilson's answer was that the conditions of the armistice must be determined by the Allied military leaders and must be such as to leave the Allies supreme in the field. He reminded the Chancellor of the despotic character of the German Government and the necessity for destroying it or reducing it to impotence. That was a condition necessary to peace.

On October 21 the Chancellor declared that the basis of an armistice should be "actual standards of power of both sides in the field"; and that no demand should be made "irreconcilable with the honor of the German people." He gave assurance that definite steps were being taken to democratize the German Government; that in the future the Reichstag would exercise full control. President Wilson's reply closed these diplomatic "conversations." He asserted emphatically that the only armistice to which the Allies would agree would be one that would give them full power over the arrangements. This was necessary for the reason that the proposed constitutional changes in Germany were not sufficient to give the German people full control; that those who had hitherto been masters of German policy were still masters; and that if America must deal with them and with monarchical autocrats, she demanded not peace negotiations but surrender.

GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE WORLD WAR

The war revealed the deep loyalty of the British colonies to the Empire. Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans vied with one another in their devotion to the mother country, and a steady stream of colonial volunteers poured into Great Britain. England's first attempt to meet the military problem was through voluntary enlistment; and a great army was hurriedly raised, drawn from all classes, most of whom had had no previous experience with military affairs. In May, 1916, a conscription law was passed, which raised the British army to about four million.

Loyalty of the British colonies

Irish disaffection was not removed by the war, in spite of the patriotic attitude of John Redmond, the leader of the Irish Nationalists. In April, 1916, an outbreak took place in Dublin, where the rebels proclaimed an Irish Republic and seized several public buildings. A fierce street battle took place between the revolutionists and the troops, which ended in the defeat of the former. Their chief leaders, Padraic Pearse and James Connolly, were seized and executed. Sir Roger Casement, a fervent Irish patriot who had sought German aid to bring about uprisings in Ireland, was also captured and executed for treason.

The Irish uprising

The British Government made another attempt to solve the Irish problem by calling together a convention in Dublin. This body met on July 25, 1917, and represented all factions and interests except the Sinn Fein,[1] who refused to participate. Its report, issued in April, 1918, proposed a compromise which was not accepted; and the work of the Convention was therefore in vain. On January 21, 1919, there was convened an extraordinary body in Dublin. It was nothing less than an Irish National Assembly consisting of the Sinn Feiners who had been elected to the British Parliament in the elections of December, 1918. It was defiantly anti-English, and conducted its proceedings in the ancient Gaelic language. This Assembly proclaimed Ireland a republic, and appointed delegates to the Peace Congress.

Asquith's leadership was giving much dissatisfaction, and public opinion began to favor displacing him with Lloyd George, whose energy and foresight had won him the confidence of all parties. On December 6, 1916, the Cabinet was reorganized and supreme power was lodged in a War Council composed of five members: three Conservatives, Bonar Law, Lord Curzon, and Lord Milner; one Laborite, Arthur Henderson, who later resigned and was succeeded by George N. Barnes; and the Liberal Premier, Lloyd George. General Jan C. Smuts, a distinguished Boer, was later added to the War Council; and he became spokesman for the Greater Britain beyond the seas.

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[1] See p. 398.

Lloyd George becomes Premier

India's loyalty to the Empire was rewarded by economic and political concessions. In 1917 England permitted India to lay a protective tariff of four per cent on imported cotton manufactures, a policy strongly opposed by the Manchester cotton manufacturers.[1] The Morley reforms [2] were extended, and more natives were introduced into the Administration. On August 20, 1917, a highly important statement was made in Parliament with reference to India's future, and a definite promise was made in favor of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsibility in India." A commission was appointed, headed by Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for India, to investigate conditions in that country. The report of this commission bids fair to rank with the famous Durham Report, for it recommended a plan looking to the gradual introduction of local autonomy in India.

India

In March, 1918, a new electoral law was enacted by Parliament, which ranks in importance with the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884. The main provisions were: (1) all male subjects twenty-one years of age were granted the franchise outright, thereby establishing for the first time universal manhood suffrage; (2) women over thirty who had the right to vote in local elections or whose husbands had that right were given the Parliamentary franchise; (3) the residence qualification for voters was re-

The new electoral law

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[1] Hitherto, India had a tariff of 3.5 per cent and an excise duty of 3.5 per cent on cotton manufactures; now the tariff was raised to 7.5 per cent, but the excise duty remained 3.5 per cent.

[2] See p. 403.

duced from one year to six months; (4) a single election day was established for the United Kingdom; (5) plural voting was reduced by a provision that no citizen could vote in more than two places; (6) the membership of the House of Commons was increased from 670 to 707; and (7) a redistribution of seats was to be made with the object of fairer representation.[1]

The new elections

After a delay of three years, general elections took place, in December, on the basis of the new law. Under the leadership of Lloyd George both Liberals and Conservatives joined hands to nominate Coalition candidates, those only who solidly supported the War Cabinet. In opposition were the Labor Party, those Liberals led by Asquith who opposed Lloyd George, and those Conservatives who opposed a coalition. The outcome of the elections was an overwhelming victory for the Coalition, as it won about 470 out of the 707 seats. One of the striking results of the elections was the success of 73 Sinn Fein candidates in Ireland; the Irish Nationalist Party was almost annihilated, as it won only 7 seats. The Sinn Fein members, however, refused to take their seats in the British Parliament.[2] The Labor Party elected about 60 members, a gain of about 20; but its chief leaders, Henderson, Snowden, and MacDonald, were defeated.

GERMANY DURING THE WORLD WAR

Socialists support the Government

At the outbreak of the War all parties rallied to the support of the Government. Even the Socialists enthusiastically voted for war credits in spite of their professions of internationalism and pacifism. Only one Socialist, Karl Liebknecht, opposed the Government; and he was for that reason expelled from his party. The Socialists' support of the Government was due to their belief that Germany was defending herself against aggression by Russia. When it became evident that Germany was conducting an aggressive war against England and

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[1] It is estimated that the new law added about eight million to the electorate, six million being women.

[2] See p. 398.

France, about twenty Socialist members of the Reichstag seceded from their party and formed a new group, calling itself the Minority Socialists, and demanded the immediate cessation of the war.

Peace resolution of the Reichstag

On July 14, 1917, Dr. Georg Michaelis succeeded Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg as Chancellor. There was dissatisfaction among the Centrists and Socialists with the Government, and on July 19, 1917, these two parties combined in the Reichstag to pass a resolution which declared that "the Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace." Chancellor Michaelis, in reply to this resolution, declared that Germany desired an "honorable peace" on a give-and-take basis and guarantees for her existence as a European and colonial Power. In October, 1917, Count von Hertling, a prominent Centrist, succeeded Michaelis as Chancellor.

The Lichnowsky memoir

A sensation was caused throughout the world by the publication, in March, 1918, of a memoir by Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador to Great Britain in August, 1914. Prince Lichnowsky completely exonerated England, and especially Sir Edward Grey, from the charge made by Germany that England had been pursuing a policy of "encircling" Germany and was therefore primarily responsible for bringing on the World War. Sir Edward's policy, he declared, was not to isolate Germany but to make her a partner in world expansion. England had done all in her power to meet Germany half way in Africa and in the Near East; and Sir Edward and he had already come to an agreement which would have settled all outstanding differences between England and Germany, just as the differences between England and France and those between England and Russia had been settled. But all these efforts came to nought because of the warlike temper of those in control at Berlin, and "the impression became stronger that we (Germany) desired war under any circumstances."[1] Prince Lichnowsky gave many instances of Sir Edward's conciliatory policy during the Balkan crises, and especially during the momentous days preceding the outbreak of the World War. Sir Edward evidently dreamed of laying the foundation of a League of Nations by bringing the Triple Entente and Triple Alliance into friendly relations. But these noble efforts were frustrated by Germany's ambition to be the dictator of Europe.

Dr. von Kühlmann

Another sensation was caused when, on June 24, the German Foreign Secretary, Dr. von Kühlmann, openly declared that peace could not come through military force alone. He was bitterly denounced by the Pan-Germans for trying to weaken Germany's "will to conquer." On July 11 he resigned, and he was succeeded by a Pan-German, Admiral von Hintze.

Prince Maximilian of Baden

The reverses of the German arms on the Western Front roused discontent with the Government. As long as Germany was winning, the Junkers were given full sway; but defeat brought the liberal and radical elements to the fore. As a concession to the growing spirit of discontent, Chancellor von Hertling was dismissed early in October, and he was succeeded by Prince Maximilian of Baden, well known for his liberal views. A new Foreign Secretary, Dr. Solf, was appointed to succeed Admiral von Hintze. The new Chancellor's aim was to end the War through negotiations. With this in view he entered into the "diplomatic conversations" with President Wilson, just described. Through Chancellor Maximilian's influence, measures were adopted to make the German Government more democratic: the Reichstag's consent was made necessary to the acceptance of treaties; and steps were taken in the direction of making the Cabinet responsible to the Reichstag.

Revolution in Germany

But these measures could not stay the march of revolution. Discontent with the Government became greater and greater as the German armies were being driven out of France. The first revolutionary act was the seizure of the fleet at Kiel by the sailors, who hoisted the red flag and seized the city, where they organized a

Socialist government. This was the signal for the rapid spread of revolution. Workingmen's and Soldiers' Councils on the Russian model sprang up everywhere in Germany and ousted the existing governments. Republics were proclaimed in many of the states, and the local monarchs were obliged to flee. Separatist movements also appeared in Bavaria and in the Rhine lands. On November 28 Emperor William yielded to the inevitable and abdicated. He and his family fled to Holland for safety. His fellow-monarch, Emperor Charles of Austria, also abdicated. These ancient dynasties of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, that had for centuries wielded mighty power in the world, were now humbled to the very dust. In Bavaria the Wittelsbach family, that had reigned since the twelfth century, was driven out, and a republic was proclaimed.

The Socialists

On the abdication of the Kaiser a provisional government was organized, composed mainly of Socialists. Friedrich Ebert, a Majority Socialist, succeeded Prince Maximilian as Chancellor. On the whole the revolution in Germany, thus far, was fairly peaceful. The upper and middle classes, out of fear of Bolshevism, supported the Ebert Government, which showed a spirit of moderation. The army, too, was loyal to the new régime. A call was issued for a National Assembly to decide upon the future government of Germany. As in Russia, once the floodgates of revolution were thrown open, all kinds of radical elements, from the most moderate to the most revolutionary, made their appearance. The most important group were the Majority Socialists under Ebert and Scheidemann, who were plainly inclined to moderation. Next in importance were the Minority Socialists, composed of those Socialists who had seceded from their party because they were opposed to the War. Bitter opposition to the Ebert Government was organized by a third Socialist faction, calling itself the Spartacus group, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This group was strongly influenced by the ideas and actions of the Bolsheviki in Russia; and they endeavored to get control of the Workingmen's and Soldiers'

Councils in order to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat." During January and February, 1919, the Spartacides were active in inciting the workingmen against the Ebert Government. A series of riots broke out in Berlin, and the capital was the scene of fierce street fighting that recalled the days of 1848. During the struggle, the Spartacide leaders, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were killed, and the uprising was suppressed by the Government troops.

The Weimar Assembly

In the meanwhile the country was eagerly preparing for the election of the National Assembly, which was to be chosen by a thoroughly democratic suffrage. Every man and woman over twenty years of age was given the vote. As a result of the election, held on January 19, the 423 members of the Assembly were distributed among the parties, according to the best available figures, as follows:

Social Democrats (Majority Socialists), 165.
Christian People's Party (formerly the Center), 90.
German Democrats (formerly the Radicals), 75.
German National Party (formerly the Conservatives), 42.
Independent Social Democrats (Minority Socialists), 22.
German People's Party (formerly the National Liberals), 22.
Independents, 7.

The Assembly, in order to be far from the madding crowds of Berlin, decided to hold its sessions in the quiet town of Weimar, where it convened on February 6. Almost its first act was the election (February 11) of Ebert as President of Germany.

The Republican Constitution

The new constitution, promulgated August 11, 1919, provides for a federal republic composed of states, each of which is required to have a republican form of government. The relation between the national and state governments is similar to that under the old régime. The constitution especially provides that suffrage for national, state, and municipal officials must be universal, equal as between men and women, direct, and secret.

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[1] See p. 277.

The chief executive is the President, elected by popular vote for a term of seven years. He is eligible to reëlection. He may be recalled from office by a two-third vote of the National Assembly if supported by a popular referendum. The President has power to appoint and to dismiss national officials, including the Cabinet. Ministerial responsibility is, however, provided for by an article which declares that the Cabinet must have, individually and collectively, the confidence of the National Assembly.

The Executive

Parliament consists of two Houses, a National Assembly (Reichstag), representing the German people, and a National Council (Reichsrat), representing the states. The National Assembly is elected by men and women over twenty according to the principles of proportional representation. Its term is four years, unless sooner dissolved by the President. It has full power over legislation, including foreign affairs, and it initiates all laws.

The Legislature

The National Council represents the states on the basis of one delegate for every million inhabitants. Each state is entitled to at least one representative, and no state may have more than two fifths of the whole number. The members are chosen by the states from among their cabinet officials. The power of the National Council over legislation is limited. It cannot defeat outright a bill passed by the National Assembly. It can "object." In that case the bill may be referred by the President to a popular referendum. If he takes no action in the matter, the bill is lost unless repassed by the National Assembly by a two-third vote.

The Constitution provides for an extensive use of the Initiative and Referendum. A bill passed by the National Assembly may be referred to the people if (*a*) the President so desires or (*b*) on the petition of one twentieth of the electors. A petition signed by one tenth of the voters may initiate a bill, which then goes to the National Assembly; if the latter refuses to pass it, the bill is referred to the people.

Initiative and Referendum

To amend the constitution the following methods are provided. A proposal to amend must pass the National Assembly by a two-third vote (provided at least two thirds of the members are present); then it must pass the National Council by a two-third vote. Another method of amending the constitution is by the Initiative and Referendum: an amendment must be accepted by a majority of the qualified voters. If a proposal to amend is passed by the National Assembly and defeated by the National Council, the latter may order a referendum on the proposal.

Amendments

The constitution permits the organization of a National Economic Council representative of the organized workers and employers. This is a sort of economic parliament having power to suggest and to advise the Government on matters pertaining to social legislation. This body may coöperate with parliament in devising plans for socializing private industrial enterprises.

The National Economic Council

A considerable section of the constitution is devoted to what may be described as a Bill of Individual and Social Rights. All German men and women are equal before the law. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly are guaranteed. Both sexes have equal rights in marriage. Mothers and children have claim to special protection by the State. Complete religious liberty is guaranteed. Education for children is free and compulsory for a period of eight years; in addition part-time education is to be given in continuation schools until the age of eighteen. There is a specific guarantee of the right of private property and of inheritance. If a private industrial enterprise is adapted for socialization, expropriation must be by due process of law and with compensation to the owners. Special protection is accorded to agricultural and industrial laborers and to the commercial middle class. Workingmen are permitted to form councils in the factories and to federate into a national workers' council.

Bill of Rights

France during the World War

In France the bitter factional quarrels ceased the moment that war was declared. Anti-clericals and Catholics, Republicans and royalists, all formed a *union sacrée* to defend the country against

All French parties support the Government attack. The Unified Socialists, who had long opposed coöperation with the bourgeois parties, sent their leaders, Guesde and Sembat, into a Coalition Cabinet headed by Viviani. They denounced the German Socialists as "traitor workingmen" for supporting an aggressive war, and they declared that, as France was being attacked by Germany, there was nothing for them to do but to defend themselves. Jaurès, the leader of the French Socialists, was assassinated in August, 1914, because he had opposed the three years' military law.

Changes in the Ministry

Viviani was Premier when the war broke out. In October, 1915, Briand became Premier; in March, 1917, Ribot; in September, 1917, Painlevé; in November, 1917, Clemenceau, whose Premiership lasted to the end of the war.

Elections of 1919

The elections for the Chamber, which had been delayed for a year on account of the war, took place in November, 1919. A new electoral system had in the meanwhile been adopted which enlarged the Chamber to 626 members, restored the *scrutin de liste*,[1] and introduced some features of proportional representation. The various political factions consolidated into two opposing parties: the *Bloc national*, consisting of all the factions, conservative, liberal, and radical, that fully endorsed the Clemenceau Government; and the Socialists, who opposed the Government and demanded a revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

The elections resulted in an overwhelming victory for the *Bloc*. The Socialist representation was reduced from 102 to about 60 seats, but their popular vote was about 300,000 more than in the elections of 1914. This was due to the unfair character of the electoral law. An interesting event was the reappearance, after an absence of forty-eight years, of representatives from Alsace-Lorraine.

Clemenceau resigned his Premiership and was succeeded by Millerand. President Poincaré's term of office now expired, and the National Assembly chose as his successor, Paul Deschanel.

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[1] See p. 235.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE WORLD WAR

(*August*, 1917—*July*, 1918)

The Italian disaster

The Italian success on the Isonzo had aroused much anxiety in Austria. The Russian Revolution had freed many soldiers of the Teutonic Powers from service on the Eastern Front. Consequently they were able to launch a great "drive" against the Italians. On October 28, 1917, they threw back the Italian army by a surprise attack and retook Gorizia. At Caporetto, the Italians suffered a disastrous defeat, and they began a precipitate retirement, which continued till the Piave River was reached. There, aided by French and British troops, the Italians succeeded in checking the enemy. The losses of the Italians both in men and guns were said to be very great.

"Battle of the Tanks"

During the latter part of November, 1917, the British made a surprise attack on the German line in the direction of Cambrai. General Byng pierced the German line from Arras to St. Quentin and came near Cambrai. Many "tanks" were used in this battle, which was therefore called the "Battle of the Tanks." But before the British could consolidate their new positions, the Germans delivered a counter-attack, and the British were obliged to yield more than half of the territory that they had gained.

Roumania makes peace

On May 6, 1918, Rumania was forced to sign a treaty of peace with the Central Powers. She returned to Bulgaria that part of the Dobrudja that she had gained by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913; the rest of the Dobrudja was ceded to the Central Powers. This cut Rumania off from the Black Sea. Rumania's frontier was moreover to undergo "rectification" in the interest of Austria-Hungary. The Central Powers were given control of the pipe lines running from the oil fields to Constanza and the exclusive right to exploit Rumania's oil fields for four years. As compensation for her losses, Rumania was permitted to annex the southern part of Bessarabia after the latter had voted to do so; and to have a trade route to the Black Sea.

Meanwhile a British army under General Allenby had been operating against the Turks in Palestine. In November, 1917, Jaffa was captured. On December 10 the British succeeded in entering Jerusalem. After seven centuries the Holy City was once more in Christian hands.

Capture of Jerusalem

The peace with Russia gave Germany a free hand in the West. It was certain that the World War would have to be decided on the Western Front; and Germany determined to break through, no matter at what cost, before America could have time to send large armies to France.

Battle of Picardy

It was evidently the object of the Germans to split the British and French forces at their juncture on the Oise River; to destroy each separately; to capture the Channel ports; and to capture Paris and to force the French to make peace. England would then be left alone to fight a Germany in control of the entire continent.

On March 21, 1918, the Germans launched a terrific attack along the line from Arras to La Fère. The British were driven back, losing Péronne, Ham, Bapaume, and Albert. On March 28 the French were driven out of Noyon and forced to retire, at one place, south of the Oise River. The French were being slowly forced back on a thirty-mile front from Lens to the Ailette River. The immediate object of the Germans was to capture Amiens, a great railway center. At this critical time, unity of command was established by making the French General Foch chief commander of all the Allied forces on the Western Front.

The attack of the Germans halted on April 1 but began again on April 4. The British were forced to retire from La Bassée for a distance of ten miles. On April 16 they were forced to retire from Messines and Wytschaete ridges, two important positions guarding Ypres. French reinforcements arrived, and for about a week the Germans were checked. On April 26 the Germans captured Kemmel hill, another important position. The British position was becoming more and more desperate; they were,

Battle of Flanders

in the words of General Haig, "with their backs to the wall." Ypres was now a "salient," with Germans on three sides of it. Again French reinforcements came, and the Germans suffered a severe check.

Battle of the Aisne

On May 27 the Germans suddenly began a great "drive" from Noyon to Rheims. They captured an important ridge, Chemin des Dames. On the following day they crossed the Aisne River and captured Fismes. On May 29 Soissons fell into their hands. The German advance was so rapid that, on May 31, they reached the Marne River. On the following day they gained six miles on the line from Soissons to Château-Thierry, and were now forty-three miles from Paris. Château-Thierry fell into their hands. But French reserves were poured in and the German advance was checked once more. Altogether, the German gain was about 950 square miles.

Battle of the Oise

Encouraged by their success, the Germans, on June 9, began another terrific "drive" from Montdidier to Noyon. This time, the Allies were fully prepared to meet them, and the German advance was slow and at great cost. On June 12 the Germans crossed the Matz River, but were hurled back and the "drive" ended. The Americans distinguished themselves greatly and gave valuable aid in the counter-offensives which halted the Germans. In this "drive" the latter gained only 180 square miles.

Battle of the Piave

On June 16 the Italians were suddenly attacked by the Austrians on a hundred mile front along the Piave River. The Austrians succeeded in making several crossings, and a terrific struggle ensued. The Italians had meanwhile completely recovered from their disaster of October, 1917, and they inflicted a severe defeat upon the Austrians, driving them across the Piave with severe losses. This Italian success proved to be an augury of the coming Allied triumphs.

On July 15 the Germans began a drive along the front from Château-Thierry to beyond Rheims. They crossed the Marne at several points and made desperate efforts to envelop Rheims. The French resisted successfully east of the city but were obliged to yield ground between it and the Marne, so that the ancient Cathedral city was in grave peril. Should it fall, the whole line to Verdun would be in danger. But the attack on the Marne front itself was checked at Château-Thierry, where Americans joined the French in heroic resistance. And finally, on July 18, Marshal Foch began the great counter-offensive which was to nullify all the gains made by the Germans since March 21. The attack was on a twenty-eight mile front from Fontenoy near Soissons to Château-Thierry. Heavy masses of reserves, of whose existence the Germans had no knowledge, were hurled at the enemy. They crushed the western flank of the salient and disorganized the whole German line of attack. Two days later, on July 20, the Marne itself was the scene of another great conflict. The Germans were forced across the river with great loss in men and guns. This Second Battle of the Marne — almost, if not quite, as decisive as the first — was won by the French, assisted by the Americans under General Pershing. Once more did the Germans retreat from the Marne. On July 21 the Allies captured Château-Thierry; on the 28th, Fère-en-Tardenois; on August 3, Soissons and Fismes. The retirement of the Germans halted only when they reached the Vesle River.

Second Battle of the Marne

END OF THE WORLD WAR

(*August*, 1918 — *November* 11, 1918)

The fifth year of the World War opened auspiciously for the Allied cause with the great counter-offensive by General Foch. The "war of movement," which the Germans had begun with their March offensive, was now continued by the Allies. The Germans had planned to end the war by a series of hammer strokes and had failed. The Allies had indeed retired, defeated but unconquered. In General Foch the Allies found a commander of remarkable military ability, who was to prove himself more than a match for General Ludendorff, the organizing genius of the German staff, who had supplanted Marshal

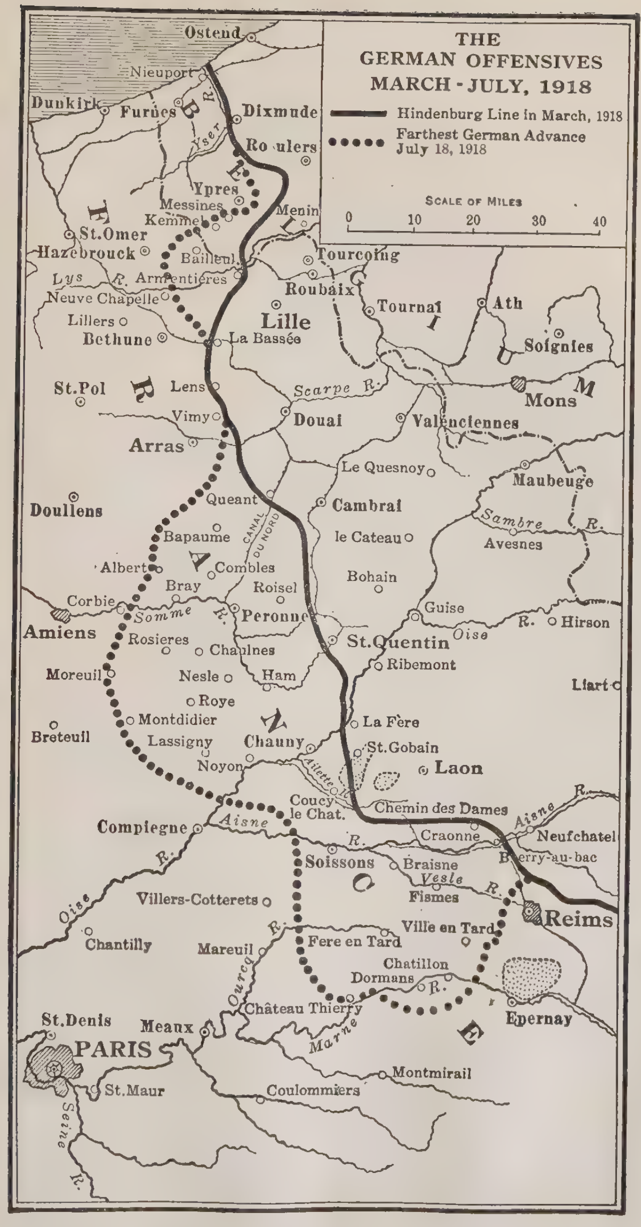
Foch *versus* Ludendorff

Hindenburg as the military master of the Central Powers. Democracy had at last begun its great offensive.

America

Both antagonists were being rapidly drained of men and materials. There was one country whose vast resources in both had as yet hardly been touched, and that was America. The question was, could these be rapidly and effectively mobilized? America's answer is one of the amazing chapters in the World War. A volunteer army of 90,000 had been effectively expanded into millions by means of the selective draft, which eventually enrolled all men between eighteen and forty-five. The transportation of American troops to France was a marvel of efficiency, much of the credit of which belongs to British shipping. On September 22 it was officially reported that 1,750,000 American troops had been "ferried" across the Atlantic with almost no loss! Under the able management of Charles M. Schwab, American shipyards began constructing ships so rapidly that the output far exceeded expectations. The submarine campaign, on which so much had been staked by Germany, proved a failure, for the amount of Allied shipping sunk was rapidly decreasing. The sending of food supplies to Europe was almost as essential as sending armament. Herbert C. Hoover was appointed "food dictator" with almost unlimited control of the food supply of America. His administration was marked by extraordinary success, as he succeeded in sending rapidly vast stores of food to the needy Allies.

Like all democracies, America was slow and hesitant about going to war. Once in, she determined to see it through at all cost and at all hazard. No war in all her history found America so united as the World War. Except a small group of socialists and pacifists, all parties, all sections, and all classes enthusiastically united to support President Wilson in order "to make the world safe for democracy." Germany's ambitions and barbarities had convinced Americans that the greatest calamity which could befall mankind would be a German victory. The selective draft enrolled about 23,000,000 men without trouble of any kind; very few "slackers" were to be found. Immense sums were voted



THE GERMAN OFFENSIVES MARCH - JULY, 1918 unanimously by Congress. The government's self-denying regulations concerning "heatless," "wheatless," "meatless," and "gasless" days were cheerfully obeyed. America was now in the war, fully and completely.

British and French drives

On August 8 General Haig began an offensive on a twenty-five mile front, from Albert to the Somme. During the following week the British advanced about twelve miles, capturing many prisoners and many guns. No sooner had the British made this gain than the French attacked, pushing on through Montdidier and capturing Lassigny (August 21). On the following day the British retook Albert. After pausing for a week, the Allies again took the offensive, the French capturing Roye and Chaulnes, and the British, the two pivotal centers, Bapaume and Noyon. On August 31 the British scored a great victory by recapturing Kemmel Hill, the fortress taken from them in April. During September 1–6, the Allies made other notable gains, taking Péronne, Ham, and Chauny and crossing the old Hindenburg line for several miles just west of Cambrai. During the following week the Germans threw in their reserves to stem the Allied advance, which slowed down near the old Hindenburg line of 1917. Nearly all the gains made by the Germans since their March offensive were by this time regained by the Allies.

St.-Mihiel

It was the determination of the Allies to give the Germans no rest, and to attack them now in this quarter, now in that, thus maintaining the element of surprise. Next in importance to the salient at Ypres was that at St.-Mihiel, near Verdun, which projected dangerously into Allied ground. Several attempts had been made at different times to crush it, but without success. On September 12 an American army under General Pershing attacked both the north and south sides of the Saint-Mihiel salient, and crushed it inside of twenty-seven hours, capturing about 20,000 Germans and much booty. The Allies were now near the iron region of Briey and were threatening Metz itself. This was the first time that the American army had conducted a major offensive by itself. The bravery of the American troops, the efficiency of the planning, and the ability of General Pershing aroused general enthusiasm in the Allied countries.

British success in Palestine

The next surprise attacks took place in Palestine and in the Balkans. During September 22–26 the British under General Allenby routed a Turkish army in Palestine, taking many prisoners and guns. Acre and Haifa fell into British hands; and, on October 2, Damascus also fell.

Bulgaria makes peace

During the same week a struggle was going on in the Balkans. An army of Serbs, Greeks, and other Allied troops attacked the Bulgarians, who fled in disorder through the mountainous region of Macedonia. The Bulgarians lost Prilep and Uskub. So decisive was the Allied victory that Bulgaria quickly collapsed and sued for peace. An armistice was concluded between the Allies and Bulgaria by which the latter agreed to evacuate all territory occupied by her in Greece and Serbia; to demobilize her armies; to surrender all her means of transportation to the Allies; to concede free passage through her territory of Allied troops; and to permit the military occupation of her territory. The armistice was a complete military surrender of Bulgaria, whose political status was to be determined by the general peace congress. The separate peace made by Bulgaria was a staggering blow to the Central Powers: it shattered their prestige in the Balkans and exposed them to attacks in their rear. King Ferdinand abdicated and fled from the country.

Turkey makes peace

A vital blow was struck at Turkish military power when, at the end of October, General Allenby captured Aleppo, situated at the junction of the Constantinople and Bagdad railways, the main sources of supply to the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia. On October 31 Turkey surrendered to the Allies, and signed an Armistice.

Austria makes peace

The next Power that collapsed was Austria. Following the peace made with Bulgaria, there took place a revival of the Balkan front. During the latter part of October, Serbian armies once more appeared in the field.

and early in November they succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Serbia. After being almost annihilated as a nation, the Serbians entered their capital, Belgrade, in triumph.

About the same time, the Italians took the offensive. On October 15 they captured Durazzo and drove the Austrians out of Albania. Later, on October 29, they launched an attack on the famous Piave front. Austrian resistance soon broke down, and the Italians succeeded in inflicting a terrible defeat on their enemy. So great was the loss of morale among the Austrians that they broke and fled before the Italians, leaving, it was reported, half a million prisoners and enormous stores in the hands of their pursuers. The Italians entered Trent and Trieste in triumph. Caporetto was now avenged.

Austria was rapidly collapsing under these blows. Encouraged by the defeats, the various subject nationalities in the Hapsburg dominions rose in rebellion. Republics were proclaimed in Bohemia and Hungary. The socialists in Vienna organized revolutionary demonstrations against the Government. Austria was rapidly disintegrating, and she decided to surrender unconditionally to the allies. On November 4 she too surrendered and signed an armistice.

The Hindenburg Line broken

To break the Hindenburg line was the chief object of Foch in the last campaign of the World War. Behind this great defensive system the Germans had massed in force their best troops. It was their intention to hold this line until winter came, when campaigning would cease; and they would then have an opportunity to recuperate or possibly to bring about a negotiated peace. On October 2 the French took St. Quentin, one of the pivots of the Hindenburg Line. About the same time the British captured Lens and Armentières; and the famous Line was now seriously dented. A desperate struggle then took place for Cambrai, which finally fell to the British. The line was now broken, and the Germans were obliged to retreat on a wide front, "according to plan," as Ludendorff declared. In order to straighten their line, the Germans evacuated the Chemin des Dames, Craonne, Laon, and La Fère, all important positions.

Retreat of Germans from Northern France and Belgium

In the middle of October the struggle continued in Northern France and Belgium The great industrial cities of Lille, Douai, Turcoing, and Roubaix, which had been in German hands since 1914, were taken by the British. The Allies were rapidly reaching the Belgian frontier. An army of British and Belgians drove the Germans out of Ostend, Bruges, and Zeebrugge; and the Belgian coast was cleared of the enemy. The German retirement was executed with great skill, and their losses were not heavy.

The last campaign

The chief source of German communication was a railway running from Lille to Metz. It was the plan of Foch to cut this railway by the British capturing Valenciennes, the French, Mézières, and the Americans, Sedan. Alsace-Lorraine would then be isolated, and Metz would be cut off from relief by the German armies in the north. A fierce struggle then took place between the British and the Germans for the possession of Valenciennes, which finally surrendered to the British on November 2. This victory was gained largely by Canadian troops. A week later the Americans entered Sedan, the historic place which had witnessed the great triumph of German military power in 1870. The railway was further cut by the French capture of Mézières near Sedan and by the British capture of Hirson and Maubeuge. The Allies had driven the Germans almost to their frontier, and the invasion of Germany was soon to follow. German morale had been badly shaken since the July offensive. Now it was broken. The great military nation that had almost conquered Europe was reduced to impotence, and surrendered unconditionally to the Allies.

The armistice

On November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed between the Allies and Germany, which terminated the greatest war in history The world, which had undergone indescribable suffering for four and a half years, now celebrated joyously the coming of peace and the defeat of German militarism.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

THREE months after the signing of the armistice, representatives from all quarters of the globe gathered in Paris to conclude peace with the Central Powers. Thirty-two nations were represented in this notable assembly.[1] The world's foremost statesmen and diplomats, attended by hosts of experts of every description, financial, legal, diplomatic, military, and economic, were there; and among them, President Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, and Sonnino were conspicuous figures. The Conference held its first formal session on January 18, 1919, when Clemenceau was elected its president; and its deliberations lasted five months. When the treaty was finished it was presented to a delegation of German commissioners, headed by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, and was signed by them at Versailles, after a protest, on June 28, 1919.

Peace Conference

The whole world awaited the results of the Conference with profound concern. The task before it was stupendous: a torn and shattered world was to be made whole again; great empires were to be sundered and made harmless; new nationalities were to be delimited and given an honorable place in the council of nations; and a new era that would henceforth spell peace and security was to be inaugurated.

Its task

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[1] These were first, the Big Five, Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan; second, the minor belligerents, Belgium, Brazil, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Jugo-Slavia, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Siam; third, the five British colonies, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa; fourth, those Powers who had merely broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay. Russia, Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, not having been invited, were not represented.

The Conference being too large to deal effectively and speedily with all the momentous questions before it, a Supreme Council was organized, consisting of representatives from each of the Big Five, the Powers having general interests. It was to pass upon all important matters; and when a decision was reached by the Supreme Council it was ratified by the Conference in plenary session. The representatives of the minor Powers participated only when questions directly concerning them were discussed. Assisting the Supreme Council were various commissions, each dealing with such problems as a league of nations, boundaries, and labor legislation. What follows is a summary of the important points in the now famous Treaty of Versailles.

Organization

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

An integral part of the Treaty, known as the Covenant, provides for the organization of a League of Nations. The preamble to the Covenant states that the object of the League is "to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another." Machinery for the working of the League is provided for in (*a*) two representative bodies, the Assembly and the Council, (*b*) a secretariat, (*c*) executive commissions, and (*d*) a court.

Its object

The Assembly is a large body representative of all the member states, each having a delegation of one, two, or three members, but each delegation is entitled to only one vote. The powers vested in the Assembly are, on the whole, rather vague and general; it may deal with matters "affecting the peace of the world."

The Assembly

However, it does have some definite functions: (*a*) it can investigate disputes referred to it; (*b*) it can admit new members to the League; and (*c*) it can elect four members to the Council.

The Council

The vital functions of the League are exercised by a Council consisting of nine members; the five big Powers, Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan, are each to be permanently represented by one member. Four others, representing the minor Powers in the League, are to be chosen by the Assembly for such terms and in such manner as that body shall later decide. In the first instance, however, the Covenant accorded representation to Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain. The Council may be enlarged with its consent and that of a majority of the Assembly. In both the Assembly and the Council decisions must be reached by a unanimous vote, unless otherwise expressly provided for.

The Secretariat

A permanent Secretariat is located at the capital of the League, Geneva. The chief of this body, the Secretary-General, is appointed by the Council.[1] The chief duty of the Secretariat is to conduct investigations concerning disputes and to register and publish treaties.

Executive Commissions

Commissions are to perform much of the work of the League, although their character and jurisdiction are not clearly stated in the Covenant. Some have already been appointed, commissions on armaments and mandatories. All present and future international bureaus will be supervised and controlled by executive commissions of the League.

The Permanent Court

A Permanent Court of International Justice is established to hear and determine disputes of an international character. It is empowered also to give advisory opinions on disputes submitted to it by the Assembly or the Council.

As the main object of the League is the prevention of war, the articles dealing with the methods to preserve peace are naturally of vital interest. The Covenant lays down the rule that all disputes between members must be submitted either to arbitration or to an inquiry by the Council. War is not to be declared until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council; "the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute." "If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report." The Council may refer the dispute to the Assembly; and in that case the "powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council." If the dispute is found by the Council "to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction" of one of the parties, the Council shall make no recommendations.

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[1] Sir James Eric Drummond was appointed the first Secretary-General.

Prevention of war: (1) Compulsory arbitration

If a member resorts to war in disregard of the Covenant, "it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League." The offending nation is to be subjected to an economic boycott; and the Council is to recommend military action. Members agree to support one another in financial and economic measures against the breaker of the peace and to permit the passage of armies to protect the Covenant.

If a non-member is in dispute with a member, the former is to be asked to accept the obligations of membership for purposes of such dispute. If the non-member refuses and goes to war, the penalties are the same as if he were a member.

The Covenant declares that "the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The Council is to propose plans for the reduction of armaments, and these are to be revised every ten years. The manufacture of munitions by private firms is declared to be "open to grave objections"; and the Council is to advise remedies.

(2) Limitation of armaments

There is no longer to be secret diplomacy. Treaties, to be binding, must be published and registered with the Secretariat. All treaties, present and future, that are inconsistent with the Covenant are declared null and void, except "treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine."

(3) Public diplomacy

What is considered by many as the most important provision in the Covenant is the famous Article X. It declares that "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled."

(4) Territorial integrity

An interesting departure in the treatment of subject races is made in the establishment of the mandatory system. Colonies and territories formerly under the control of Germany and her allies, that are "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves," are to be a "sacred trust of civilization." Such peoples are to be placed in the care of advanced nations, who are to exercise a "mandatory" over them in the name of the League. The mandatory Power is responsible for its administration to the Council.

Mandatories

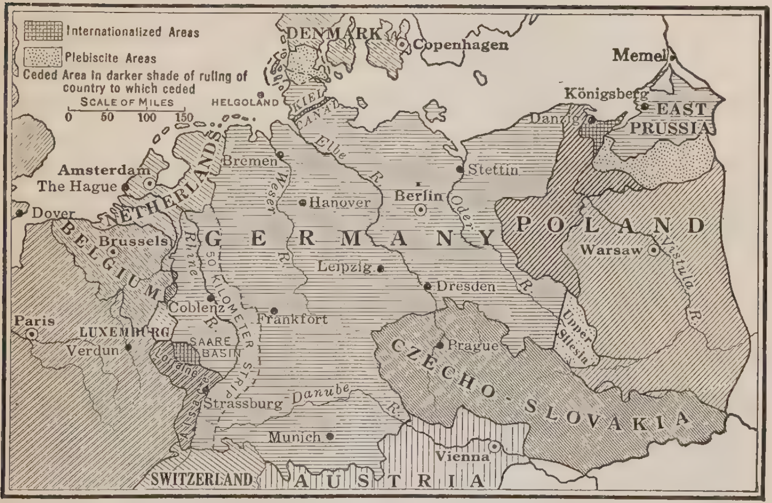
An amendment to the Covenant is valid only when accepted by all the states represented on the Council and by a majority of all the members of the League.

Amendments

The signatories of the Treaty are the original members

Membership

of the League. From among the neutral nations the following were invited to membership on condition that they accept within two months: the Argentine Republic, Chili, Colombia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela. Other nations, including the Central Powers, may be admitted to the League by a two-third vote of the Assembly.



GERMANY AND THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

A member may withdraw from the League after two years' notice, provided it has fulfilled all its international obligations and all its obligations under the Covenant. If an amendment to the Covenant is adopted that is unsatisfactory to a member, it may withdraw from the League at once.

TERRITORIAL CLAUSES

Belgium and Luxemburg

The neutralization of Belgium and of Luxemburg, hitherto guaranteed by the Powers, is declared at an end; their future status is to be determined by the League in due time. To Belgium are ceded three German districts, Moresnet, Eupen, and Malmédy.

Luxemburg is no longer to be included within the scope of the German customs laws.

The Saar Basin

The government of the Saar Basin is to be entrusted to a commission appointed by the League of Nations. At the end of fifteen years the inhabitants are to decide by a plébiscite whether they desire (*a*) the régime established by the Treaty, (*b*) union with France, or (*c*) union with Germany.

Alsace-Lorraine

Alsace-Lorraine is restored unconditionally to France.

Polish provinces

Germany cedes to Poland, Posen and most of West Prussia. A part of East Prussia and Upper Silesia,[1] an important coal region, are to decide by a plébiscite whether they desire German or Polish sovereignty.[2] The freedom of transit of persons and goods from East Prussia to the rest of Germany is guaranteed by Poland.

Danzig

Danzig and its environs constitute a Free City under the protection of the League. Special privileges are, however, granted to Poland: the city is to be within the Polish customs frontier; Poland is to enjoy the free use of its port facilities; and to conduct its foreign relations.

Schleswig

Schleswig is divided into three zones, northern, central, and southern. The last is to remain with Germany; the other two are to decide by a plébiscite whether they desire Danish or German sovereignty.[3]

Miscellaneous

Austria is forbidden to join Germany without the consent of the Council of the League.

All fortifications and harbors in Helgoland are to be destroyed by Germany.

Germany renounces the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Russia and all subsequent treaties with the Soviet Government.

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[1] A small part of Upper Silesia, called Hultschin, bordering on Czecho-Slovakia, was given to the latter.

[2] In July, 1920, East Prussia voted to remain with Germany.

[3] The northern zone decided to be united with Denmark; the central, containing the important city of Flensburg, decided to remain with Germany.

Germany cedes to the Allies the northeastern corner of East Prussia, containing the city of Memel; the disposition of this region is to be decided later.

Germany is forbidden to construct fortifications or to assemble armed forces, either temporarily or permanently, on the left bank of the Rhine and on the right bank to a line fifty kilometers east of the river.

Colonies

Germany renounces all rights over her colonies and overseas possessions.[1] She also renounces her treaties made with France in 1911–12 relative to equatorial Africa.[2] She grants to Japan all her rights, concessions, and public property in the province of Shantung, China.[3]

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[1] Great Britain was given a mandatory over German East Africa, which was renamed Tanganyika Territory; the Union of South Africa, over German South-West Africa; New Zealand, over the German Samoan Islands; Japan, over the German Pacific Islands north of the Equator; Australia, over the German Pacific islands south of the Equator; and Great Britain and France, over Togoland and Kamerun.

[2] See p. 701.

[3] By the treaty of 1898 (see p. 661) China ceded to Germany the control of the territory bordering upon the harbor of Kiao-chau, though retaining sovereign rights over the district; the harbor itself was leased to Germany for ninety-nine years; and in the province of Shantung, Germany was to have the right to build railways, open mines, and have preference in the general exploitation of the province.

The renunciation of these privileges by Germany in favor of Japan roused widespread opposition, especially in China and in the United States. To understand the problem involved, it is necessary to give a summary of the Sino-Japanese relations during the World War. When the conflict broke out, China desired to enter on the side of the Allies, but was prevented from doing so by Japan. In 1915 Japan presented to China the famous Twenty-One Demands, the most important of which were: (*a*) China was to consent to whatever agreement Germany and Japan might make regarding Shantung; (*b*) China was to consult Japan before granting concessions to foreigners in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia; (*c*) China's greatest iron and steel works were to be a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise; (*d*) China was not to lease any part of her coast to foreigners without Japan's consent; (*e*) China was to employ Japanese civil and military advisers; (*f*) China was to purchase half of her munitions from Japan; and (*g*) China was to grant important economic concessions and privileges to Japan. To most of these demands China was compelled to yield. In 1916 Japan and Russia entered into an alliance to support each other's interests in China as against a third Power; furthermore, neither was to enter into an alliance with a third Power that would be directed against the other. Japan's position as the dominant Power in the Far East was still more strengthened by the Lansing-Ishii agreement between the United States and Japan (see p. 671).

A matter of great significance to China was a secret treaty signed in Febru-

ECONOMIC PROVISIONS

Reparations

While Germany is not required to pay an indemnity, she is required to make "reparations." The Treaty declares that "Germany accepts the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Powers and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." A Reparations Commission, representing Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Belgium, and, in certain cases, Japan and Serbia, is established with wide powers to enable it to supervise and to enforce the economic terms of the Treaty. It is given oversight of Germany's system of taxation and of her entire economic organization in order to compel Germany to provide the means with which to fulfill the economic terms.

The Reparations Commission is to draw up a bill of damages against Germany, which is to be presented on or before May 1, 1921. This bill is to be paid within thirty years, and the Commission has power to draw up a schedule of payments as to time, amount, and manner of payment. In computing the amount it is agreed that Germany is to compensate the Allies for all damage done to their civilian population during the war, for military pensions to Allied soldiers, and for separation allowances made to the families of Allied soldiers; she is also to pay Belgium's war debt to the Allies. The entire cost of carrying out the

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ary, 1917, by Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan. It was agreed that Japan was to be supported at the Peace Conference in her demand for Shantung and the German Pacific islands north of the Equator; the British Empire was to get the German islands south of the Equator; and Japan was to permit China to declare war against Germany. In March, 1917, China broke diplomatic relations with Germany; in August, 1917, she declared war.

The Treaty of Versailles carried out this secret treaty to the letter. China protested vigorously against the provisions in regard to Shantung. She asserted that the lease of Kiao-chau was given to Germany under coercion; that the province of Shantung should be under the complete control of China, as its population is solidly Chinese; that it dominates the economic life of northern China because of its rich natural resources; and that the control by a foreign Power of the railways in Shantung makes possible a rapid march on Pekin in case of war.

Treaty, such as the expenses of the armies of occupation and of the Reparations Commission, is to be borne by Germany.

Financial

As a guarantee of the bill of damages Germany is required to deliver to the Allies, before May 1, 1921, five billion dollars in gold; she is also to deliver at once bonds to the value of ten billion dollars; later, if the Reparations Commission is satisfied that Germany can pay more, she is to deliver additional bonds to the value of ten billions. The Commission has authority to vary Germany's liability in accordance with her capacity to pay. In this way her economic future is mortgaged to the Allies until she makes reparations according to the Treaty.

Merchant marine

Germany cedes to the Allies all her merchant vessels of over 1600 tons and a large part of her smaller vessels. She is to construct, if required, 200,000 tons of shipping annually for five years, for which she is to receive credit on her bill for reparations. This provision sweeps Germany's merchant marine from the seas and prevents its restoration in the near future.

Property ceded to the Allies

All public property in Alsace-Lorraine goes to France without compensation to Germany. Private property belonging to German nationals in the region is at the disposal of the French Government, which may, if it so desires, confiscate it.

The Allies reserve the right to retain and to liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging to German nationals within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates, including the lands ceded to them by the Treaty. Compensation is to be allowed when such action is taken.

The Reparations Commission may demand that Germany deliver any rights and interests of her nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, or in any dependencies of these states, or in any territory ceded by Germany and her allies. Germany shall be responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed, but she shall receive credit for these sums on her reparation account.

All public property in former German colonies passes to the Governments exercising authority over them, without compensation to Germany.

Coal

Germany cedes to France all the coal mines in the Saar Basin clear of all debt and charges. The value of this property is to be credited on her account for reparations. If at the end of fifteen years the region votes for union with Germany, the latter may purchase the mines from France, payment to be in gold.

Germany binds herself to deliver to France, Belgium, Italy, and Luxemburg about 25,000,000 tons of coal annually for ten years. In addition, Germany undertakes to deliver to France annually for ten years a quantity of coal equal to the difference between the annual production, before the war, of the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais, destroyed as a result of the war, and the production of these mines during the years in question. The deliveries of coal are to be at prices current in Germany.

Customs

Germany grants to the Allies a "most favored nation" clause for five years, unless a longer period is demanded by the League of Nations. Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg may export to Germany for five years free of duty. Those parts of Poland that were formerly German territory may export to Germany for three years free of duty. The above concessions are not reciprocal.

The tariff duties on the left bank of the Rhine are to be arranged by the Allies.

Transportation

Germany cedes to the Allies 5000 locomotives and 150,000 cars. All railways and rolling stock in the ceded territories go to the states now controlling them.

The administration of the Elbe, Oder, Danube, and Rhine rivers is to be under the supervision of international commissions, whose powers are to be formulated by the Allies and approved by the League of Nations. On these commissions Germany is to have minority representation.

To France is given special privileges in the use of the Rhine. She has the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals (constructed or to be constructed) or for any other purpose, and to execute on the German bank all works necessary for the exercise of this right. France has also the *exclusive* right to the power derived from works of regulation on the river, subject to the payment to Germany of the value of half the power actually produced.

Military forces

Conscription is abolished in Germany. Her maximum military strength is fixed at an army of 100,000 men. Voluntary enlistment is to be for a period of twelve consecutive years. All establishments for the manufacture of arms are closed. Germany's naval strength is limited to six small battleships, six light cruisers, and twelve torpedo boats. All the rest of her navy must be surrendered to the Allies.[1] Germany is forbidden to maintain air forces. She also renounces all rights to cables.

LABOR LEGISLATION

Labor and peace

An interesting and novel feature of the Treaty is the section dealing with labor legislation. The members of the League of Nations are to establish a permanent organization to promote the international adjustment of labor conditions, because universal peace "can be established only if it is based upon social justice," and "conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled."

Conferences

Annual international labor conferences are provided for, to which each member of the League is to send four delegates, one representing capital, one labor, and two the Government. Voting at the conferences is to be by individuals, and a two-third vote is to be required to adopt measures. The Conference is to draft legislation which it is to recommend to the members of the League for adoption. In its recommendations the Conference "shall have due regard to those countries in whch climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different."

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[1] On June 21, 1919, the German High Seas Fleet, interned by the British at Scapa Flow, was scuttled and sent to the bottom of the sea by order of the German admiral.

An international labor office is also provided for, to be permanently located at the capital of the League. It is to consist of twenty-four members, twelve representing the Governments, six chosen by the Conference to represent capital, and six chosen by the Conference to represent labor. Its duty is to be to collect and to distribute information on labor conditions and to prepare programs for the conferences.

GUARANTEES

The guarantee for the execution of the Treaty by Germany is the occupation, for fifteen years, of the left bank of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads. Evacuation of the region is to take place gradually, a part at the end of five years, another at the end of ten, and the remainder at the end of fifteen. If the Reparations Commission finds that "Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present Treaty with regard to reparations," the whole or part of the left bank is to be reoccupied.

Final settlement

There was bitter feeling in Germany when the terms of the Treaty became known. The Germans protested that the Allies had forced upon them a "Carthaginian peace," and that they were unable to fulfill the economic provisions of the Treaty. A series of conferences of the Allies took place, the most important being the London Conference in April–May, 1921, with the object of making the amount of reparations more definite and more sure. The London Conference drafted a number of resolutions, the most important being:

(1) that the total bill of reparations Germany must pay should be 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about $33,000,000,000), plus the amount of the war debt of Belgium to the Allies, less the amount Germany had already paid on account of reparations, and less any amounts to be credited to her by the Allies in respect of State properties in ceded territory, etc., and any other sums with which the Reparations Commission shall decide Germany should be credited;

(2) that Germany should issue three series of interest-bearing bonds running for a number of years to cover this indebtedness;

(3) that Germany should pay annually 2,000,000,000 gold marks plus 26 per cent of her exports till the bonds are redeemed.

These terms were sent to Germany on May 6, 1921, in the form of an ultimatum, to the effect that, unless they were accepted unconditionally by May 12, the Ruhr region, an important industrial district and coal centre of Germany, would be occupied by the Allied forces, to be held as a guarantee for the payment of Germany's reparations debt. Although Germany protested that she could not pay such a huge bill, the mobilization of the French army, preparatory to marching into the Ruhr region, was effective. On May 11, 1921, Germany accepted the ultimatum unconditionally.

TREATIES WITH GERMANY'S ALLIES

Austria

Even before the Peace Conference had met, the Hapsburg Monarchy had almost entirely disintegrated. To the subject races, Austria's defeat was the longed-for opportunity to be free and independent, and a number of new nations emerged from the ruins of the ancient Empire.

The Treaty of St. Germain, signed by the Allies and Austria on September 10, 1919, officially recognized the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy. Part was ceded to neighboring states; part became succession states; what remained, Residue Austria, was formed into a republic. Austria proper was reduced from 116,000 to 32,000 square miles. In general the Treaty of St. Germain followed the lines of the Treaty of Versailles.

Hungary

After the armistice was signed with Germany, a republic was proclaimed in Hungary, with Count Karolyi as Premier. The new Republic found itself in a serious situation, as it was threatened on the outside by Rumanian, Czecho-Slovakian, and Jugo-Slavian armies who feared that a revived Hungary would once more subject them; and on the inside by reactionary and communist agitations. Count Karolyi in despair resigned on March 22, 1919. The government was then seized by the communists under Bela Kun, who immediately began establishing a soviet system on the model of Russia. This greatly disturbed the Allies, who did not relish the idea of another communist nation. Communist Russia had given them enough trouble. Encouraged by the Allies, a Rumanian army marched on Budapest, and, on August 5, 1919, captured the city. Bela Kun fled, and the communist régime was overturned. A national assembly, elected in January, 1920, contained an overwhelming reactionary majority. It chose a provisional government headed by Admiral Horthy, who ruthlessly cleared the country of communists.

The Treaty of Trianon, signed on June 4, 1920, followed in general the lines of the Treaty of St. Germain. Hungary was shorn of most of her territory; what remained was the solidly Hungarian region about Budapest.

Bulgaria

Peace with Bulgaria was signed on November 27, 1919, at Neuilly. Under the terms of the treaty she was required to pay an indemnity of $445,000,000; to cede her part of Thrace, which was given to Greece, but with assurances to Bulgaria of an economic outlet to the Ægean. Bulgaria's western frontier was slightly changed in favor of Jugo-Slavia.

The Turkish situation as usual baffled solution. A treaty, signed on August 10, 1920, at Sèvres, contained the following main divisions: Turkey in Europe (Thrace) except Constantinople was given to Greece; Constantinople was to remain under Turkish sovereignty, but was to be occupied by Allied troops; the region of the Straits (Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, Bosphorus) was to be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations, was to be guarded by Allied troops, and was to be free to all nations both in peace and in war; the Dodecanese islands were to be given to Italy;[1] Mesopotamia[2] and Palestine,[3] to be mandatories of England; Syria, to be a mandatory of France; Smyrna and its hinterland, to be under Greek administration for five years, after which a plébiscite was to be held to allow the inhabitants to decide between Turkey and Greece; Hedjaz was to be erected into an Arab kingdom under the control of England; Armenia was to be independent. All that was left to Turkey was Anatolia and Kurdistan. The Sultan at Constantinople was constrained to sign the Treaty of Sèvres. A powerful Nationalist party, led by Kemal Pasha, refused to accept the Treaty and established a rival government at Angora, in Asia Minor, which declared itself to be the real Government of Turkey. The Greeks, fearing the loss of their gains under the Treaty of Sèvres, declared war against the Angora Government, and in March, 1921, invaded Turkey.

Turkey

Succession States

An interesting and dramatic event was the resurrection of Poland. By the Treaty of June 28, 1919, the Allies recognized the Republic of Poland. Its territory was made up of the parts that had been acquired by Austria and Prussia as a result of the Partitions; and of ethnic Poland, that part of Russia's share in the Partitions which is solidly Polish in race. Later, more territory was added as a result of the plébiscite in Upper Silesia[1] and of conquest from Soviet Russia. Eastern Galicia, inhabited mainly by Ruthenians and Jews, was given to Poland as a mandate.

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[1] These islands, with the exception of Rhodes, were later given to Greece by Italy.

[2] Mesopotamia was erected into an Arab kingdom, called Irak, under the protection of England; on August 23, 1921, Emir Feisal was crowned King of Irak.

[3] On November 2, 1917, Mr. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, had issued a famous declaration, namely: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object." After the War the country was governed by an English governor, with the coöperation of the Zionist organization.

Poland

On October 18, 1918, Czecho-Slovakia adopted a declaration of independence and proclaimed herself a republic. Its territory consisted of what was formerly Bohemia in Austria and Slovakia in Hungary. The first President of the new republic was Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, a distinguished historian and publicist, who for many years had been an ardent champion of his people against Austrian domination.

Czecho-Slovakia

Russia, like Austria-Hungary, gave birth to succession states. From the Baltic provinces, two republics appeared in January, 1921, Latvia and Esthonia. Finland was recognized as an independent state in December, 1920; to her was added the Aland Islands, awarded by the League of Nations. In the Caucasus arose three republics, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, the last made up partly of Russian, partly of Turkish territory.

States carved from Russia

JUGO-SLAVIA AND ITALY

A large new state, Jugo-Slavia, appeared in the Balkans. It was made up of the consolidation of Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, parts of the Banat, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, annexed from Austria-Hungary. Crown Prince Alexander was made Prince Regent and later, in November, 1921, he became King.

Jugo-Slavia

Thus constituted, Jugo-Slavia was regarded by Italy with misgiving as a formidable rival in the Adriatic. To strengthen her hold on the Adriatic, Italy demanded the complete fulfillment of the secret Treaty of London,[1] her price for joining the Allies. The Peace Conference thereupon gave her Gorizia, Istria, Trentino, and southern Tyrol. The last is entirely German, but was given to Italy for strategic reasons, as it contains the famous Brenner Pass, the control of which safeguards Italy from invasion. When it came to giving the part of Dalmatia promised in the Treaty, objections were raised by the Jugo-Slavs on the ground that the region was Slavonic. The Italians thereupon demanded Fiume on the ground that it was Italian. The Conference, influenced by President Wilson, refused to grant Fiume to Italy. On September 13, 1919, Gabriele d' Annunzio, the famous Italian writer, headed an expedition of volunteers that seized Fiume. This sensational event threatened to be a cause of war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia.

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[1] On March 20, 1921, a plébiscite, held in Upper Silesia, resulted in a vote favorable to Germany. The matter was referred to the Council of the League of Nations. On October 20, 1921, the Council made the following award: Upper Silesia was divided, the part near Poland, which had a majority favorable to the latter, was given to Poland; the remainder was given to Germany.

Fiume

A compromise was finally agreed to by the two nations in the Treaty of Rapallo, on November 12, 1920. Fiume was created an independent city; the boundary of Istria was redrawn in favor of Jugo-Slavia; the city of Zara was to be under Italian control; the rest of Dalmatia was to go to Jugo-Slavia; the islands, Cherso, Lussin, and Unie, to Italy. By the provisions of this Treaty and by the possession of Saseno island in the strait of Otranto, Italy gained control of the Adriatic.

Rumania emerged from the War double in size. She acquired Bessarabia from Russia; and Transylvania, Bukovina, and part of the Banat from Austria-Hungary. Greece became one of the prominent heirs of the Sick Man of Europe. What she acquired from Turkey and Bulgaria has already been told.

Rumania and Greece

Soviet Russia

For three years after its establishment the Soviet Government had to struggle for its existence against counter-revolutionary armies. In the summer of 1918 an opposition government was established in Omsk, Siberia, headed by Admiral Kolchak. He invaded Russia from the east. At first he gained notable successes over the Communists, pushing rapidly toward Moscow; but the tide turned, and Kolchak was forced to retreat. His armies were routed, and, in November, 1919, the Communists captured Omsk. The Kolchak movement collapsed, and the Admiral himself was executed.

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[1] See p. 751.

Kolchak

The next attempt was in the summer of 1919 by Generals Denikin and Judenitch. The former gained control of the regions around the Black and Caspian Seas, and marched north, driving the Communist armies before him. Judenitch invaded Russia from Esthonia; and at one time was at the very doors of Petrograd. But the Communists under Trotsky turned furiously on the counter-revolutionists. In October, 1919, Judenitch was driven back; and by April, 1920, the Communists regained all ground lost to Denikin. The latter with a remnant of his armies fled the country.

Denikin and Judenitch

During the latter part of 1920 occurred the most formidable attempt to overturn the Soviet Government. In the spring of 1920 Poland, urged on by France, had declared war against Russia. The Communists invaded Poland, and by August, 1920, were at the doors of Warsaw. But the Poles, under French leadership, rallied and drove back the Russians, pursuing them into Russia. At the same time a powerful counter-revolutionary army under Baron Wrangel invaded Russia from Crimea. So successful was Wrangel at first that France, the inveterate enemy of Soviet Russia, recognized him. The Communists realized their perilous situation, and made haste to conclude an armistice with Poland in October, 1920.[1] The Russians under Trotsky now turned on Wrangel with all their forces. Wrangel's army was hurled back and destroyed. Its remnants, including the commander, fled for safety to the French

Wrangel

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[1] Peace was signed at Riga on March 18, 1921, according to which Russia surrendered to Poland 87,000 square miles of territory with a population of seven millions, only six per cent of whom are Polish.

fleet in the Black Sea. The success of the Communists was due largely to the support given them by the peasants, who were firmly convinced that their lands would be taken from them in case the counter-revolutionists triumphed.

Throughout the struggle between the Soviet Government and the counter-revolutionists, the Allies liberally aided the latter with supplies and money. But the triumph of the Soviets brought a change of policy on the part of the Allies, who realized that the Communists were too strong to be overthrown. In March, 1921, England signed a trade agreement with Russia, disclaiming at the same time that it was a *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Government.

The Irish Free State

Ever since the proclamation of an Irish Republic in January, 1919,[1] southern Ireland, though legally under the British Crown, was actually controlled by the Dail Eireann, the Irish national assembly, and Eamon de Valera, the President of the Republic. A bitter conflict began between the Crown forces and the Irish Republican Army. Burnings, assassinations, bombings, kidnapings, ambuscades, and other outrages were committed by both sides. Once more the English determined to solve the Irish problem in their own way. A fourth Home Rule Bill was passed by Parliament, and became law on December 23, 1920.[2] It provided for two parliaments, one with jurisdiction in Ulster and the other with jurisdiction in the rest of Ireland; and for a Council consisting of representatives from both parliaments, with power to establish a common government for all Ireland. Elections held in Ulster resulted in an overwhelming Unionist majority; and in May, 1921, the Ulster Parliament met in Belfast. In the elections for the Dublin Parliament, all the Sinn Fein candidates were returned unopposed. But this Parliament refused to meet, on the theory that the Dail was the only legitimate Irish national body.

As a solution of the Irish problem, the Act of 1920 was a failure. The civil strife fast became intolerable, hardly a day passing without reports of outrages. The British Government therefore decided on a new step. On the initiative of Premier Lloyd George, a conference was arranged between representatives of the Government and an Irish delegation headed by Eamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith. Meetings began on July 14, 1921; and on December 6, 1921, both sides signed a treaty of peace. This treaty established the Irish Free State with a dominion status like that of Canada.[1] The British navy was to control the coast of Ireland. Ireland was allowed to have her own army, its size to be in the same ratio to that of the British army as the population of Ireland is to that of Great Britain. Ulster was excluded from this arrangement, her government being that established by the Act of 1920. It was provided, however, that if, within one month, Ulster expressed a desire to join the rest of Ireland, she could do so; but if she desired to continue her separate government, her boundaries were to be redrawn by a commission representing the Irish Free State, Ulster, and the British Government. Both the Irish Free State and Ulster were forbidden to endow, directly or indirectly, any religion or to give preference or impose disabilities on account of religion.

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[1] See p. 756.

[2] This Act repealed the Home Rule Act of 1914; see p. 397.

During January, 1922, an historic event took place in Ireland. Dublin Castle, for so many centuries the stronghold of English domination in Ireland, was evacuated by the British army. Ireland at last was free, though not independent.

EGYPT

Following the World War the situation in Egypt became critical for England. The Nationalist movement spread in all directions, and the country seethed with discontent. Lord Milner was sent to study the situation; and in December, 1920, he submitted a notable report to the British Government. He recommended (1) that the protectorate[2] be abolished and Egypt be recognized as an independent state;

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[1] See p. 410.

[2] See p. 407.

(2) that supreme control of Egypt's foreign affairs be vested in Great Britain; (3) that a British army be stationed to maintain the security of British Imperial communications, especially the Suez Canal; and (4) that Great Britain guarantee the defense of Egypt against foreign aggression. The report was accepted; and, in March, 1922, the independence of Egypt was recognized by Great Britain.

PERSIA

Another nation to free herself from the incubus of foreign control was Persia. It will be recalled that Persia was virtually partitioned by England and Russia in 1907.[1] When the Soviet Government came into existence, it almost immediately renounced Russia's claims. On August 9, 1919, Great Britain forced Persia to sign a treaty that practically made the latter a protectorate of the former, though the territorial integrity of Persia was especially guaranteed. This caused great discontent among the Persian Nationalists, who, aided by communists from Russia, threatened England's position in the Middle East. In February, 1921, Persia openly and defiantly abrogated the Treaty of 1919, and England evacuated the country.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The first session of the Assembly of the League of Nations was opened, in Geneva, on November 15, 1920. It was a notable event, for it was the first Parliament of Man representing the first Federation of the World. There were present 241 delegates, representing forty-one nations. The United States, Germany, and Russia were the only important nations not represented.

At this session the following nations were admitted to membership in the League: Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxembourg, Costa Rica, and Albania. China was elected to the Council. The Permanent Court of International Justice, consisting of eleven judges and four deputy judges, was organized. During the second meeting of the Assembly

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[1] See p. 674.

(September 5–October 6, 1921), these judges were elected by the Assembly and the Council. Among those chosen was the distinguished American scholar and jurist, John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law in Columbia University.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

On the invitation of President Harding a notable gathering met in Washington on November 12, 1921, with the object of finding ways and means to limit armaments and to consider the Far Eastern Question. It was composed of representatives from the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal. Among the distinguished members were the American, Charles Evans Hughes, who was chosen chairman of the Conference; the Englishman, Arthur James Balfour; the Frenchman, Aristide Briand; the Italian, Senator Schanzer; the Japanese, Prince Tokugawa; and the Chinese, V. K. Wellington Koo.

Suffering yet hopeful humanity now turned its eyes toward Washington. The sessions of the Conference, which lasted to February 6, 1922, attracted world-wide attention. Its professed purpose was to avoid military and naval rivalries that threatened to assume even larger proportions than those that led to the World War.

The work of the Conference proceeded expeditiously, and much was accomplished in the three months. The most important decisions were:

(1) An agreement between the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy to reduce their capital ships to the ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75 respectively; a naval holiday was agreed upon for a period of ten years; the use of submarines as commerce destroyers was forbidden; the use of poison gas in warfare was forbidden.

(2) The United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan signed a "Four Power" Treaty in which they agreed to respect one another's rights in their insular possessions in the Pacific, the Islands of the Japanese homeland not

being included in this agreement; to confer in case a grave dispute arose over these possessions; and to act in common in case outside aggression menaced these possessions. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was abrogated.[1]

(3) The United States and Japan are to have equal rights in the use of cable and wireless facilities on the Island of Yap and on the other islands given as a mandate to Japan by the Treaty of Versailles. Former German cables in the Pacific were allocated; one was given to the United States, another to Japan, and a third to the Netherlands.

(4) All the nine signatory powers guaranteed the Open Door in China; the integrity of China was affirmed; foreign spheres of influence were surrendered; Japan agreed to evacuate Kiao-chau and Shantung; Great Britain, Wei-hai-wei; France, Kwang-chow-wan.

The Washington Conference, if its decisions are carried out faithfully, will mark a great step in international amity. It will solve two vexing questions, naval competition and peace in the Far East.

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[1] See pp. 670, 671.

APPENDIX

RULERS OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Austria-Hungary

- Leopold II, 1790–1792
- Francis I, 1792–1835
- Ferdinand I, 1835–1848
- Francis Joseph, 1848–1916
- Charles I, 1916–1918

Belgium

- Leopold I, 1831–1865
- Leopold II, 1865–1909
- Albert I, 1909–

Bulgaria

- Alexander, 1879–1886
- Boris, 1918–
- Ferdinand I, 1886–1918

Denmark

- Christian VII, 1766–1808
- Frederick VI, 1808–1839
- Christian VIII, 1839–1848
- Frederick VII, 1848–1863
- Christian IX, 1863–1906
- Frederick VIII, 1906–1912
- Christian X, 1912–

France

- Louis XVI, 1774–1792
- The First Republic, 1792–1804
  - The Convention, 1792–1795
  - The Directory, 1795–1799
  - The Consulate, 1799–1804
- The First Empire, 1804–1814
  - Napoleon I, 1804–1814
- Louis XVIII, 1814–1824
- Charles X, 1824–1830
- Louis Philippe, 1830–1848
- The Second Republic, 1848–1852
  - President Louis Napoleon, 1848–1852
- The Second Empire, 1852–1870
  - Napoleon III, 1852–1870
- The Third Republic, 1870–
  - Government of National Defense, 1870–1871
  - *Presidents:*—
    - Adolphe Thiers, 1871–1873
    - Marshal MacMahon, 1873–1879
    - Jules Grévy, 1879–1887
    - F. Sadi-Carnot, 1887–1894
    - Casimir-Perier, 1894–1895
    - Félix Faure, 1895–1899
    - Émile Loubet, 1899–1906
    - Armand Fallières, 1906–1913
    - Raymond Poincaré, 1913–1920
    - Paul Deschanel, 1920
    - Alexandre Millerand, 1920–

Germany

Kings of Prussia

- Frederick William II, 1786–1797
- Frederick William III, 1797–1840
- Frederick William IV, 1840–1861
- William I, 1861–1888

German Emperors

William I, 1871–1888
Frederick III, 1888
William II, 1888–1918

Presidents

Friedrich Ebert, 1919–

GREAT BRITAIN

George III, 1760–1820
George IV, 1820–1830
William IV, 1830–1837
Victoria, 1837–1901
Edward VII, 1901–1910
George V, 1910–

GREECE

Otto I, 1833–1862
George I, 1863–1913
Constantine I (rest.), 1920–
Constantine I, 1913–1917
Alexander I, 1917–1920

ITALY

Kings of Sardinia

Victor Amadeus III, 1773–1796
Charles Emanuel IV, 1796–1802
Victor Emanuel I, 1802–1821
Charles Felix, 1821–1831
Charles Albert, 1831–1849
Victor Emanuel II, 1849–1861

Kings of Italy

Victor Emanuel II, 1861–1878
Humbert, 1878–1900
Victor Emanuel III, 1900–

MONTENEGRO

Peter I, 1782–1830
Peter II, 1830–1851
Danilo I, 1851–1860
Nicholas I, 1860–1918

NETHERLANDS

William I, 1813–1840
William II, 1840–1849
William III, 1849–1890
Wilhelmina, 1890–

NORWAY

Same sovereigns as in Denmark till 1814
Christian Frederick, 1814
Same sovereigns as in Sweden, 1814–1905
Haakon VII, 1905–

PORTUGAL

Maria I, 1786–1816
John VI, 1816–1826
Pedro IV, 1826
(Pedro I of Brazil, 1826–1831)
Maria II, 1826–1828
Miguel, 1828–1834
Maria II (restored), 1834–1853
Pedro V, 1853–1861
Luiz I, 1861–1889
Carlos, 1889–1908
Manoel II, 1908–1910
Presidents: —
Manoel Arriaga, 1911–1915
Bernardino Machado, 1915–1918
Sidonio Paes, 1918
Antonio Almeida, 1919–

RUMANIA

Charles I, 1866–1914
Ferdinand I, 1914–

RUSSIA

Catherine II, 1762–1796
Paul, 1796–1801
Alexander I, 1801–1825
Nicholas I, 1825–1855
Alexander II, 1855–1881
Alexander III, 1881–1894
Nicholas II, 1894–1917
Provisional Government, 1917–

SERBIA

Karageorge, 1804–1813
Milosh, 1817–1839
Milan, 1839
Michael, 1839–1842
Alexander I, 1842–1859
Michael, 1860–1868
Milan, 1868–1889
Alexander, 1889–1903
Peter I, 1903–1921

SPAIN

Charles IV, 1788–1808
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–1813
Ferdinand VII, 1813–1833
Isabella II, 1833–1868
Revolutionary Government, 1868–1870
Amadeo, 1870–1873
The Republic, 1873–1875
Alphonso XII, 1875–1885
Alphonso XIII, 1886–

SWEDEN

Gustavus IV, 1792–1809
Charles XIII, 1809–1818
Charles XIV, 1818–1844
Oscar I, 1844–1859
Charles XV, 1859–1872
Oscar II, 1872–1907
Gustavus V, 1907–

TURKEY

Selim III, 1789–1807
Mustapha IV, 1807–1808
Mahmud II, 1808–1839
Abdul Medjid, 1839–1861
Abdul Aziz, 1861–1876
Murad V, 1876
Abdul Hamid II, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–1918
Mohammed VI, 1918–

POPES SINCE 1775

Pius VI, 1775–1799
Pius VII, 1800–1823
Leo XII, 1823–1829
Pius VIII, 1829–1830
Gregory XVI, 1830–1846
Pius IX, 1846–1878
Leo XIII, 1878–1903
Pius X, 1903–1914
Benedict XV, 1914–1922
Pius XI, 1922–

PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN SINCE 1783

William Pitt, 1783–1801
Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth), 1801–1804
William Pitt, 1804–1806
William, Lord Grenville, 1806–1807
Duke of Portland, 1807–1809
Spencer Percival, 1809–1812
Earl of Liverpool, 1812–1827
George Canning, 1827
Viscount Goderich, 1827
Duke of Wellington, 1827–1830
Earl Grey, 1830–1834
Viscount Melbourne, 1834
Sir Robert Peel, 1834–1835
Viscount Melbourne, 1835–1841
Sir Robert Peel, 1841–1846
Lord John Russell (Earl Russell), 1846–1852

Earl of Derby, 1852
Earl of Aberdeen, 1852–1855
Viscount Palmerston, 1855–1858
Earl of Derby, 1858–1859
Viscount Palmerston, 1859–1865
Earl Russell, 1865–1866
Earl of Derby, 1866–1868
William Ewart Gladstone, 1868–1874
Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), 1874–1880
William Ewart Gladstone, 1880–1885
Marquis of Salisbury, 1885–1886
William Ewart Gladstone, 1886
Marquis of Salisbury, 1886–1892
William Ewart Gladstone, 1892–1894
Earl of Rosebery, 1894–1895
Marquis of Salisbury, 1895–1902
Arthur James Balfour, 1902–1905
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905–1908
Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908–1916
David Lloyd George, 1916–

CHANCELLORS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Prince Bismarck, 1871–1890
Count von Caprivi, 1890–1894
Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, 1894–1900
Count von Bülow, 1900–1908
Doctor Theobold von Bethmann-Hollweg, 1908–1917
Doctor Georg Michaelis, 1917
Count von Hertling, 1917–1918
Prince Maximilian of Baden, 1918

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL

A GREAT number of books has been written in nearly all the European languages on every possible phase of modern and contemporary history. For this reason it is not easy to give a selected bibliography of the period; the embarrassment of riches is a burden to the bibliographer who wishes to give generously yet wisely. There are other, and more serious, difficulties. In the first place, the historians are too close to the men and movements that they describe, and their work consequently suffers from a lack of proper perspective that time alone can give. It is quite possible therefore that the historian of two centuries hence, writing of the nineteenth century, may minimize many things considered all-important by the historian of to-day, and he may emphasize many things that are lost sight of by the latter. In the second place, there is the ever-present danger of partisanship, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the writer, due to his national, racial, religious, or class bias. One can now be impartial toward Ramses II, Pericles, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and at times even toward Luther; but that is rarely possible toward Bismarck, Gladstone, Gambetta, William II, and Lloyd George. It is therefore incumbent upon the reader to be eternally upon his guard when reading modern and contemporary history, lest he be impregnated with the bias of the writer. In the following bibliography the point of view of the books listed will be indicated whenever possible.

Although the number of books treating of special countries, of special periods, and of special aspects is large, the number of general histories of the period is small. Chief among the latter are two large coöperative histories, one, English, the *Cambridge Modern History* edited by Lord Acton, and the other, French, *Histoire générale du IV^e siècle à nos jours*, edited by E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud. Both are informing, accurate, and thorough. The various chapters are written by different historians, some of them distinguished scholars in their special fields. But the quality of the work throughout is uneven; and there is a lack of unity almost inescapable from a scholarly enterprise of this character. Of the two, the *Cambridge Modern History* is more narrowly political than the *Histoire générale;* the latter contains many excellent chapters on social and cultural matters. The volumes in the *Cambridge Modern History* that deal with the nineteenth century are vol. x, "The Restoration" (1814–1848), vol. xi, "The Growth of Nationalities" (1848–1870), and vol. xii, "The Latest Age" (1870–1900). The volumes in the *Histoire générale* covering the same period are vol. x, *Les monarchies constitutionnelles* (1814–1848), vol. xi, *Révolution et Guerres nationales* (1848–1870), and vol. xii, *Le Monde contemporain* (1870–1900).

The following are the leading works on the period arranged in order of the date of publication: —

Wilhelm Müller, *Political History of Recent Times, 1816–1875, with Special Reference to Germany*, translated from the German by J. P. Peters (1882). This is now an old book; it is written in a journalistic style from the German point of view.

C. Bulle, *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, 1815–1885*, 4 vols. (1867–87), a careful and reliable work.

A. Debidour, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe, 1814–1914*, 4 vols. (1891–1917), a well-arranged, useful study of diplomatic history.

Sir Edward Hertslet, *The Map of Europe by Treaty since 1814*. 4 vols. (1875–91), an indispensable work for the study of the treaty arrangements of the European Powers from the Congress of Vienna to 1891. Contains the texts of important treaties.

C. M. Andrews, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe, 1815–1897*, 2 vols. (1896–98), a political and diplomatic history of the leading European countries, contains an excellent account of the Revolution of 1848.

C. Seignobos, *A Political History of Europe since 1814*, trans. from the French by S. M. Macvane (1900), detailed, scholarly, and liberal. It contains good chapters on religious matters and on the radical movements of the nineteenth century.

W. A. Phillips, *Modern Europe, 1815–1899* (ed. 1902), a brief political history, mainly of the period from 1815 to 1878; emphasizes the diplomatic side.

F. A. Kirkpatrick (editor), *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century* (1902), contains seven short lectures on various aspects of the subject by distinguished scholars.

A. Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (1894–1911), by far the best general history of the period, exhaustive, scholarly, and impartial; so far only six volumes have appeared, which carry the narrative to 1848.

J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (1907–1908); vol. II deals with the period from 1815 to 1907, and is a work in brief compass by two distinguished American historians. It is the first manual to appear in America in which the social, economic, and cultural factors are treated as well as the political and dynastic. The book is scholarly, well written, and progressive in its point of view.

J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, 2 vols. (1909), a series of well-selected extracts from the sources.

C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815* (1910), the best purely political history of its size (about 700 pages). It is reliable, clear, and liberal in its point of view. The narrative is carried down to 1910.

Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (1916); vol. II covers the period from 1815 to the outbreak of the World War. This is the newest, and on the whole the most satisfactory, work on the period. It is a new synthesis with the object of describing the main currents of nineteenth century European history with special emphasis on social and economic matters. It contains excellent chapters on social legislation and on the expansion of Europe.

CHAPTER II

RESTORATION AND REACTION

GENERAL

A. Debidour, *Histoire diplomatique*, vol. I; W. A. Phillips, *The Confederation of Europe* (1914), a good study of the alliances; G. B. Malleson, *Life of Prince Metternich* (1895); *Memoirs of Prince Clemens Metternich*, edited by Prince Richard Metternich, and trans. in part from the German by Mrs. Alexander Napier, 5 vols. (1881–82); C. de Mazade, *Un chancelier d'ancien régime: le règne diplomatique de M. de Metternich* (1889); *Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand*, trans. from the French by R. L. de Beaufort (1891–92); A. Sorel, *Essais d'histoire et de critique* (1884), contains estimates of the work

of Metternich and Talleyrand by a great historian of European diplomacy. For a study of the Restoration in the various countries, consult the bibliographies under these countries.

CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

GENERAL

E. P. Cheyney, *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England* (1901), chs. VII–VIII; G. T. Warner, *Landmarks in English Industrial History* (ed. 1912), chs. XV–XVII. There exists no general history of the Industrial Revolution, most of the books on this subject dealing with England. Paul Mantoux, *La révolution industrielle au XVIIIe siècle* (1906), the best single study of the subject; H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England* (ed. 1910), a popular work by a well-known authority; by the same author, *Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century* (1903), an account of economic changes in the important countries of Europe; Arnold Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England* (ed. 1913), a series of suggestive essays, first published in 1884, was the first to use the expression "Industrial Revolution"; W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times*, 3 vols. (ed. 1910–12), vol. III covers the period of the Industrial Revolution, a scholarly treatment by the leading English authority on the subject.

INVENTIONS

E. W. Bryn, *The Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century* (1900); R. H. Thurston, *History of the Growth of the Steam Engine* (ed. 1902), a good popular account; M. S. Woolman and E. B. McGowan, *Textiles: A Handbook for the Student and the Consumer* (1913), contains good illustrations; E. A. Pratt, *A History of Inland Transportation and Communication in England* (1912); R. S. Holland, *Historic Inventions;* A. G. S. Josephson, *A List of Books on the History of Industry and the Industrial Arts* (1915). Biographies of the inventors, Arkwright, Crompton, Stephenson, and the others may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism: a Study of Machine Production* (ed. 1917), a comprehensive study of the effects of modern industrialism; W. Sombart, *Der moderne Capitalismus*, 2 vols. (1902), a detailed account of the methods and results of capitalistic production; Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (1900), contains fine descriptions of Bentham and Mill; C. Gide and C. Rist, *A History of Economic Doctrines from the Time of the Physiocrats*, trans. from the French by R. Richards (1915), an excellent study of social and economic theories; Herbert Spencer, *Man versus the State* (1884), a plea for individualism by the great English philosopher and sociologist. Informing articles on every phase of modern industrialism may be found in R. H. I. Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, 3 vols. (1910–13), and in Johannes Conrad, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft*, 8 vols. (ed. 1909–11).

CHAPTERS IV–V

ENGLAND (1815–67)

GENERAL

There are several excellent histories of England which deal with political and parliamentary matters. W. N. Molesworth, *The History of England,* *1830–1874*, 3 vols. (1874), especially good for the Reform Bill of 1832; J. H. Rose, *The Rise and Growth of Democracy in Great Britain* (1898), an interesting account of reforms from the Liberal standpoint; J. F. Bright, *History of England*, 5 vols. (1884–1904), vols. IV and V deal with the nineteenth century from a fairly impartial standpoint; S. Walpole, *History of England since 1815*, 6 vols. (ed. 1902–05), goes down to 1858 and is continued in another work, *History of Twenty-five Years, 1856–1880*, 4 vols. (1904–08), scholarly works from the standpoint of a moderate Liberal; H. W. Paul, *A History of Modern England*, 5 vols. (1904–06), a vividly written parliamentary history from the standpoint of a Gladstonian Liberal, covers the period, 1845–95; S. Low and L. C. Sanders, *Political History of England, 1837–1901* (1907), a good volume for the purely parliamentary side; J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo* (1913); Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, *A Century of Empire, 1801–1900*, 3 vols. (1909–11), conservative in viewpoint; A. D. Innes, *History of England and the British Empire*, 4 vols. (1913–15), vol. IV covers the period 1802–1914; A. L. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain* (1914), a textbook which gives a good account of nineteenth-century Britain; G. Slater, *The Making of Modern England* (ed. 1915), a series of essays rather than a history, especially valuable for social and economic matters and for bibliography.

BIOGRAPHIES

There exist a number of notable biographies of prominent British statesmen. Chief among them are William Henry Lytton, *Life of Sir H. J. Temple, Viscount Palmerston*, 2 vols. (1871), continued by Evelyn Ashley in vol. III (1874); S. Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, 2 vols. (1879); John (Viscount) Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden* (1881); Edwin Hodder, *Life and Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury*, 3 vols. (1888); G. Wallas, *Life of Francis Place, 1771–1854* (1898); Earl of Rosebery, *Sir Robert Peel* (1899); H. de B. Gibbins, *English Social Reformers* (1902), contains sketches of Wesley, Wilberforce, Kingsley, and the factory reformers; E. I. Carlyle, *William Cobbett; A Study of his Life as Shown in his Writings* (1904); F. Podmore, *Life of Robert Owen*, 2 vols. (1906); Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols. (1876), one of the great biographies in the English language.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

The two best books on the Reform Bill of 1832 are E. and A. G. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, 2 vols. (1903), and J. R. M. Butler, *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill* (1914); A. V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (ed. 1914), a brilliant interpretation by a philosophic Conservative; Sir Thomas E. May, *Constitutional History of England since the Acces-*
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tise; D. J. Medley, *A Student's Manual of English Constitu-*
d. 1913), a detailed work of reference.

ngland (1909), vol. VI contains articles by different
of nineteenth century England; E. Jenks, *A Short*
1912), a brief reliable account, describing the re-
G. Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Law*
Country and the Condition of the People,
on the subject, goes down to 1834, and is
a third volume; on factory legislation,
A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legis-*

tation (ed. 1911); on conditions of factory life, F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, and the two novels, B. Disraeli, *Sybil, or the Two Nations*, and C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke;* on Chartism, Mark Hovell, the *Chartist Movement* (1918), the best study of the subject, and two good monographs, F. F. Rosenblatt, *The Chartist Movement in its Social and Economic Aspects* (1917), and P. W. Slosson, *The Decline of the Chartist Movement* (1917); on education, G. Balfour, *The Educational System of Great Britain and Ireland* (ed. 1903), a comprehensive and reliable account of British education during the nineteenth century.

Economic Conditions

Three indispensable works for the statistical study of the growth of English industry are M. G. Mulhall, *The Dictionary of Statistics* (ed. 1899), A. D. Webb, *The New Dictionary of Statistics* (1911), and G. R. Porter, *Progress of the Nation in its Various Social and Industrial Relations*, ed. by F. W. Hirst (1912); for good short descriptions of the development of English industry, see the two books of H. de B. Gibbins referred to under chapter III, G. H. Perris, *The Industrial History of Modern England* (1914), and A. L. Bowley, *A Short Account of England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century: its Economic and Social Results* (1905); the best study of the free-trade movement is B. H. Holland, *The Fall of Protection 1840–1850* (1913); consult also *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XI, ch. I.

Religious Reforms

B. Ward, *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 1803–1829*, 3 vols. (1912), and *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 1830–1850*, 2 vols. (1915), describe the removal of Catholic disabilities; H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity* (1913), vol. II describes removal of the disabilities of the Dissenters; F. W. Cornish, *A History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century* (1910), the best book on the subject; R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833–1845* (1900), and W. Ward, *The Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman, based on his private journals and correspondence*, 2 vols. (1912), describe the Oxford Movement; on Christian Socialism, C. W. Stubbs, *Charles Kingsley and the Christian Social Movement* (1900), A. V. Woodworth, *Christian Socialism in England* (1903), and H. de B. Gibbins, *English Social Reformers* (1902).

Literature

Cambridge History of English Literature (1917), vols. XII-XIV; G. E. B. Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature, 1780–1895* (ed. 1912); H. Walker, *The Literature of the Victorian Era* (1913); W. J. Long, *English Literature* (1909); R. P. Halleck, *New English Literature* (1913).

CHAPTERS VI, VIII

France (1815–70)

General

G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France* (1892), a suggestive interpretation of French politics from the French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian War; F. M. Anderson, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France*, 1789–1901 (ed. 1909), a useful collection of documents translated into English; Seignobos, chs. V-VI; C. M. Andrews, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, vol. I, chs. IV, VII, VIII, vol. II, chs. I, IV.

The Restoration

H. Houssaye, *1815*, 3 vols. (1896–1905), vol. III gives a vivid and correct account of the Bourbon reaction; P. Thureau-Dangin, *Le parti libéral sous la restauration* (ed. 1888), a study of the Liberal opposition to absolutism; R. Viviani, *La restauration, 1814–1830* (1906), vol. VII of *Histoire socialiste*, a series edited by the Socialist leader, Jean Jaurès, which presents the Socialist interpretation and is valuable for descriptions of the condition of the laboring classes of the period.

The July Monarchy

P. Thureau-Dangin, *Histoire de la monarchie de juillet*, 7 vols. (ed. 1888–92), the most exhaustive treatment of the period, written from a Catholic and conservative viewpoint; J. E. Fournière, *Le règne de Louis Philippe* (1906), vol. VIII of the *Histoire socialiste*, presents the Socialist viewpoint; Louis Blanc, *History of Ten Years, 1830–1840*, trans. from the French, 2 vols. (1844–45), an interesting account by the well-known radical; G. Weill, *La France sous la monarchie constitutionnelle, 1814–1848* (ed. 1912), a careful study of social as well as political conditions.

The Second Republic

P. de la Gorce, *Histoire de la seconde république française*, 2 vols. (ed. 1914), an account by a strong anti-republican, hostile to the Socialists; quite opposite in point of view is the book of G. Renard, *La république de 1848*, vol. IX, of the *Histoire socialiste*, sympathetic with the aims and ideals of the radicals; J. Tchernoff, *Associations et sociétés secrètes sous la deuxième république* (1905), an interesting study, based upon original documents, of the powerful secret societies that carried on the republican propaganda; G. Weill, *Histoire du parti républicain en France de 1814 à 1870* (1900), an impartial, scholarly work on French republicanism; J. A. R. Marriott (editor), *The French Revolution in 1848 in its Economic Aspects*, 2 vols. (1913), contains reprints of important social documents of the period.

The Second Empire

P. de la Gorce, *Histoire du second empire*, 7 vols. (ed. 1896–1905), the most thorough work on the subject, conservative in point of view; Albert Thomas, *Le second empire* (1907), vol. X of *Histoire socialiste*, an able presentation from the Socialist standpoint; Émile Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*, 17 vols. (1895–1914), a greatly detailed apology of the Liberal Empire by the Minister of Napoleon III; H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism* (1908), a series of popular lectures on the two Napoleons, suggestive and interesting.

Social and Economic

Émile Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870*, 2 vols. (1903–04), a masterly treatment of the social and economic development of France, is indispensable for the study of the subject; by the same author, *Histoire du commerce de la France*, 2 vols. (1911–12), vol. II covers the period 1789–1910, and *La population française*, 3 vols. (1889–92); G. Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France, 1852–1910* (ed. 1911), an able study of social radicalism in France.

Literature

L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, 8 vols. (1896–99), vols. VII-VIII deal with the nineteenth century; G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française* (ed. 1916); C. H. C. Wright, *A History of French Literature* (1912); G. Pellissier, *Le mouvement littéraire au XIX^e^ siècle* (ed. 1912); I. Babbitt, *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* (1912).

CHAPTERS VII, IX

Central Europe (1815–70)

General

Many volumes have been written on various aspects of the history of Germany during the nineteenth century. But most of them are disfigured by violent partisanship, the reflection of the passions aroused by the bitter struggles of Germany to achieve her unity. The most famous work is Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 5 vols. (1890–96), of which 3 vols. have been translated into English by E. and C. Paul, for a characterization of this work see p. 172; H. von Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire by William I*, 7 vols., trans. from the German by M. L. Perrin and G. Bradford (1890–98), another famous "national history," scholarly in method, but marked by a decided Prussian bias; by far the best treatment of Germany during the period 1815–70 is in the monumental work of A. Stern, *Geschichte Europas;* Dahlman-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (ed. 1906–07), an invaluable bibliography of German history, indispensable to students of the subject; E. F. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany* (ed. 1916), vol. II, chs. VIII–X; G. M. Priest, *Germany since 1740* (1915), chs. VIII–X.

Revolution of 1848

Andrews, vol. I, chs. VIII–X, contains excellent summary; H. Blum, *Die deutsche Revolution, 1848–1849* (1897), gives a good account; P. Matter, *La Prusse et la Révolution de 1848* (1903); K. Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848* (ed. 1904), trans. from the German, a socialistic interpretation by the great Socialist; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (1907), vol. I describes in an interesting way the experiences of a young revolutionist of '48; H. Friedjung, *Oesterreich von 1848 bis 1860*, 2 vols. (1908–12), by a well-known Austrian historian; C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, vol. II, chs. XII–XVI, describes the Hungarian uprising; L. Leger, *A History of Austria-Hungary from the Earliest Time to the Year 1889*, trans. from the French by B. Hill (1889), the standard history of Austria.

Bismarck

What will probably be the standard biography of Bismarck is Erich Marcks, *Bismarck, eine Biographie*, vol. I entitled, *Bismarcks Jugend, 1815–1848*, appeared in 1909; P. Matter, *Bismarck et son temps*, 3 vols. (ed. 1914), the best French biography and quite fair to the German statesman; M. Lenz, *Geschichte Bismarcks* (1902), by an authority on Bismarck; in English, J. W. Headlam, *Bismarck and the Founding of the German Empire* (1899), C. Lowe, *Prince Bismarck* (1899), and Munroe Smith, *Bismarck and German Unity* (ed. 1910), the last being brief but excellent; Bismarck's memoirs, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (1899), trans. from the German by A. J. Butler, like memoirs of other great statesmen is more useful to the general reader than to the historian; Moritz Busch, *Bismarck — Some Secret Pages of his History*, 2 vols. (1898), a diary kept by one of Bismarck's intimate political friends; Horst Kohl (editor), *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck*, 14 vols. (1892–94); H. Schoenfeld, *Bismarck's Speeches and Letters* (1905), a fairly good selection; *The Correspondence of William I and Bismarck, with Other Letters from and to Prince Bismarck*, 2 vols. trans. by J. A. Ford (1903).

Unification Movement

W. Oncken, *Das Zeitalter des Kaisers Wilhelm*, 2 vols. (1890–92), by a scholarly German historian; H. Friedjung, *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft*

in Deutschland, 1859–1866, 2 vols. (1897–98), the best treatment from the Austrian point of view; E. Denis, *La fondation de l'empire allemand, 1852–1871* (1906), by a French authority, and on the whole the best book on the subject; *Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst*, 2 vols., trans. from the German by G. W. Chrystal (1906), tells of the relations between North and South Germany during the critical period; original sources for the period 1866-71 are to be found in L. Hahn (editor), *Zwei Jahre preussisch-deutscher Politik, 1866–1867* (1868), and *Der Krieg Deutschlands gegen Frankreich . . . die deutsche Politik 1867 bis 1871* (1871).

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900* (1905), vol. I, chs. I–IV; Lord Acton, *Historical Essays and Studies* (1907), chs. VII–VIII; Jean Jaurès, *La guerre franco-allemande, 1870–1871* (1908), vol. XI of *Histoire socialiste;* E. Palat, *Les origines de la guerre de 1870: la candidature Hohenzollern, 1868–1870* (1912), a study in the diplomatic origins of the war; a good brief account is A. Chuquet, *La guerre de 1870–1871* (1895).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

The best books on German economic conditions are Werner Sombart, *Der moderne Capitalismus*, 2 vols. (1902), and by the same author, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1903); a good description of the industrialization of Germany can be found in W. Oncken, *Das Zeitalter des Kaisers Wilhelm*, vol. I, book I; W. H. Dawson, *Protection in Germany; a History of German Fiscal Policy during the Nineteenth Century* (1904).

CULTURAL

T. Ziegler, *Die Geistigen und Sozialen Strömungen Deutschlands in neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (ed. 1911); on the German historians, see A. Guilland, *Modern Germany and her Historians*, trans. from the French (1915), and G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913), chs. I–VIII; F. Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1909); Kuno Francke, *A History of German Literature as determined by Social Forces* (ed. 1901); J. F. Coar, *Studies in German Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (1903).

CHAPTER X

UNION AND DEMOCRACY IN ITALY

GENERAL

The Italian national movement attracted considerable attention and sympathy in England and America and led to the publication of excellent histories of the movement in English. By far the best general account is Bolton King, *A History of Italian Unity, 1814–1871*, 2 vols. (1899); for a good narrative of the early history of the movement see W. R. Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence*, 2 vols. (1893); Evelyn (Countess) Martinengo-Cesaresco, *The Liberation of Italy, 1815–1870* (1894), a sympathetic narrative; Jessie White Mario, *The Birth of Modern Italy*, edited by the Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese (1909), consists of essays warmly appreciative of Mazzini and Garibaldi but hostile to Cavour; C. Tivaroni, *Storia critica del risorgimento d'Italia*, 9 vols. (1888–97), an exhaustive study by an Italian historian; R. de Cesare, *The Last Days of Papal Rome, 1850–1870*, abridged and translated from the Italian by Helen Zimmern (1909), anticlerical in tone; R. S. Holland, *Builders of United Italy* (1908), contains short sketches of the heroes of the Risorgimento.

Cavour

The standard biography of Cavour in any language is that by an American scholar, W. R. Thayer, *The Life and Times of Cavour*, 2 vols. (1911); see also his interesting comparison of Cavour with Bismarck in *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1909; another American scholar, Andrew D. White, wrote a penetrating study of Cavour in *Atlantic Monthly*, March and April, 1907; Evelyn (Countess) Martinengo-Cesaresco, *Cavour* (1898), a brilliantly written little biography by a close student of Italian unification; F. X. Kraus, *Cavour, die Erhebung Italiens im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1902), a good popular biography from the Catholic viewpoint; P. Orsi, *Cavour and the Making of Modern Italy, 1810–1861* (1914); for letters of Cavour, see N. Bianchi (editor), *La politique du comte Camille de Cavour de 1852 à 1861, lettres inédites* (1885).

Garibaldi

The standard books on Garibaldi are those by an English scholar, G. M. Trevelyan, whose work is characterized by thorough scholarship and fine literary style, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (1907), *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), and *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911).

Mazzini

Unfortunately there exists no biography of Mazzini as good as those of Cavour and Garibaldi. Bolton King, *Joseph Mazzini* (1902), is the best; good sketches are to be found in R. S. Holland, *Builders of United Italy*, and in W. R. Thayer, *Italica;* Mazzini's *Duties of Man* and *Essays* give an excellent idea of his ideals and temperament.

Literature

R. Garnett, *History of Italian Literature* (1898); H. Hauvette, *Littérature italienne* (1906); L. Collison-Morley, *Modern Italian Literature* (1912).

CHAPTER XI

The Third French Republic

General

J. C. Bracq, *France under the Republic* (1910), a good popular account of the problems of the Republic by an ardent Republican; W. L. George, *France in the Twentieth Century* (1909), a series of well-written essays by an observing journalist; G. G. Berry, *France since Waterloo* (1909); J. E. C. Bodley, *France* (ed. 1899), a well-known but over-estimated work by an Englishman who is hostile to the parliamentary system in France; Gabriel Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, 4 vols., trans. from the French by J. C. Tarver, a brilliant narrative of the years 1870–82 by a distinguished French statesman, contains splendid descriptions of Gambetta and Thiers, translation poor; J. Labusquière, *La troisième république, 1871–1900* (1909), vol. XII of *Histoire socialiste;* E. Zevort, *Histoire de la troisième république*, 4 vols. (1898–1901) goes to 1894; G. Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France, 1852–1910* (ed. 1911), the best short study of the social problems of the period; A. Rambaud, *Jules Ferry* (1903), a biography of an important Republican statesman; no adequate life of Gambetta has as yet appeared.

Government and Parties

F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe* (1913), chs. XV–XVIII, the best brief study of the subject in English; A. L. Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany* (1915); Raymond Poincaré, *How France Is Governed*, trans. from the French (1914), a simple, clear account by the President of France; L. Jacques, *Les partis politiques sous la troisième république:*

doctrine et programme, organisation et tactique d'après les derniers congrès (1913), a detailed description of the various political parties; W. Hasbach, *Die Moderne Democratie* (1912); on the question of electoral reform see the excellent article by J. W. Garner, "Electoral Reform in France" (*American Political Science Review*, November, 1913); J. T. Shotwell, "The Political Capacity of the French" (*Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1909), a sympathetic and illuminating study of French political ideals; J. Salwyn Schapiro, "The Drift in French Politics" (*American Political Science Review*, August, 1913).

COMMUNE

E. Lepelletier, *Histoire de la commune de 1871*, 2 vols. (1911-12), the best treatment of a much-disputed subject; M. du Camp, *Les convulsions de Paris*, 4 vols. (ed. 1881), hostile to the Commune; sympathetic are L. Dubreuilh, *La commune, 1871* (1908), in vol. XI of *Histoire socialiste*, and P. O. Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, trans. from the French by Eleanor M. Aveling (ed. 1898).

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

J. Reinach, *Histoire de l'affaire Dreyfus*, 7 vols. (1898-1911), a detailed work by a well-known Dreyfusard; see article "Dreyfus" in Jewish Encyclopedia; Paul Desachy, *Bibliographie de l'affaire Dreyfus* (1905); Dreyfus himself wrote two books, both translated into English, *Lettres d'un innocent* (1898) and *Cinq années de ma vie* (1901).

THE CHURCH QUESTION

A. Debidour, *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France, 1789-1870* (1898) and *L'Église catholique et l'État sous la troisième République*, 2 vols. (1909), are masterly studies of the Catholic Church in France since the Revolution; E. Spuller, *L'évolution politique et sociale de l'église* (1893), a short but good account; A. Galton, *Church and State in France, 1300-1907* (1907), anti-clerical in tone; excellent short studies of the Separation Law are P. Sabatier, *Disestablishment in France* (1906) and O. Guerlac, "Church and State in France" (*Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1908); Aristide Briand, *La séparation des églises et de l'état* (1905), an official report of the Law made to the Chamber by the author of the Law; see also his *La séparation — Discussion de la loi* (1908); on the Catholic side, E. Lecannet, *L'église de France sous la troisième république*, 2 vols. (1907-10), Comte Albert de Mun, *Contra la Séparation* (1906), and especially the article "Concordat" in the Catholic Encyclopedia; G. Odin and E. Remaud, *La loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des églises et de l'état* (1906) contains text of the Law.

COLONIAL EXPANSION

For brief survey see *Histoire générale*, vol. XII, ch. XXII; Émile Levasseur, *La France et ses colonies, géographie et statistique*, 3 vols. (1890-93); M. Dubois and A. Terrier, *Un siècle d'expansion coloniale, 1800-1900* (ed. 1902); A. Gaisman, *L'œuvre de la France au Tonkin* (1906); R. Devereux, *Aspects of Algeria: Historical, Political, Colonial* (1912); V. Piquet, *La colonisation française dans l'Afrique du nord: Algérie — Tunisie — Maroc* (1912).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

The monumental works of Levasseur have already been referred to under chapters VI, VIII; see also his *Questions ouvrières et industrielles en France sous la troisième république* (1907); for a brief statement of economic conditions under the Third Republic, see *Histoire générale*, vol. XII, ch. XXIII and F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1917), pp. 187-

200, 212–18, 280–95, 396–405, 458–70, 623–29; E. Théry, *Les Progrès économiques de la France* (1909); A. de Lavergne and L. Paul Henry, *La Richesse de la France* (1908); on the land problem, J. Dumas, "Present State of the Land System in France" (*Economic Journal*, March, 1909) and Compère-Morel, *La Question agraire et le Socialisme en France* (1912); for social legislation, P. Pic, *Traité élémentaire de législation industrielle: les lois ouvrières* (ed. 1912) and *Les assurances sociales en France et à l'étranger* (1913).

CULTURAL

A. L. Guérard, *French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century* (1914), a series of excellent essays on such topics as education, religion, labor, and literature; by the same author, *French Prophets of Yesterday; a study of religious thought under the Second Empire* (1913), good essays on Sainte-Beuve, Taine, and Rénan; W. C. Brownell, *French Traits* (ed. 1902), a penetrating study of French life and manners by a distinguished American literary critic; Barrett Wendell, *The France of To-Day* (1907), an interesting discussion of French culture and ideals.

For references on socialism and syndicalism in France see bibliography under chapter XXIV; for those on foreign policies, chapter XXIX; consult also bibliography under chapters VI, VIII.

CHAPTER XII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

GENERAL

There are many excellent books on the various aspects of the German Empire. The best study of the German Empire, especially on its social and economic aspects, is W. H. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (ed. 1919); a very good general treatment, R. H. Fife, *The German Empire Between Two Wars* (1916); B. von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, trans. from the German by Marie A. Lewenz (1914), a well-written defense of Germany's domestic and foreign policies by the distinguished Chancellor; J. Ellis Barker, *Modern Germany, her Political and Economic Problems, her Foreign and Domestic Policy, her Ambitions, and the Causes of her Success* (ed. 1915), title sufficiently describes the book, whose object is to persuade England to adopt a protective tariff against Germany, contains good chapters on German industrial conditions; H. Lichtenberger, *Germany and its Evolution in Modern Times*, trans. from the French by A. M. Ludovici (1913), emphasizes the religious and educational aspects; Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte der jüngsten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (1912–13), a notable work by a distinguished German historian; R. M. Berry, *Germany and the Germans* (1910), an excellent handbook; for impressionistic studies see Price Collier, *Germany and the Germans* (1913), G. H. Perris, *Germany and the German Emperor* (1912), and W. von Schierbrand, *Germany* (1902); C. Gauss, *The German Emperor as Shown in his Public Utterances* (1915).

GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES

The great authority on the German constitution is Paul Laband, whose books, *Das Staatsrecht des deutschen Reiches*, 4 vols. (ed. 1901), and *Deutsches Reichsstaatsrecht* (ed. 1912), are the standard works on the subject; Fritz-Konrad Krüger, *Government and Politics of the German Empire* (1915), an excellent handbook; for résumés consult A. L. Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany* and F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, chs. IX–XIV; B. E. Howard, *The German Empire* (1906), a highly detailed study of the Imperial structure; a similar work for Prussia is H. G. James, *Principles of Prussian Administration* (1913); for an interpretation, W. W. Willoughby, "The Prussian Theory of Monarchy" (*American Political Science Review*, November, 1917); F. Salomon, *Die deutschen Parteiprogramme*, 2 vols. (ed. 1912), contains the platforms of the German parties from 1845 to 1912; O. Stillich, *Die politschen Parteien in Deutschland: eine wissenschaftliche Darlegung ihrer Grundsätze und ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, a series of thorough studies of German political parties of which only two volumes have so far appeared, vol. I, *Die Konservativen* (1908), and vol. II, *Der Liberalismus* (1911).

Social and Economic

The great authority on social and economic conditions in the German Empire is W. H. Dawson, whose books are, *Bismarck and State Socialism* (1891), *Protection in Germany: A History of German Fiscal Policy during the Nineteenth Century* (1904), *The German Workman: A Study in National Efficiency* (1906), *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (ed. 1919), *Social Insurance in Germany, 1883–1911: its History, Operation, Results, and a Comparison with the (British) National Insurance Act, 1911* (1912), and *Municipal Life and Government in Germany* (1914); for brief treatment, F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1917), pp. 218–36, 296–314, 405–13, 450–58, 568–600; good popular descriptions of German social legislation, E. Roberts, *Monarchical Socialism in Germany* (1913) and F. C. Howe, *Socialized Germany* (1915); U.S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin, vol. XXIII, contains a translation by H. J. Harris of the social insurance code issued in 1911; A. Ashley, *The Social Policy of Bismarck* (1912); Ch. Andler, *Les Origines du Socialisme d'état en Allemagne* (ed. 1911), a study of the theoretical bases of state socialism; for industrial development, see books of Sombart under chapters VII, IX; two authoritative German studies are Karl Helfferich, *Germany's Economic Progress and National Wealth, 1888–1913*, and *Germany's Economic Forces, presented by the Dresdener Bank, Berlin* (1913); E. D. Howard, *The Cause and Extent of the Recent Industrial Progress of Germany* (1907), an excellent summary; A. Shadwell, *Industrial Efficiency: a Comparative Study of Industrial Life in England, Germany, and America* (1913); T. Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915), a penetrating and original study of the union in Germany of the dynastic state with modern industrialism.

Colonial Expansion

The most important book on the relations between business and expansion is *Handels-und Machtpolitik* (1900), a series of essays in favor of expansion by German economists, edited by Gustav Schmoller; A. Zimmerman, *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik* (1914); K. Hassert, *Deutschlands Kolonien: Erwebungs und Entwickelungs geschichte, landes und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung unserer Schutzgebiete* (ed. 1910); Evans Lewin, *The Germans and Africa, their aims on the Dark Continent and how they acquired their African colonies* (1915).

Special Topics

On the *Kulturkampf:* G. Goyau, *Bismarck et l'église: le Culturkampf, 1870–1887*, 4 vols. (1911–13), for the clerical side; and L. Hahn, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes in Preussen* (1881), for the anti-clerical side. On Alsace-Lorraine: C. D. Hazen, *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule* (1917), the best study from the French viewpoint; B. Weill, *Elsass-Lothringen und der Krieg* (1914), the best from the German viewpoint. On foreign relations, see references in the bibliography under chapter XXIX; on socialism, under chapter XXIV. Consult also bibliography under chapters VI, IX.

CULTURE

W. P. Paterson (editor), *German Culture: the Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art, and Life* (1915), a series of essays by English writers; Georges Bourdon, *The German Enigma*, trans. from the French by B. Marshall (1914), a French interpretation of German character, very interesting; John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics* (1915), a highly original interpretation of German ideals; G. S. Fullerton, *Germany of To-Day* (1915); E. Belfort Bax, *German Culture Past and Present* (1915).

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GREAT BRITAIN (1867–1914)

GENERAL

There are no general histories of Great Britain dealing with the period 1867–1914. For general histories of Great Britain during the nineteenth century, see bibliography under chapters IV, V.

BIOGRAPHIES

John (Viscount) Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, 3 vols. in 2 (ed. 1911), the standard biography of the Liberal leader by his distinguished disciple; W. F. Monypenny (continued by G. E. Buckle), *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, 6 vols. (1910–20), the standard biography of the Conservative leader; Sir Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria: a Biography* (1903); G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (1913), a notable biography distinguished for sound scholarship and high literary merit; C. W. Boyd (editor), *Speeches of Joseph Chamberlain*, 2 vols. (1914); John (Viscount) Morley, *Recollections* (1917), being the memoirs of the famous historian, essayist, and statesman.

GOVERNMENT

A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, 2 vols. (ed. 1912), is the best work on the subject, treats fully all aspects of the British system, local, national, and imperial; Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (ed. 1911), a famous interpretation of British political customs, now old, but still worth reading; standard treatises are A. V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Constitution* (ed. 1915), Sir W. Anson, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 3 vols. (ed. 1907–09), Sidney Low, *The Governance of England* (ed. 1914), and Leonard Courtney, *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom* (1901); good brief treatments, T. F. Moran, *The Theory and Practice of the English Government* (1903) and F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, chs. I–VIII; Sir Courtney Ilbert, *Parliament, its History, Constitution, and Practice* (1911), an excellent little handbook; on the Parliament Act of 1911 see the articles of A. L. P. Dennis in the *American Political Science Review*, May and August, 1912; for constitutional histories, see references to the bibliography under chapters IV, V.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Illuminating descriptions of the English political parties are to be found in Lowell's work; Lord Hugh Cecil, *Conservatism* (1912), a popular account by a Conservative; L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (1911), a popular account by a Liberal; A. W. Humphrey, *A History of Labour Representation* (1912), a popular account by a Laborite; H. Belloc and C. Chesterton, *The Party System* (1911), a bitter attack on the methods of the two English parties; M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, 2 vols. (1902), vol. I, England, vol. II, America, trans. from the French by F. Clarke

a famous work by a Russian scholar, which endeavors to show the inadequacy of political parties to express democracy; J. A. Hobson, *The Crisis of Liberalism* (1909), by a well-known economist who sympathizes with the radical wing of the Liberal Party.

Social and Industrial

For a brief account of social and industrial England, F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1917), chs. XII, XVII, XIX, and pp. 601–23; Charles Booth (editor), *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 17 vols. (1892–1903), an "encyclopedia of poverty," consisting of detailed studies of the social and economic conditions of the London poor; B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (ed. 1902), a similar study though on a smaller scale for the city of York; L. G. Chiozza-Money, *Riches and Poverty* (1911), a popular but reliable study of the distribution of wealth in the United Kingdom; P. Alden, *Democratic England* (1912), a series of essays on present-day social problems by a Liberal; W. S. Churchill, *Liberalism and the Social Problem* (1909), a collection of speeches favoring radical reforms by the Liberal leader; Carlton Hayes, *British Social Politics* (1913), a well-selected collection of extracts from speeches delivered in Parliament on the recent social legislation, as well as a reprint of these laws; E. Guyot, *Le socialisme et l'évolution de l'Angleterre contemporaine, 1880–1911* (1913), an excellent study of British radical politics; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (ed. 1920) and *Industrial Democracy* (1911), are the best studies of the history and ideals of the trade unions; C. M. Lloyd, *Trade Unionism* (1915), a brief account, good for recent events; M. F. Robinson, *The Spirit of Association, being some account of the Gilds, Friendly Societies, Coöperative Movement, and Trade Unions of Great Britain* (1913); B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legislation* (ed. 1911); on social insurance, L. G. Chiozza-Money, *Insurance against Poverty* (1912), A. S. C. Carr, W. H. Garnett, and J. H. Taylor, *National Insurance* (ed. 1913), and an article in *Survey*, March 28, 1914; on industrial conditions, A. Shadwell, *Industrial Efficiency; a Comparative Study of Industrial Life in England, Germany, and America* (1913), W. J. Ashley, *British Industries* (ed. 1907), W. Cunningham, *The Case against Free Trade* (1911), and Robert Giffen, *Economic Inquiries and Studies*, 2 vols. (1904); for further references to social and economic conditions in England, see bibliography under chapters IV, V; on educational progress, G. Balfour, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (ed. 1903).

The Land Question

The best study of the land question in Great Britain is a Parliamentary report entitled *The Land: the Report of the Land Enquiry Committee*, vol. I, Rural (1913), vol. II, Urban (1914); for a brief account, F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1917), chs. VI, VIII; R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present* (1912), by a reorganized authority on the subject, conservative in tendency; Jesse Collings, *Land Reform* (1906), a plea for peasant proprietorship; by the same author, *The Colonization of Rural Britain: a Complete Scheme for the Regeneration of British Rural Life*, 2 vols. (1914); J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer, 1760–1832* (1911), the best study of the enclosure movement; G. Slater, *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of the Common Fields* (1907), another good study of the same subject; H. Harben, *The Rural Problem* (1914), an excellent short study; B. S. Rowntree, *How the Labourer Lives: A Study of the Rural Labour Problem* (1913); H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, 2 vols. (1906); C. Turnor, *Land Problems and National Welfare* (1911); G. Cadbury and T. Bryan, *The Land and the Landless* (1908).

For additional references see bibliography under chapters IV, V; for references on English socialism see bibliography under chapter XXIV; for those on Woman Suffrage, chapter XXV; for those on foreign policies, chapter XXIX.

CHAPTER XIV

THE IRISH QUESTION

Nearly all the books written on Ireland are partisan, often bitterly so. For Ireland in the eighteenth century consult the famous work of W. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, 5 vols. (ed. 1893); L. Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, trans. from the French (1908), the best work in Ireland in the nineteenth century, emphasizes the social and cultural aspects; *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XII, ch. IV; C. Johnston and C. Spencer, *Ireland's Story* (1905), a brief general history; Alice S. Green, *Irish Nationality* (1911), a handy volume, sympathetic with the Irish; W. P. O'Brien, *Great Famine in Ireland and a Retrospect of the Fifty Years 1845–1895* (1896), M. Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, or the Story of the Land League Revolution* (1904), R. B. O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*, 2 vols. in 1 (1898), and E. Childers, *The Frame-Work of Home Rule* (1911) are sympathetic with the Home Rule movement; opposed to it, Sir G. Baden-Powell, *Truth about Home Rule, Papers on the Irish Question* (1888) and S. Rosenbaum (editor), *Against Home Rule: the Case for the Union* (1912); on Gladstone and Home Rule, see Morley's *Life* and Lord Eversley, *Gladstone and Ireland: The Irish Policy of Parliament from 1850 to 1894* (1912); Sir Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (1904), an excellent description of the coöperative movement in Ireland by its promoter; G. E. Russell, *Coöperation and Nationality* (1913), an interpretation of the coöperative movement by the Irish poet-economist Æ; James Connolly, *Labour in Ireland* (1917), by the Irish revolutionist of 1917; E. Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years, 1866–1916* (1917), good description of the condition of the peasants.

CHAPTER XV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GENERAL

W. H. Woodward, *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire 1500–1911* (ed. 1912) and H. E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (1897) are the standard brief histories of the Empire; C. P. Lucas, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 6 vols. in 12 (ed. 1916), the standard authority; A. J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth (editors), *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 6 vols. (1914), mainly descriptive; L. Curtis (editor), *The Commonwealth of Nations* (1916); Sir Charles Lucas, *The British Empire* (1915); A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England* (ed. 1912), vol. II, chs. LIV–LVIII.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

W. J. Ashley (editor), *British Dominions: Their Present Commercial and Industrial Conditions* (1911); C. J. Fuchs, *The Trade Policy of Great Britain and her Colonies since 1860*, trans. from the German by C. Archibald (1905); G. Drage, *The Imperial Organization of Trade* (1911).

COLONIAL PROBLEMS

Sir Charles Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain* (1890) and *The British Empire* (1899), two books by a Liberal statesman who made the Empire his special study; R. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (1905); F. J. C.

Hearnshaw (editor), *King's College Lectures on Colonial Problems* (1913) Sir Charles Bruce, *The Broad Stone of Empire: Problems of Crown Colony Administration* (1910); H. E. Egerton, *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (1911); special works on Imperial Federation, A. B. Keith, *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (1916), R. Jebb, *The Imperial Conference*, 2 vols. (1911) and *The Britannic Question: a Survey of Alternatives* (1913), P. and A. Hurd, *The New Empire Partnership* (1915), T. H. Boggs, "The British Empire and Closer Union" (*American Political Science Review*, November, 1916), and G. B. Adams, "British Imperial Federation After the War" (*Yale Review*, July, 1916).

INDIA

Sir T. W. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India* (1912), a good handy volume; *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XI, ch. XXVI, vol. XII, ch. XVI; Sir J. B. Fuller, *The Empire of India* (1913); D. C. Boulger, *India in the Nineteenth Century* (1901); *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 26 vols. (ed. 1907–09), a survey of Indian conditions written by specialists; L. Fraser, *India under Curzon and After* (1911); the standard work on the Mutiny is Sir J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War, 1857–1858*, completed by G. B. Malleson, 3 vols. (1879–80); on government, Sir Courtney Ilbert, *The Government of India* (ed. 1915) and Panchanandas Mukherji (editor), *Indian Constitutional Documents, 1773–1915* (1915); on economic conditions, Sir Theodore Morison, *The Economic Transition in India* (1911), Romesh Chunder Dutt, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule, from the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837* (ed. 1906), and W. Digby, "*Prosperous*" *British India: a Revelation from Official Records* (1901), the last being a severe criticism of British rule on the economic side; the ablest opponent of British rule is the Indian nationalist, Lajpat Rai, whose books, *Young India, an Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within* (1916) and *England's Debt to India: a Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India* (1917), are severe indictments of the British occupation.

EGYPT

Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, 2 vols. (1908), the standard work on the history and problems of Egypt by the famous English administrator who ruled Egypt for almost a generation; E. Dicey, *Story of the Khedivate* (1902), a good popular account; G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (ed. 1898), a vivid description by the famous war correspondent; W. S. Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (1907); A. E. P. B. Weigall, *A History of Events in Egypt from 1798 to 1914* (1915); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XII, ch. XV.

CANADA

Good short histories, Sir J. G. Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule, 1760–1900* (1900) and C. G. D. Roberts, *History of Canada* (1897); on government, H. E. Egerton and W. L. Grant, *Canadian Constitutional Development, shown by Selected Speeches and Despatches* (1907), F. Bradshaw, *Self-Government in Canada and How it was Achieved: the Story of Lord Durham's Report* (1903), and Sir C. P. Lucas (editor), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 3 vols. (1912); E. S. Montague and B. Herbert, *Canada and the Empire: an Examination of Trade Preferences* (1904).

AUSTRALASIA

E. Jenks, *History of the Australasian Colonies* (1895) and J. D. Rogers, *Australasia* (1907) are excellent studies; B. R. Wise, *The Making of the*

Australian Commonwealth, 1889–1900: A Stage in the Growth of the Empire (1913); H. G. Turner, *The First Decade of the Australian Commonwealth: a Chronicle of Contemporary Politics, 1901–1910* (1911); interesting studies of the social experiments in Australia and New Zealand, H. D. Lloyd, *Newest England* (1900), F. Parsons, *The Story of New Zealand* (1904), and V. S. Clark, *The Labor Movement in Australasia: a Study in Social Democracy* (1906).

SOUTH AFRICA

Good brief accounts, G. M. Theal, *South Africa* (1900) and F. R. Cana, *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union* (1909); James (Viscount) Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1897), a study of problems and conditions prior to the Boer War; on the Boer War, Sir A. Conan Doyle, *The War in South Africa, its Cause and Conduct* (1902), pro-British, and J. A. Hobson, *War in South Africa, its Cause and its Effects* (1900), a severe criticism of the war by an English Liberal; *The Memoirs of Paul Kruger, Four Times President of the South African Republic, Told by Himself*, edited by A. Schowalter and trans. by A. T. de Mattos (1902); *Briton and Boer: Both sides of the South African Question* (1900), a collection of essays by eminent writers; on the Union of South Africa, R. H. Brand, *The Union of South Africa* (1909) and W. B. Worsfold, *The Union of South Africa* (1912).

CHAPTER XVI

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY SINCE 1850

GENERAL

L. Leger, *A History of Austria-Hungary from the Earliest Time to the Year 1889*, trans. from the French by B. Hill (1889), an old but good history; H. W. Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (ed. 1914), an interesting discussion of its problems by a capable journalist; G. Drage, *Austria-Hungary* (1909), contains important information regarding political and economic matters.

GOVERNMENT

F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, chs. XXIV–XXVII; A. L. Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* (1897), vol. II, chs. VIII–X; A. de Bertha, *La constitution hongroise* (1898).

HUNGARY

C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, vol. II (1908), chs. XVII–XX; A. de Bertha, *La Hongrie Moderne, 1849–1901* (1901).

DUALISM

L. Eisenmann, *Le Compromis austro-hongrois de 1867, étude sur le dualisme* (1904), the best study of the subject, contains good historical survey; R. Sieghart, *Zolltrennung und Zolleinheit: die Geschichte der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Zwischenzoll-Linie* (1915), a thorough study of the economic relations between Austria and Hungary.

RACE QUESTIONS

The best authority in English on the race problems in Southeastern Europe is R. W. Seton-Watson, whose books, *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908), *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1911), and *German, Slav, and Magyar* (1916), are well written and reliable, sympathetic with the Slavs; B. Auerbach, *Les races et les nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie* (1898), a careful study of the racial composition of the Empire; E. Denis,

La Bohême depuis la Montagne-Blanche, 2 vols. (1903), vol. II gives history of Bohemia during the nineteenth century.

For references to the foreign policies of Austria-Hungary, see bibliography under chapter XXIX; and for those to the Eastern Question, under chapter XXVII.

CHAPTER XVII

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

GENERAL

B. King and T. Okey, *Italy To-day* (ed. 1909), the best book on the subject, discusses fully the social and political problems of contemporary Italy; W. R. Thayer, *Italica* (1908), essays on Italy since 1870 by the biographer of Cavour; *Cinquanta Anni di Storia Italiana*, 3 vols. (1911), published by the Royal Academy of Lincei, contains articles on many phases of Italian life during the period 1860–1910, written by experts.

SPECIAL TOPICS

On Government, F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*, chs. XIX–XXI and A. L. Lowell, *The Governments of France, Italy, and Germany* (1915); on economic conditions, E. Lémonon, *L'Italie économique et sociale, 1861–1912* (1913); on expansion, W. K. Wallace, *Greater Italy* (1917).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

SPAIN

M. A. S. Hume, *Modern Spain, 1788–1898* (1900), a good sketch; G. Hubbard, *Histoire contemporaine de l'Espagne*, 6 vols. (1869–1883), an authoritative work covering the first half of the nineteenth century; J. L. M. Curry, *Constitutional Government in Spain* (1889); Yves Guyot, *L'évolution politique et sociale de l'Espagne* (1899); E. H. Strobel, *The Spanish Revolution, 1868–1875* (1898); A. Marvaud, *La question sociale en Espagne* (1910) and *L'Espagne au XX^e siècle* (1913); C. Perkins, "Social and Economic Problems of Modern Spain" (*Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1912).

PORTUGAL

G. Diercks, *Das moderne Portugal* (1913); A. Marvaud, *Le Portugal et ses colonies* (1912); W. Archer, "The Portuguese Republic" (*Fortnightly*, February, 1911).

CHAPTER XIX

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

GENERAL

R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia, a Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from 1513 to 1900* (1905); P. Drachman, *The Industrial Development and Commercial Policies of the three Scandinavian Countries* (1915); J. Carlsen, H. Olrik, and C. N. Starcke, *Le Danemark, état actual de sa civilisation et de son organisation sociale* (1900); K. Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People, 2 vols. (1915); G. Sundbärg (editor), *Sweden, its People and Industries* (1904), a government report; on the controversy over the union see Fridtjof Nansen, *Norway and the Union with Sweden* (1905) for the Norwegian side, and K. Nordlund, *The Swedish-Norwegian Union Crisis, a History with Documents* (1905) for the Swedish side.

LITERATURE

H. H. Boyesen, *Essays on Scandinavian Literature* (1895); E. Gosse, *Henrik Ibsen* (1913); Lind-af-Hageby, *August Strindberg, the Spirit of Revolt* (1913); A. Henderson, *European Dramatists* (1913); J. G. Hunecker, *Iconoclasts* (1905).

CHAPTER XX

HOLLAND, BELGIUM, AND SWITZERLAND

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

P. J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, vol. v, *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, trans. from the Dutch by Ruth Putnam (1912), the work of a distinguished Dutch historian; Clive Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (1904), an excellent study of Dutch colonial methods; C. Smythe, *The Story of Belgium* (1900); R. C. K. Ensor, *Belgium* (1900), a brief study from the Socialist standpoint; J. de C. MacDonnell, *Belgium, her Kings, Kingdom, and People* (1914), a similar volume from the Catholic standpoint; J. Barthélemy, *L'Organisation du suffrage et l'expérience belge* (1912), the best study of Belgian political institutions; Seebohm Rowntree, *Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium* (1910), an excellent study of social conditions by the well-known English sociologist; L. Bertrand, *Histoire de la démocratie et du socialisme en Belgique depuis 1830*, 2 vols. (1906–07), a study of contemporary Belgian problems from the Socialist standpoint; C. Woeste, *Echos des luttes comtemporaines*, 2 vols. (1906), a similar study from the Catholic standpoint; J. Salwyn Schapiro, "The Belgian Political Situation" (*Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association, December, 1912.)

SWITZERLAND

P. Seippel (editor), *La Suisse au dixneuvième siècle*, 3 vols. (1899–1901), an authoritative work by a group of Swiss writers; W. Oechsli, *Geschichte der Schweiz im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, a work begun in 1903, which promises to be a standard history; W. D. McCrackan, *Rise of the Swiss Republic* (ed. 1901), a historical outline, mainly political; on government, J. M. Vincent, *Government in Switzerland* (1900) and Ogg, chs. XXII–XXIII; on political and social reforms, H. D. Lloyd, *A Sovereign People: A Study of Swiss Democracy* (1907).

CHAPTERS XXI–XXIII

RUSSIA

GENERAL

A. Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, an old standard work revised and completed to 1913 by E. Haumant (1914); there is an English translation of Rambaud by L. B. Long with additional chapters covering the period from 1877 to 1904 by G. Mercer Adam (1904); A. Kornilov, *Modern Russian History*, trans. from the Russian by A. S. Kaun, 2 vols. (1917), the best up-to-date general history, liberal in tone; T. Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I*, 3 vols. (1904–13), the greatest German authority on Russia, conservative in viewpoint; H. G. Samson von Himmelstjerna, *Russia under Alexander III and in the Preceding Period*, trans. from the German by J. Morrison (1893).

GENERAL CONDITIONS

There has been a widespread interest in Russia because of the unusual character of her people and institutions. Hence many volumes have been written describing and interpreting Russia to the world. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, trans. from the French by Z. A. Ragozin, 3 vols. (1893–96), an old but excellent study of Russian institutions, done in the best French manner, scholarly, interesting, and sympathetic, especially good for religious conditions; Sir D. M. Wallace, *Russia* (1908), the best general treatment in English, has the advantage of including the Revolution of 1905; excellent short descriptions of political and cultural conditions, H. W. Williams, *Russia of the Russians* (1914) and Maurice Baring, *The Russian People* (ed. 1911); G. Alexinsky, *Modern Russia*, trans. from the Russian by B. Miall (1913), from the point of view of a Russian Socialist, good for Socialist parties in the Revolution of 1905; M. Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions*, trans. from the Russian (1902), a brief but authoritative study by a Russian scholar; A. von Haxthausen, *Russian Empire, its People, Institutions, and Resources*, trans. from the German, 2 vols. (1856), a famous work in its day, its description of the *mir* greatly influenced Russian opinion.

SUBJECT RACES

V. Bérard, *The Russian Empire and Czarism*, trans. from the French by G. Fox-Davies and G. O. Pope (1905); on the Poles, Georg Brandes, *Poland: a Study of the Land, People, and Literature* (1903), N. Hill, *Poland and the Polish Question* (1915), and *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x, ch. xiv; on the Jews, Israel Friedlaender, *The Jews of Russia and Poland* (1915), L. Wolf, *The Legal Suffering of the Jews in Russia* (1912), an account of the anti-Jewish laws, I. M. Rubinow, *Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia* (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, September, 1907, and Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States* (1914); on the Finns, J. R. Fisher, *Finland and the Tsars, 1809–1899* (1899).

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

James Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, 2 vols. (1914), the best treatment of the subject, contains an account of the revolutionary movement from the economic side; G. Drage, *Russian Affairs* (1904), a good brief study; M. Kovalevsky, *Le régime economique de la Russie* (1898); on the agrarian question, V. G. Simkhovitch, "The Agrarian Movement in Russia" (*Yale Review*, May, 1907) and R. T. Ely, "Russian Land Reform" (*American Economic Review*, March, 1916).

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Peter (Prince) Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), a fascinating account of life in Russia under Alexander II by the famous Russian scientist and revolutionist; Sergius Stepniak, pseudonym of a highly intellectual terrorist, gives vivid pictures of the revolutionary movement in the eighties and nineties in *Underground Russia* (1883) and *Career of a Nihilist* (1901); George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, 2 vols. (1897), an account by an American journalist which created a great impression at the time of publication, a terrible indictment of the exile system; Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia* (1905), memoirs of a prominent Russian Socialist; Paul Miliukov, *Russia and its Crisis* (1905), an interpretation by the famous leader of the Russian Liberals; B. Pares, *Russia and Reform* (1907), by an authority on Russian affairs; William English Walling, *Russia's Message* (1908), an interpretation by an American Socialist, especially good for the peasants' part in the Revolution; M. Kovalevsky, *La crise russe: notes et impressions d'un témoin* (1906), the views of the eminent Russian scholar; L. Kulczycki, *Geschichte der russischen Revolution*, trans. from the Polish into German (1910–14). the best and most scholarly treatment from the revolu-

tionary point of view, three volumes have so far appeared dealing with the period 1825–1900; E. A. Goldenweiser, "The Russian Duma" (*Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1914), a description of the electoral law for the third Duma; M. J. Olgin, *The Soul of the Russian Revolution* (1918), an analysis of the revolutionary movements of 1905 and 1917.

Cultural

Peter (Prince) Kropotkin, *Russian Literature, Ideals, and Realities* (1915); L. Wiener, *An Interpretation of the Russian People* (1915); Stephen Graham, *Undiscovered Russia* (1914); K. P. Pobêdonostsev, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, trans. from the French by R. C. Long (1898), an able defense of absolutism and Orthodoxy by the famous Procurator of the Holy Synod; A. Brückner, *A Literary History of Russia*, trans. from the German by H. Havelock (1908); W. Lyon Phelps, *Essays on Russian Novelists* (ed. 1916); Maurice Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (1910).

For references to expansion see bibliography under chapter xxviii; for those to foreign affairs, under chapter xxix.

CHAPTER XXIV

Revolutionary Labor Movements

Socialism: Sources

Karl Marx, *Capital: a Critique of Political Economy*, trans. from the German, 3 vols., vol. i, by S. Moore, vol. ii, by E. B. Aveling, vol. iii, by E. Untermann (1907–09), see p. 578; G. Deville, *The People's Marx, a Popular Epitome of Karl Marx's Capital*, trans. from the French by R. R. La Monte (1900); Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, trans. from the German by E. Aveling (ed. 1911), a criticism of utopianism by the co-worker of Marx; *The Communist Manifesto* (see p. 578), trans. from the German in every European language and in many cheap editions; Ferdinand Lassalle, *Reden und Schriften*, 3 vols, a collection of his speeches and writings issued in 1892–95 and edited by Eduard Bernstein; Eduard Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer*, trans. from the German by E. M. Aveling (1893); good source books, R. C. K. Ensor, *Modern Socialism, as set forth by Socialists in their Speeches, Writings, and Programmes* (ed. 1910), Jane T. Stoddart, *The New Socialism, and Impartial Inquiry* (1909), and *The Socialism of To-Day* (1916), platforms and other important documents of the Socialist parties in the world, edited by William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and others.

Socialism: Expositions by Socialists

John Spargo, an able American Socialist writer, *Socialism: a Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles* (ed. 1910), moderate and fair, and *Karl Marx, his Life and Work* (1910); J. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the English Labor Party, *The Socialist Movement* (1911), *Socialism and Government*, 2 vols. (1909), and *Socialism and Society* (1905); Karl Kautsky, leading German exponent of Marxism, *The Social Revolution*, trans. from the German by J. B. Askew (1907), *The Class Struggle*, trans. by W. E. Bohn (1910), and *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*, trans. from the German by J. B. Askew (1907); Eduard Bernstein, leading exponent of revisionism, *Evolutionary Socialism: a Criticism and an Affirmation*, trans. from the German by E. C. Harvey (1909); William English Walling, a leading American Socialist writer, *Socialism as it is: a Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement* (1912); Edmond Kelly, *Twentieth Century Socialism* (1910); Morris Hillquitt, the leader of the American Socialists, *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909); L. B. Boudin, *The*

Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism (1907): *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1909), a collection of essays by prominent English Socialists, see p. 593; Compère-Morel (editor), *Encyclopédie socialiste*, 8 vols. (1912–13), covers every phase of the Socialist movement, especially good for France.

SOCIALISM: CRITICISM BY ANTI-SOCIALISTS

O. D. Skelton, *Socialism: A Critical Analysis* (1911), a brief but excellent study, one of the best replies to socialism; A. Schäffle, *The Quintessence of Socialism*, trans. from the German by B. Bosanquet (1880); Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *Collectivism*, abridged trans. by Sir A. Clay (1908); W. H. Mallock, *A Critical Examination of Socialism* (1907); J. A. Ryan, *Distributive Justice* (1916) and Henry C. Day, S.J., *Catholic Democracy: Individualism and Socialism* (1914), criticisms from the Roman Catholic standpoint; V. G. Simkhovitch, *Marxism versus Socialism* (1913); the London *Contemporary Review*, August, 1906, contains the report of a famous debate on socialism in the French Chamber between the Socialist, Jaurès, and the Radical, Clémenceau.

SOCIALISM: HISTORY

J. Rae, *Contemporary Socialism* (ed. 1908), the best general history of the movement, written by a non-Socialist, but fair in its treatment; T. Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*, revised and largely rewritten by E. R. Pease (1913), an excellent small volume sympathetic with socialism; W. Sombart, *Socialism and the Socialist Movement*, trans. by M. Epstein (1909), a sympathetic description by a non-Socialist; R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism in Modern Times* (1898), good for descriptions of the Utopians; J. Longuet, *Le Mouvement socialiste international* (1913), by a prominent French Socialist; *Le parti socialiste en France* (1912), vol. II of *Encyclopédie socialiste;* Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1904), the standard work on German socialism, written by a Socialist; August Bebel, *My Life*, trans. from the German (1912), the autobiography of the famous German Socialist; Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The History of German Socialism Reconsidered" (*American Historical Review*, October, 1917), a valuable study; F. J. Shaw, *The Socialist Movement in England* (1908); M. Beer, *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* (1913); S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (1913) and Robert Hunter, *Socialists at Work* (1908), excellent popular descriptions of the European Socialist parties and leaders, Orth's book contains reprints of important Socialist documents.

ANARCHISM

P. J. Proudhon, *What is Property?* trans. from the French by B. R. Tucker, 2 vols. (1902), see p. 598; Paul Eltzbacher, *Anarchism* (1908), consists mainly of extracts from the writings of prominent anarchists; E. V. Zenker, *Anarchism: a Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory*, trans. from the German (1898); Benjamin R. Tucker, *Instead of a Book* (1897), an exposition of anarchism by an American anarchist.

SYNDICALISM

Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, trans. from the French by T. E. Hulme (1916), see p. 602; Louis Levine, *The Labor Movement in France* (1912), the best study of syndicalist ideals and of the movement in France; Hubert Lagardelle, *Le Socialisme Ouvrier* (1911), by a prominent French syndicalist; Robert Hunter, *Violence and the Labor Movement* (1914), by a Socialist opposed to syndicalism. A. R. Orage (editor), *National Guilds; an Inquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out* (1914), advocates a scheme, guild socialism, in which each trade and profession constitutes an industrial unit, a "guild," wherein wealth is produced and profits are shared; the common interests of the guilds are directed by a political state, hence the scheme is a combination of syndicalism and socialism.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

GENERAL

W. L. Blease, *The Emancipation of English Women* (1910), a narrative of the struggles for equality of the English women by a sympathizer; Kaethe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement* (1912), a description of the movement in all countries; E. R. Hecker, *Short History of Woman's Rights* (1910); Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage: ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Seite* (1910); Gaston Richard, *La Femme dans l'histoire* (1909).

FEMINISM

Charlotte P. Gilman, *Women and Economics* (ed. 1910), a plea for coöperative housekeeping and the economic independence of women by the leading American feminist; Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage*, trans. from the Swedish by A. G. Chater (1912) and *The Woman Movement*, trans. from the Swedish by M. B. Borthwick (1912), two well-known books by the leading feminist of Europe; W. L. George, *Women and To-morrow* (1913), a plea for a radical change in the position of woman in society; Olive Schreiner, *Women and Labour* (1911), an eloquent defense of woman's contribution to civilization; Mary Austin, *Love and the Soul Maker* (1914), by a prominent American writer; "Feminism and Woman Suffrage" (*Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1914); Mrs. C. G. Hartley, *The Truth about Woman* (1914); B. L. Hutchins, *Women in Modern Industry* (1915).

ENGLISH SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (ed. 1891), see p. 605; John Stuart Mill, *Subjection of Women* (ed. 1911), see p. 607; E. R. Turner, "The Women's Suffrage Movement in England" (*American Political Science Review*, November, 1913); Emmeline Pankhurst, *The Suffragette: The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement* (1912), by the famous "suffragette"; A. V. Dicey, *Letters to a Friend on Votes for Women* (1909), by an anti-suffragist; J. Salwyn Schapiro, "Aspects of the English Suffrage Movement" (*Forum*, March, 1914); A. E. Metcalfe, *Woman's Effort: a Chronicle of British Women's Fifty Years' Struggle for Citizenship (1865–1914)* (1917).

WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Katherine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (1915); "The Woman's Movement in Germany" (*New Statesman*, November 29, 1913); J. Castberg, "Legal Position of Women in Norway" (*Nineteenth Century*, February, 1912); F. Buisson, *Le Vote des femmes* (1911); C. Dawbarn, "The French Women and the Vote" (*Fortnightly Review*, August, 1911).

CHAPTER XXVI

SCIENCE

GENERAL

Robinson and Beard, vol. II, pp. 405–22, an excellent *résumé; Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XII, ch. XXIV; *Histoire générale*, vol. X, ch. XX, vol. XI, ch. XXV, vol. XII, ch. XVII; W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, *A Short*

History of Science (1917); H. S. Williams, *A History of Science*, 10 vols. (1904–10); W. Libby, *An Introduction to the History of Science* (1917); J. T. Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 4 vols. (1896–1914), contains valuable chapters on scientific progress; J. A. Thomson, *Introduction to Science* (1911); Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Wonderful Century: its Successes and its Failures* (1898); Alfred Russel Wallace (and others), *The Progress of the Century* (1901); E. Ray Lankester, *The Kingdom of Man* (1907).

Special Sciences

Consult the works of famous scientists such as Darwin, Huxley, Tyndal, Spencer, Haeckel, Pasteur, and Lyell. Sir T. E. Thorpe, *Essays in Historical Chemistry* (1911); W. A. Locy, *Biology and its Makers* (ed. 1915); A. Geikie, *The Founders of Geology* (1905).

CHAPTER XXVII

The Near Eastern Question

General

E. Driault, *La Question d'Orient depuis ses origines jusqu'à la Grande Guerre* (ed. 1917), the standard work on the Near Eastern Question in all its aspects; W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801–1913* (1913), the best general history of the subject in English, contains good accounts of the individual states; S. P. Duggan, *The Eastern Question; A Study in Diplomacy* (1902), a brief but excellent treatment by an American authority on the subject; L. Villari (editor), *The Balkan Question: the Present Condition of the Balkans and of European Responsibilities* (1905), essays by scholars of many nations; Lord Courtney (editor), *Nationalism in the Near East* (1915), essays on the ambitions and rivalries of the Balkan States; R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (1917); A. H. E. Taylor, *The Future of the Southern Slavs* (1917); H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and their Future* (1906); N. Forbes (and others), *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, Turkey* (1915); J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900*, vol. I, ch. VII–X.

Turkey

S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Turkey* (1897), a clearly written as well as a reliable summary of Turkish history; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. V (1913), considered the standard work on Turkey; T. G. Djuvara, *Cent projets de partage de la Turquie, 1281–1913* (1914), written by a Rumanian diplomat, contains recent treaties; on the Turkish Revolution, C. R. Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution* (1909) and R. Pinon, *L'Europe et la jeune Turquie: les aspects nouveaux de la question d'Orient* (1911); Sir E. Pears, *Turkey and its People* (ed. 1912), an intimate study by an Englishman long resident in Turkey.

The Christian States

W. Miller, *The Balkans: Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro* (ed. 1908), by the well-known authority on the subject; L. Leger, *Serbes, Croates et Bulgares; études historiques, politiques, et littéraires* (1913); on Greece, L. Sergent, *Greece in the Nineteenth Century: A Record of Hellenic Emancipation and Progress, 1821–1897* (1897) and P. F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (1913); on Bulgaria, Edward Dicey, *The Peasant State: an Account of Bulgaria in 1894* (1894) and G. Songeon, *Histoire de la Bulgarie depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, 485–1913* (1913);

on Rumania, N. Jorga, *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes in Rahmen seiner Stattsbildungen,* 2 vols. (1905) and O. Brilliant, *Roumania* (1915); on Serbia, W. M. Petrovitch, *Serbia, her People, History, and Aspirations* (1915) and Prince and Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovitch, *The Servian People; their Past Glory and their Destiny*, 2 vols. (1910); on Montenegro, F. S. Stevenson, *A History of Montenegro* (1912).

AUSTRIA AND THE BALKANS

T. von Sosnosky, *Die Balkanpolitik Oesterreich-Ungarns seit 1866*, 2 vols. (1913–14), pro-Austrian; G. M. Trevelyan, *The Servians and Austria* (1914), anti-Austrian; R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1911), sympathetic with the Slavs.

SPECIAL

Sir Thomas Barclay, *The Turco-Italian War and its Problems* (1912), by a noted English diplomat; J. G. Schurman, *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913* (1914), the best short history; *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (1914), by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; "Balkan Treaties, 1912–1913" (*American Journal of International Law*, vol. VIII, no. 1, supplement); the problems arising from the Balkan Wars are treated with knowledge and insight by S. P. Duggan in his articles in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March and December, 1913.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

GENERAL

Excellent summaries are to be found in Hayes, vol. II, chs. XXVII–XXVIII, and in Robinson and Beard, vol. II, ch. XXX; A. G. Keller, *Colonization: a Study of the Founding of New Societies* (1908), a sociological treatise; Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, 2 vols. (ed. 1908), the best French work on the subject; A. Zimmermann, *Die europäischen Kolonien*, 5 vols. (1896–1903), a detailed study of European expansion, contains good maps; H. C. Morris, *The History of Colonization*, 2 vols. (1908); J. W. Root, *Colonial Tariffs* (1906), good for economic conditions; on colonial government, P. S. Reinsch, *Colonial Government* (1902) and *Colonial Administration* (1904); J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: a Study* (1902), a criticism of expansion, mainly on economic grounds, by an anti-imperialist; on the missionary movement, J. S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, 3 vols. (1897–1906) and R. E. Spear, *Missions and Modern History: a Study of the Missionary Aspects of some Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (1904); for Catholic missions consult articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

THE FAR EAST

Cambridge Modern History, vol. XI, ch. XXVIII, vol. XII, chs. XVII–XXIX; *Histoire générale*, vol. X, chs. XXVII–XXVIII, vol. XI, ch. XX, vol. XII, chs. XXIV–XXV; Sir R. K. Douglas, *Europe and the Far East, 1506–1912* (ed. 1913), the best short account; E. Driault, *La question d'extrême Orient* (1908), an excellent study by a recognized French authority; P. S. Reinsch, *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (1900) and *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East* (1911), two admirable short studies on social, economic, and cultural conditions in China and Japan; T. F. Millard, *America and the Far Eastern Question* (1909), an explanation of America's interest in China; S. K. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East* (1916), an important contribution by a close observer.

China

H. A. Giles, *China and the Chinese* (1902), *The Civilization of China* (1911), and *China and the Manchus* (1912), are excellent introductory studies of Chinese problems; Sir R. K. Douglas, *The Story of China* (1901), a handy outline; H. Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales*, 3 vols. (1901–02), the standard French work; P. H. Clements, *An Outline of the Politics and Diplomacy of China and the Powers, 1894–1902* (1915), a good account of the international problems arising from the Boxer movement; on the Revolution, P. H. Kent, *The Passing of the Manchus* (1912).

Japan

F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi, *A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era* (1915), the best general history in English; W. W. McLaren, *A Political History of Japan* (1916); R. P. Porter, *Japan* (1918); W. E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (ed. 1903), a good popular description; Count Okuma (editor), *Fifty Years of New Japan*, trans. from the Japanese by M. B. Huish, 2 vols. (1909), a series of studies by Japanese writers; J. H. Longford, *The Evolution of New Japan* (1913); Marquis de La Mazelière, *Le Japon: Histoire et civilisation*, 5 vols. (1907–10); on government, T. Iyenaga, *The Constitutional Development of Japan, 1853–1881* (1891), T. Gollier, *Essai sur les institutions politiques du Japon* (1903), and *Japanese Government Documents, 1867–1889* (1914), published by the Asiatic Society of Japan, documents illustrative of the transition period; K. K. Kawakami, *Japan in World Politics* (1917), a defense of her policies by a Japanese.

The Russo-Japanese War

K. Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues* (1904), favorable to Japan; A. N. Kuropatkin, *The Russian Army and the Japanese War*, partially translated from the Russian by A. B. Lindsay, 2 vols. (1909), a defense of Russia by the Russian commander-in-chief; A. S. Hershey, *The International Law and Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War* (1906).

Expansion of Russia

J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900*, vol. II, chs. II, III, IX; F. H. Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia* (ed. 1913), the best brief treatment; Alfred Rambaud, *The Expansion of Russia: Problems of the East and Problems of the Far East* (ed. 1904); C. F. Wright, *Asiatic Russia*, 2 vols. (1902), an authoritative survey of conditions, political, economic, and racial; Ármin Vámbéry, *Western Culture in Eastern Lands: a Comparison of the Methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East* (1906), by a famous traveler and Orientalist, favorable to England.

Persia

P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, 2 vols. (1915), especially good for modern conditions; W. M. Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia: a Record of European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue* (1912), a severe indictment of Russia's and England's policies in Persia by the American financial adviser to the Persian Parliament; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909* (1910).

Africa

J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900*, vol. II, chs. IV–VIII; Sir Edward Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, 3 vols. (ed. 1909), an indispensable source, contains all important treaties relative to the partition of Africa; Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Opening Up of Africa* (1911) and *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (ed. 1913), excellent studies by a competent authority, sympathetic with the natives; J. S. Keltie, *The Partition of Africa* (1895); David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (ed. 1860) and *Last Journals in Central Africa from 1865 to his Death*, edited by H. Waller (1875); H. H. Johnston, *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa* (1897); Sir H. M. Stanley, *How I found Livingstone: Travels and Adventures in Central Africa* (1872), *Through the Dark Continent, or the Sources of the Nile*, 2 vols. (1878), *In Darkest Africa* (ed. 1897), and *Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, 2 vols. (1885); N. D. Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa* (1914); H. A. Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa* (1916).

For references to the expansion of England see bibliography under chapter XV; for France, under chapter XI; for Germany, under chapter XII.

CHAPTER XXIX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (1870–1914)

GENERAL

C. Seymour. *The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870–1914* (1916), an excellent summary, clearly written, impartial; L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton, *The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914* (1917), mainly diplomatic and military; J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900*, 2 vols. (1905), mainly on international affairs and expansion; H. A. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe* (1915), a suggestive review of international policies since the Balkan Wars; A. Debidour, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à nos jours* (1917), by a well-known authority; Arthur Bullard, *The Diplomacy of the Great War* (1916), a readable discussion of international problems since 1878; W. M. Fullerton, *Problems of Power* (ed. 1915), a discussion of international problems from 1870 to 1911; Walter Lippmann, *The Stakes of Diplomacy* (1915), a well-written, suggestive discussion of the interaction of business and imperialism in modern diplomacy; H. N. Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold* (1914), a study from a similar point of view by an anti-imperialist; Sir Harry Johnston, *Common Sense in Foreign Policy* (1913); P. Albin, *Les grands traités politiques: recueil des principaux textes diplomatiques depuis 1815 jusqu'à nos jours* (ed. 1911), collection of texts of important treaties.

GERMAN FOREIGN POLICIES

Ernst (Count) zu Reventlow, *Deutschlands auswärtige Politik, 1888–1913* (1914), a thorough study by a Pan-German writer of wide influence in Germany; T. Schiemann, *Deutschland und die grosse politik, anno 1901–1914* (1902–15), written by the foreign editor of the influential Pan-German *Kreuzzeitung;* P. Rohrbach, *German World Policies*, trans. from the German by E. von Mach (1915) and *Germany's Isolation: an Exposition of the Economic Causes of the War*, trans. from the German by P. H. Phillipson (1915), two little books widely read in Germany; G. W. Prothero, *German Policy before the War* (1916), an English view; A. C. Coolidge, *The Origins of the Triple Alliance* (1917), by a close student of European diplomacy; F. Naumann, *Central Europe*, trans. from the German by C. M. Meredith (1917), a plea for an economic union of Germany and Austria; M. Jastrow, *The War and the Bagdad Railway* (1918), an analysis of Germany's exploitation of Turkey; André Chéradame, *The Pangerman Plot Unmasked*, (1917), the best study of Pan-Germanism from the anti-German point of view; Herman Bernstein (editor), *The Willy-Nicky Papers* (1917), containing

secret correspondence between the German Emperor and the Tsar; Munroe Smith, *Militarism and Statescraft* (1918), an illuminating study of German ideals and policies. For further references consult bibliography under chapter XII.

England's Foreign Policies

Bernadotte Everly Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740–1914* (1916), an excellent study of England's foreign policies, particularly for the period after 1870, defends England as against Germany; Gilbert Murray, *The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906–1915* (1915), a defense of the English Foreign Minister; G. H. Perris, *Our Foreign Policy and Sir Edward Grey's Failure* (1912), an attack on the English Foreign Minister; G. L. Beer, *The English-Speaking Peoples, their Future Relations and Joint International Obligations* (1917), a plea for closer Anglo-American coöperation by a recognized authority on British colonial affairs.

France's Foreign Policies

André Tardieu, *France and the Alliances: the Struggle for the Balance of Power* (1908), by a well-known French writer on diplomacy; R. Pinon, *France et Allemagne, 1870–1913* (ed. 1913); G. Hanotaux, *La politique de l'équilibre, 1907–1911* (1912).

Militarism

F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, trans. from the German by A. H. Powles (1912), a plea for war as a "biological necessity" by a German military philosopher; J. A. Cramb, *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain and Nineteenth-Century Europe* (ed. 1915), a chauvinistic plea for British imperialism; A. T. Mahan, *Armaments and Arbitration: or the Place of Force in the International Relations of States* (1912), a criticism of pacifism by the distinguished writer on naval affairs; C. von der Goltz, *A Nation in Arms*, condensed and translated from the German by F. A. Ashworth (1915), an authoritative statement of the German military system; E. F. Henderson, *Germany's Fighting Machine* (1914), by a German sympathizer; A. S. Hurd and H. Castle, *German Sea Power, its Rise, Progress, and Economic Basis* (1913), a good account from the English viewpoint; J. Leyland, *The Royal Navy: its Influence in English History and in the Growth of the Empire* (1914).

Pacifism

Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (ed. 1914), a highly original study of the effects of war, see p. 697; by the same author, *Foundations of International Polity* (1914); I. S. Bloch, *The Future of War in its Technical, Economic, and Political Relations: Is War now Impossible?* trans. from the Russian by R. C. Long (ed. 1902), see p. 697; E. B. Krehbiel, *Nationalism, War, and Society* (1916), an excellent syllabus of international relations and of the peace movement; D. S. Jordan, *War and Waste: a Series of Discussions of War and War Accessories* (1913), a plea for universal peace by a prominent American pacifist; Nicholas Murray Butler, *International Mind: an Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes* (1913), a logical and illuminating plea for international arbitration; B. A. W. Russell, *Justice in War-Time* (1916), a criticism of diplomacy from the point of view of an English pacifist; J. C. Faries, *The Rise of Internationalism* (1915), a compilation of the various international unions, agreements, and societies; on the "Hague Peace Conferences," J. B. Scott, *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*, 2 vols. (1909), W. I. Hull, *The Two Hague Peace Conferences and their Contributions to International Law* (1908), J. W. Foster, *Arbitration and The Hague Court* (1904), and G. G. Wilson (editor), *The Hague Arbitration Cases* (1915).

CHAPTER XXX

The World War

Sources

The various diplomatic papers issued by the nations known as the *White Book*, *Yellow Book*, *Orange Book*, etc., are published by the "American Association for International Conciliation"; *Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War*, published by Harrison and Sons, London; The London *Times* "Documentary History of the War"; J. B. Scott, *Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (1916); E. C. Stowell, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914;* E. R. O. von Mach, *Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (1916), withdrawn from circulation by the publishers (Macmillans) owing to editorial bias in favor of Germany; President Woodrow Wilson's addresses and papers, published by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D.C.; Documents Relating to France and Certain War Issues in *History Teachers' Magazine*, June, 1918; The Background of the War in *World Peace Foundation*, series, April, 1918.

Current Histories

The best and most reliable is *The International Yearbook*, 1914 ff.; J. Buchan, *Nelson's History of the War* (1915 ff.), the best English serial history; *Guerre de 1914: documents officielles, textes législatifs et réglementaires* (1914 ff.), official publication, the best French serial history; C. H. Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg, eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1 Juli 1914* (1915 ff.), the best German serial history. Some of the newspapers have published current histories of the war, the best of which are those issued by the Manchester *Guardian*, the New York *Times*, and the London *Times; The New Europe*, a noteworthy weekly publication, started in England during the war, discusses the issues from a progressive viewpoint.

General

Needless to say, nearly all the histories of the World War are partisan, many of them bitterly so. The best brief treatment, accurate and fairly impartial, is that in The New International Encyclopedia, article, "War in Europe"; *The New International Year Book*, for 1914 and succeeding years, contains summaries of the events; S. B. Harding, *A Syllabus of the Great War* (1918), an exhaustive syllabus covering every phase, published by the *History Teachers' Magazine;* good summaries, O. P. Chitwood, *The Immediate Causes of the Great War* (1917) and S. S. Scheip and A. Bingham (editors), *Handbook of the European War*, 2 vols. (1914–16); G. H. Allen, H. C. Whitehead, and F. E. Chadwick, *The Great War* (1915–16), vols. I–III, good, clear account for general reader; Yves Guyot, *The Causes and Consequences of the War*, trans. from the French by F. A. Holt (1916), a good analysis, economic, political, and historical, from the French viewpoint; *Modern Germany in Relation to the Great War*, by various German writers, trans. by W. W. Whitelock (1916), the best from the German viewpoint, chapters written by well-known German historians and economists, such as Oncken, Schumacher, and Hintze; from the British viewpoint J. Holland Rose, *The Origins of the War, 1871–1914* (1914) and E. P. Barker and other members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History, *Why We are at War: Great Britain's Case* (1914); *The War of Democracy: the Allies' Statement* (1917); W. S. Davis, *The Roots of the War* (1918); L. Stoddard and G. Frank, *Stakes of the War* (1918).

MILITARY

F. H. Simonds, *The Great War* (1914 ff.), a lucid explanation of the campaigns by an exceptionally able journalist and student; A. M. Murray, *The Fortnightly History of the War*, by the military expert of the London monthly, *The Fortnightly;* P. Azan, *The War of Positions* (1917) and *The Warfare of To-day* (1918), clear explanations of the strategy of the World War; D. W. Johnson, *Topography and Strategy in the War* (1917), valuable for an understanding of the war areas; H. Barbusse, *Under Fire*, trans. from the French by F. Wray (1917), a vivid picture of life at the front; C. R. Gibson, *War Inventions and How They Were Invented* (1917), useful for knowledge of war machinery.

SPECIAL

On the neutrality of Belgium, C. de Visscher, *Belgium's Case: a Juridical Enquiry*, trans. from the French by E. F. Jourdain (1916), a concise, clear presentation of the case; R. W. Seton-Watson (and others), *The War and Democracy* (1914), an interesting review of nineteenth-century history by competent English writers; on nationality and the World War, A. J. Toynbee, *Nationality and the War* (1915) and L. Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe* (1917); on socialism and the World War, W. E. Walling, *The Socialists and the War* (1915) and L. B. Boudin, *Socialism and the War* (1917); *The Problems and Lessons of the War*, Clark University Addresses (1915), essays covering many aspects of the World War.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE

The organization of the world into a League of Nations has been a topic for general discussion since the outbreak of the World War. Various plans and suggestions are to be found in J. A. Hobson, *Towards International Government* (1915), Norman Angell, *America and the New World State* (1915), H. N. Brailsford, *A League of Nations* (1917), L. S. Wolf, *The Framework of a Lasting Peace* (1917), R. C. Minor, *A Republic of Nations* (1918), H. M. Kallen, *The Structure of Lasting Peace* (1918), E. Barker, *A Confederation of the Nations* (1918), T. Marburg, *League of Nations* (1917–18), and in the statement of the League of Free Nations Association published in the *New Republic*, November 30, 1918. Distinguished writers have written philosophic studies of the War and of the future state of the world. Among the most notable are W. H. Dawson, *Problems of the Peace* (1917), J. A. Hobson, *Democracy After the War* (1917), G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Choice Before Us* (1917), T. Veblen, *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace* (1917), and A. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government* (1918).

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

ANNUALS

The New International Year Book (1907 ff.), edited by F. M. Colby, a survey of the year's events; *The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress* (1910 ff.), edited by S. N. D. North, mainly of American affairs; *Record of Political Events* (1916 ff.), summary published by the *Political Science Quarterly* as a supplement; *The Annual Register*, an English publication since 1758, a *résumé* of the year's events, mainly British; *L'année politique*, a similar publication in French from 1874 to 1905, continued as *La vie politique dans les deux mondes*, edited by A. Viallate; *Europäischer Geschichtskalendar* (1861 ff.), a similar work in German; *The Statesman's Year Book* (1864 ff.), English publication, descriptive and statistical annual of all the countries of the world, very reliable; *Hazell's Annual* (1886 ff.) and Joseph Whitaker's *Almanack* (1868 ff.) contain miscellaneous information, mainly British; *The Year Book of Social Progress* (1912 ff.), an English publication dealing with social legislation and social reform; *The British and Foreign State Papers* (1812 ff.), valuable source for international relations.

AMERICAN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

Political Science Quarterly, *American Political Science Review*, *Current Events*, *Review of Reviews*, *North American Review*, *New Republic*, *Independent*, *Survey*, and *Nation*.

BRITISH

Weekly edition of the London *Times*, *Nation*, *Spectator*, *New Statesman*, *Tablet*, *New Age*, *Fortnightly*, *Contemporary*, *Nineteenth Century and After*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Dublin Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *The Round Table*.

FRENCH

Weekly edition of the *Journal des débats*, *Revue politique et parlementaire*, *Le Correspondant*, *Revue de Paris*, *L'Opinion*, *La Grande Revue*, *La Revue*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

GERMAN

Weekly edition of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Echo*, *Zukunft*, *Neue Zeit*, *Neue Rundschau*, *Allgemeine Zietung*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, and *Preussische Jahrbücher*.

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

GREAT BRITAIN

G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1922), the first adequate treatment in one volume; J. A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion* (1922), comprehensive, stresses economic phases.

W. L. Mathieson, *England in Transition, 1789–1832* (1920), a study of social and political conditions of the period; J. West, *History of the Chartist Movement* (1920), a very good political analysis; A. E. Dobbs, *Education and Social Movements, 1700–1850* (1919); E. Halévy, *Histoire du peuple anglais au XIXe siècle* (1913), a sociological study of the English people planned in four volumes, only the first volume, England in 1815, has thus far appeared; J. R. M. Butler, *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill* (1914), an authoritative work entirely from original sources; G. M .Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill* (1920), and J. A. Hobson, *Richard Cobden* (1919), are recent important additions to English biography; L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (1918) and *Queen Victoria* (1921), subtle and ironic literary portraits of famous worthies; O. Elton, *A Survey of English Literature 1780–1880*, 4 vols. (1912–20), masterly studies of great writers and great movements in English literature.

A. P. Usher, *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England* (1919), J. F. Rees, *A Social and Industrial History of England* (1921), and J. R. Taylor, *Industrial History of Modern Britain* (1920), are good handbooks; L. C. A. Knowles, *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (1921), careful and conscientious, indispensable to the study of the subject; Sir Robert Giffen, *Statistics, 1898–1900* (1913), a series of informative essays by an authority on economic matters, clearly written; S. J.

Chapman, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry* (1904). J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer, 1760–1832* (1920), a painstaking study from the original sources of the condition of the laborer at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution; L. T. Hobhouse, *Labour Movement* (ed. 1912); G. Drage, *Trade Unions* (1905); P. U. Kellogg and A. Gleason, *British Labor and the War* (1919), sympathetic with trade unions, contains important labor documents; O. J. Dunlop, *The Farm Labourer, The History of a Modern Problem* (1913), and F. E. Green, *History of the English Agricultural Laborer, 1870–1920* (1920), deal with rural labor conditions.

On India, V. Smith, *Oxford History of India* (1919), from English imperial viewpoint; The Aga Khan, *India in Transition; A Study in Political Evolution* (1918), a moderate plea for self-government by a Mohammedan prince; K. Vyasa Rao, *Future Government of India* (1918), a discussion of proposed reforms.

F. Hackett, *Ireland: a Study in Nationalism* (1918), a brilliant impressionistic study of Irish character and history; R. M. Henry, *Evolution of Sinn Fein* (1920), sympathetic but moderate; E. R. Turner, *Ireland and England* (1919), painstaking study of the problem from liberal viewpoint; L. Smith-Gordon and L. C. Staples, *Rural Reconstruction in Ireland* (1919), best study of the situation arising from the Land Acts, especially good on coöperative movement.

GERMANY

W. H. Dawson, *The German Empire, 1867–1914*, 2 vols. (1919), authoritative, clear, mainly political; Sir A. W. Ward and S. Wilkinson, *Germany, 1815–1890*, 3 vols. (1917), a political narrative; C. Grant Robertson, *Bismarck* (1919), by far the best biography of Bismarck in English.

P. Ashley, *Modern Tariff History, Germany — United States — France* (ed. 1920); A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815–1914* (1920), a thorough study of Germany's economic development, "nationalistic" in tone; J. H. Clapham, *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914* (1921); Mary E. Townsend, *Origins of Modern German Colonialism* (1921), explains the interplay of economic and political motives; W. J. Ashley, *Progress of the German Working Classes in the last Quarter of a Century* (1904).

C. Andler, *Les Origins du Pan-Germanisme (1800–1888)* (1915); L. Bernhard, *Das Polnische Gemeinwesen im preussischen Staat* (1910), an economic study of the Polish question from the Prussian viewpoint; on Alsace-Lorraine, Florent-Matter, *Les Alsaciens-Lorrain contre Allemagne* (1918), French viewpoint, E. J. D. Kleber, *Wir Verleumdeten Elsasser* (1914), German viewpoint, and C. Phillipson, *Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future*, non-partisan.

FRANCE

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